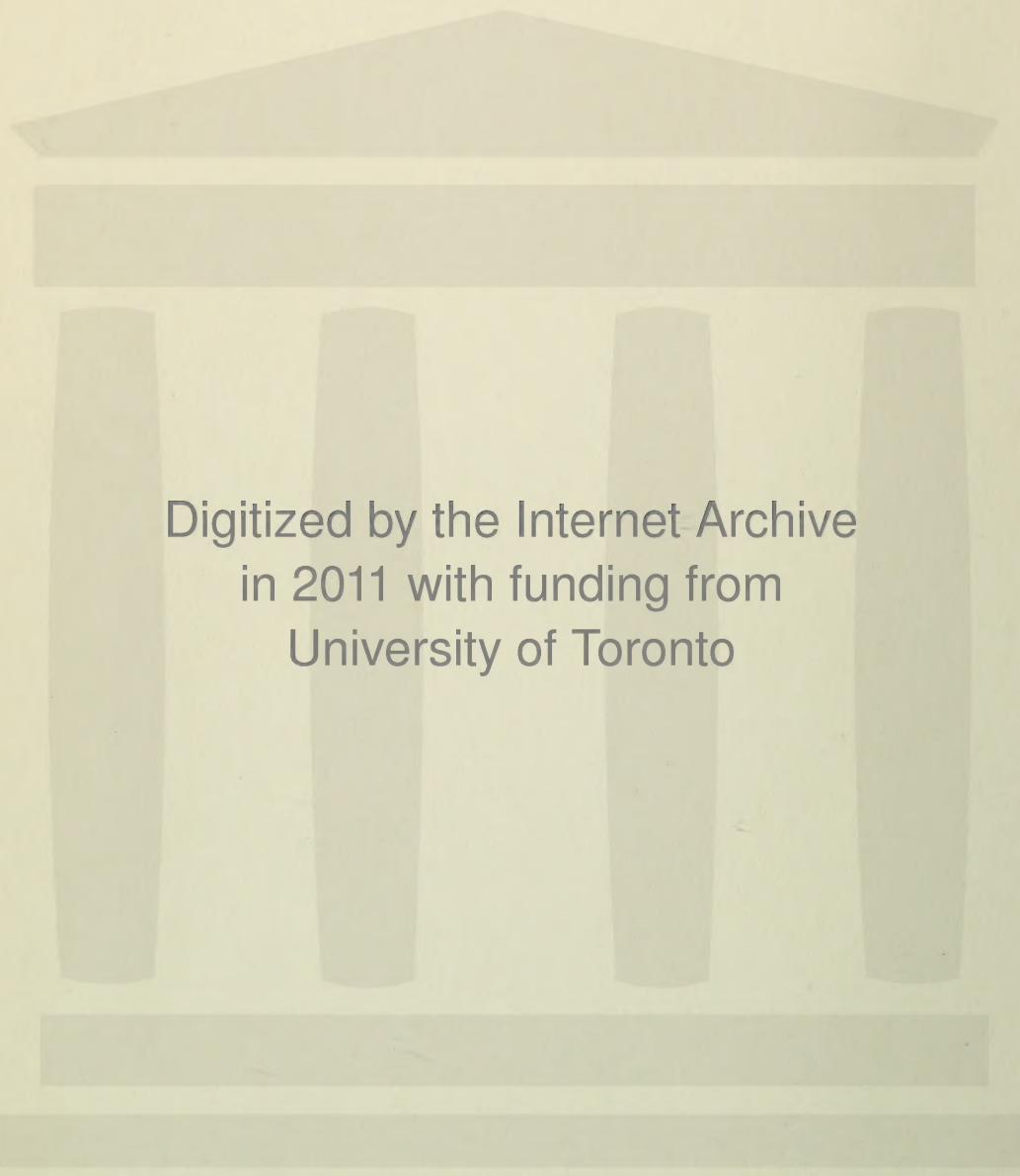




3 1761 08823875 3

7-21-53

FT.D-0.4



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2011 with funding from
University of Toronto

THE
INTERNATIONAL
REVIEW.

VOL. I, 1874.

NEW YORK:
A. S. BARNES & CO.

1a



AP
2
I 78
v. 1

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1874,

By A. S. BARNES & CO.,

In the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

CONTENTS.

OF VOLUME ONE, 1874.

	PAGE
OUR LATE PANIC	1
FIRES IN AMERICAN CITIES	17
Prof. A. P. Peabody, D. D., Harvard University.	
DEEP SEA EXPLORATION	35
Prof. Wm. B. Carpenter, M. D., LL. D., F. R. S., University of London.	
UNIVERSAL EDUCATION	58
Ray Palmer, D. D., New York.	
THE PRUSSIAN CHURCH LAW	80
Baron von Holtzendorff, LL. D., Munich.	
INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION	104
Theodore D. Woolsey, D. D., LL. D., ex-President of Yale.	
BOOK REVIEWS	131
WORKING CLASSES OF EUROPE	145
Hon. Thomas Hughes, M. P., Q. C., author of "Tom Brown at Oxford," London.	
TRANSIT OF VENUS	160
Prof. J. E. Hilgard, U. S. Coast Survey, Washington.	
UPPER SCHOOLS	173
Rev. James McCosh, D. D., LL. D., President of Princeton College.	
THE PRACTICAL WORK OF PAINTING	198
Philip Gilbert Hamerton, Esq., London.	
OUR NATIONAL CURRENCY	213
Hon. Amasa Walker, LL. D., Brookfield, Mass.	
NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM	244
BOOK REVIEWS	260
FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF ROME	289
Edward A. Freeman, M. A., LL. D., author of "History of the Norman Conquest," London.	
INDIAN CITIZENSHIP	305
Gen. F. A. Walker, late U. S. Indian Commissioner.	
ART AT THE NATIONAL CAPITAL	327
AUSTRALIA	346
Dr. Barcroft Boake, Melbourne.	

	PAGE
MONOPOLIES	370
Hon. C. C. Nott, Judge of Court of Claims, Washington.	
JOHN STUART MILL	385
Noah Porter, D. D., LL. D., President of Yale College.	
BOOK REVIEWS	407
WM. CULLEN BRYANT AND HIS WRITINGS	433
Ray Palmer, D. D.	
COAL AND ITS SUPPLY	458
Prof. E. B. Andrews, State Geologist of Ohio.	
THIRTEEN YEARS OF FREEDOM IN ITALY	479
Prof. Angelo Gubernatis, LL. D., Florence, Italy.	
THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND	491
THE NEW REVISION OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE	514
Prof. Geo. P. Fisher, D. D., Yale College.	
THE ORTHODOX GREEK CHURCH	528
The Princess Dora d'Istria, Florence, Italy.	
BOOK REVIEWS	556
THE NEGROES IN THE GULF STATES	577
E. T. Winkler, D. D., Alabama.	
LEONARDO DA VINCI AND HIS WORKS	595
Prof. George L. Austin, Cambridge, Mass.	
ARISTON, a Tragedy	611
THE MORAL CONDITION OF FRANCE IN 1874	647
E. De Pressensé, D. D., French National Assembly.	
THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SUN	658
Prof. C. A. Young, Dartmouth College.	
CHARLES SUMNER AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE	676
C. F. Magoun, President Iowa College.	
BOOK REVIEWS	700
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION BY LANGUAGE	721
Philip Gilbert Hamerton, London.	
HISTORY OF AMERICAN ARCHITECTS AT THE NATIONAL CAPITOL	736
James Q. Howard, Washington, D. C.	
IRON SUPPLIES AND MANUFACTURES OF THE U. S.	754
Prof. John S. Newberry, M. D., Columbia College, N. Y.	
STUDY OF GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS	781
Chas. Elliott, D. D., Western Theological Seminary, Chicago.	
DIVORCE	794
Hon. N. H. Davis, South Carolina.	
THE DOMESTIC COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES	819
Hon. S. Shellabarger, Ohio.	
BOOK REVIEWS	845

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

VOL. I.

NEW YORK, JANUARY, 1874.

No. I.

ARTICLE I.

OUR LATE PANIC.

IN the rotunda of our Capitol hangs a striking picture. Above the spectator stands a dome admired even after seeing the grace and grandeur of St. Paul's and St. Peter's, while around are paintings, often crude, yet made sacred by great scenes and personages of our national history. Any work of art assigned such a place should display unusual genius. The picture in our view, although not destined to immortality, is a production, somewhat hasty, of a gentleman of promise. The canvas is immense. The colors are brilliant. The scene is imposing. You have, on a scale grand and impressive, trees, rocks, gorges, precipices, waterfalls, mountains. Congress, inspired by a sudden love of art, voted to suspend conspicuously in our Capitol a canyon of the Yellowstone.

We have become familiar with that river. It has been flowing for some years before the public eye. Dashing torrents, boiling springs, towering peaks, spouting streams, colored crags, with mists and rainbows—here a bear and there an indian—have so endeared and enhanced its wild region, that Congress, as has been rumored, not satisfied with the picture in the rotunda, may preserve the original as a treasure in the shape of a national park.

Assisted by letters, and lectures, and essays, and paintings, and advertisements, fancy sees the country of the Yellowstone crossed by a mighty Railway, having one terminus on Lake Superior and the other on the Pacific Ocean. Possibly even Mt. Hood, glittering with eternal

snows, and looking down grandly and patronizingly, might be drawn by an excited eye within the horizon. The coming locomotive screams, and trains of cars, yet to be, rush through the valleys and wind along the precipices and hang on the tops of mountains. Farms and villages, rising before the imagination, line the way and give animation to the scene. On the shores of an unrivaled harbor, formed by the waters of Puget Sound, towers in airy vision a city superior to San Francisco, the rival of New York, Queen of our western coast, attracting the trade of Japan and China, and distributing over our country the rich and splendid wealth of the oriental world.

Surely here are scenes and prospects to excite the minds of a young and enterprising people. A Railway beginning at the inland seas of the north, passing through the marvels of the Yellowstone, terminating in a golden metropolis, and bringing near two oceans, is a work of importance and magnitude. So we have been informed. Nor can the proposition be doubted. It has been demonstrated to Europe and America by advertisement, by editorial, by epistle, by engraving, by picture. Statesmen have asserted it. Lecturers have illustrated it. Even clergymen have affirmed it. Never has such an army of talkers and writers been drilled and paid to settle any truth. Genius and money are exhausted. Neither snows nor savages shall defeat the stupendous project.

The scheme, it will be observed, does not propose to afford existing means of transportation for existing wealth to an existing city. It would create the means. It would create the wealth. It would create the city. It first obtains from the United States grants for a wilderness equal in size, it is said, to the whole of New England; it issues bonds on the security of untilled plains and boundless forests; it commences a work of gigantic construction; it connects itself with banks in the great commercial centres of Europe and America; it contracts enormous debts; it enters into competition with the General Government in the sale of lands; it endeavors to control the currents of immigration sweeping from the old world to the new. In short, it aims at once to found and to people an Empire.

Nor is this all. There is already in present operation a continuous line of Railway; towards the Pacific end enriched by the most generous gifts from Congress, and established by the most reckless expenditures; at this moment connecting San Francisco and New York; traversing the fertile fields and rich gold regions of California; at the Atlantic terminus owned by one of the strongest corporations, and under the patronage of one of the wealthiest individuals in the country; while yet

the profits of the whole southwestern portion from the Missouri to the Golden Gate are thus far uncertain, the stock hopelessly depreciated, and the bonds low in the market.

But more still. There is also a stupendous Railway Connection, under a management vigorous, and ambitious beyond precedent, commencing in our great commercial metropolis; passing through the richest regions of Pennsylvania and Ohio; with one branch to Cincinnati, and one to Chicago; buying and leasing all possible tributary roads; and projecting a new and gigantic southern highway across Texas to the Pacific. It has already a line of ocean steamers to Europe, and controls or contemplates one to Asia. This overpowering corporation is reputed to own one hundred and sixteen millions of property. Its stockholders have within a year advanced it more than one-fourth that amount. Its projected improvements and extensions are estimated at a sum too startling to put into figures.

And while against such mighty rivals for the Pacific trade a north-western communication is attempted from Lake Superior to Puget Sound through a wilderness, we must remember that there are other parts of our country comparatively near our own markets, abounding in mineral and agricultural resources, and lying undeveloped for want of Railways. Old Virginia is crying out for Railways. Even Illinois pleads for more Railways. The whole South is demanding Railways. The wealth that could be rendered available in the populated portions of our country by Railways is incalculable.

Now certainly the business of Railways is to carry. They are organized, incorporated, and intended to transport values. In America, however, their sphere has been indefinitely enlarged. They would populate the wilderness, invite immigration, construct harbors, navigate oceans, sell lands, speculate in iron-beds, and coal-fields, and oil-wells, nominate candidates, influence elections, use legislatures, govern Congress, seize, hold, and direct the operations of society and of government.

There is something grand in all this. The Railway King is a true monarch. He has his dependents, his revenues, his court, his palace—everything but throne, crown, sceptre, and pedigree. Nor is he unknown to the royal stock of Europe. The glitter of his power and of his pocket has sometimes dazzled both the old world and the new. He often goes abroad in a species of state, amid the smiles of his fellow kings and emperors, while after all, his republican countrymen at home are in some way paying for his luxuries and splendors.

Now that with all these magnificent plans of extension and

improvement and riches and power, the people at large should be dazzled, is not wonderful. The enterprise is so boundless, so brilliant, so fascinating! In every community there are persons of small means who want large returns, and are always ready for a tempting bait. This class too often includes those who are at once credulous, and dependent—the young, the aged, the ignorant. If the trap is only glittering, they are easily snared. But that shrewd men of business, with solid opportunities of investment, should put their money into gigantic phantoms *is* amazing. Where have the funds come from which so long inflated and floated this great northern bubble? We sadly fear, indeed, that widows and orphans have contributed their pennies. Laborers have risked their hard earnings. Lawyers, doctors, professors, especially clergymen, have been drawn into the venture. Even the hard-fisted farmer has been persuaded to turn his butter and eggs into mortgage bonds, while abroad flourishing European tourists, who slept complacently on plethoric letters of credit, have waked in the morning to find themselves dunned and snubbed by shop-keepers, landlords, and servants whose pestering subserviency had been the day before despised.

With a mighty enterprise, appealing to the fancy, and the pocket, managed by an eminent financier—having a national reputation and deserving the national gratitude—sincerely honest, and wildly infatuated—and moving an enormous machinery of commercial and political influence, delusion among unsuspecting people was inevitable. But merchants, bankers, brokers, have been caught. Their deposits used for the purposes of the airy enterprise have been immense. Indeed, two continents have been helping sail our balloons.

Nearly all the financial countries of Europe have contributed to our American fever, and sometimes themselves burned with its delirious flames. They have loaned to us where they would not lend to each other. After repeated robberies they have almost begged to be robbed again. Often they seem to have reversed the old proverb about fire and fingers. They have obligingly turned their gold into our iron, and converted their securities into rolling stock, and considerably covered our Republic with highways for us and our posterity. Nay! they have even invested in our telegraphic lightning. Of course this proceeded from a pure generosity. There was no thought of large profits in the reckless transactions. Europe has resembled a rich old fellow amid his piles of money-bags, taking pleasure in giving some gay young rake his spare cash, and laughing at the rogue while he enjoyed it.

Thus all the world together have been for years chasing some of the hugest delusions which ever burst in ruin over a nation.

We must remember, however, that the lack of confidence resulting in a catastrophe which has maddened Wall street, disturbed the country, and indirectly affected all commercial nations, had its origin in causes even more remote than those indicated.

Our spirit of speculation began in the midst of our civil war, and our rush of extravagance with its close. While patriots were fighting, contractors were plundering. Fraud followed our Flag almost into the blaze of battles. Villains preyed on heroes. Not only the food and clothing and arms of our soldiers were means of amassing fortunes, but there were doubtless men who traded in the coffins and graves of patriots—making profit out of death itself. What was gained by cowardly rascality was squandered in ostentatious folly. Thus ever in war is the glory of victory stained by extortion and robbery.

Especially in our great commercial metropolis was a species of barbaric display and crime carried to the most extreme extravagance. The Erie venture—at once comic and tragic—ludicrous, grotesque and terrible—began in fraud, flourished on robbery, ended in murder. Justice was bought and sold in our streets. What ever equaled that systematic villainy which held by the throat the City and the State of New York, and supported by its plunderings men who with their ruffians and retainers kept a species of baronial state like that of some old feudal lord whose business was raid and battle? A debt of more than a hundred millions was piled upon our treasury, and the edifice to be erected and adorned, stands a yet unfinished monitor of our wrongs. The money taken from New York alone would make her piers and docks superior to those of Liverpool, and her harbor unrivaled in the world, rescuing from the waves wide magnificent avenues, surpassing London's on the Thames, and which could be lined with stately stores and shaded with noble trees for twenty miles along the North and East rivers.

Nor were the developments in our national legislature last winter specially fitted to promote public confidence. We would draw a curtain over the sad history, and drop a tear on some graves. It is not our province here to pass judgment on any member of Congress, living or dead, who ever drew a dollar on Credit Mobilier bonds. This much we venture. The investigations of the Committee, and the explanations of the accused certainly gave a shock to the faith of the American people in the purity and the manliness of statesmen who had been their trusted guides and leaders. Nor have they yet recovered

from the blow. The frauds of New York, and the revelations of Washington have done their part in undermining the structure of a false system of credit whose wrecks are now scattered over our country.

And the elements themselves have been engaged in working their portion of the ruin. Fire and wind conspired together. First is scourged a young city, the type of our American enterprise, lying on a lake, penetrated by a river, with every provision of water modern skill could devise; and then an old city, which imagined itself fortified against the flames by all attainable expedients possible to the wealth and wisdom of mature age. In Chicago, in Boston, in Baltimore, and other places of our country, large and small, within two years, five hundred millions of property have been converted into smoke, ashes and ruins—wrecking individuals, embarrassing banks, breaking down insurance companies, and disturbing the course of trade in all sections of our Republic.

These are some of the events which, working together during years, have at last burst forth into the recent commercial earthquake whose convulsions, so widely felt, are yet heard in ominous rumblings beneath the surface of society.

There is a deeper cause we have hesitated to approach. Railway Kings are not wholly to blame. They have enough to bear without any unjust censures on majesty. Festering in our country is a national malady not to be cured by assaulting monopolies, or tinkering banks. Our Tweeds and our Fisks have not made all our trouble. They are only the plague-spots of a disease seated in our moral nature. With boundless confidence in the general character of our people, and the splendid future of our Republic, we yet know that our conscience as a nation has become blunted. Croaking is detestable to young America. Our emblem is not a raven but the eagle. Still it is just where faith in our stars is a power and a joy that we can dare to be honest, and to be manly.

We will appeal to facts every sensible citizen admits. Our ways of business are corrupt. A decline in honor is nearly universal. Let us begin with our great commercial centre, where adventurers from every part of our country and our world crowd to seek their fortunes, and where is found, therefore, concentrated and intensified, all that is best and worst in American life. Here merchants and bankers are necessarily the prevailing classes, and in no place on earth are they exposed to such temptations and perils.

A man owns a large house on the avenue, and occupies a princely store. The costs of living are enormous. If he invests nothing in pic-

tures, statues, silks, jewelry, equipages, dinners, club-houses, yachts, racers, tours, and watering-places, and keeps within the circle of admitted comforts and conveniences, his pecuniary burdens are not inconsiderable. If he dashes into luxuries and ostentations, sooner or later, he is doomed. Competition is intense, merciless, murderous. Sharks charitably prefer other fish. Traders and brokers too often devour each other. They are goaded to frightful and unnatural exertions. All conceivable means are contrived to extend business. Clerks, runners, puffs, advertisements, rivalries, keep the whole establishment in a fever. It sometimes resembles a boiler hissing over white heat. When ordinary appliances fail, and trade languishes and ruin lowers, the merchant unites to his own the recklessness of the broker, and resorts to a speculation on Wall street. Here are many graves of worth and credit. Failure and dishonor follow desperate ventures, and the whole standard of morals is lowered, and the public conscience injured. The contagion of a bad example affects every boy in the store, and every man on the street, and spreads through all departments of trade, and all ramifications of society.

The temptation of the Banker is even more subtle and dangerous. He is in business not solely for himself. He guards a treasure made sacred by the rights of others. Often the living of the widow and the orphan is lying in his vaults. Helpless infancy and halting age are alike leaning on his honor. His bad faith may carry ruin into a hundred homes. Not only can he rob the poor, but wreck the most prosperous banking, manufacturing, and commercial enterprises. If he turn knave, the pulses of many a heart, and the wheels of many an establishment, may stand still. Would we could write his responsibility on his soul! He stands connected with all the avocations of business, the interests of society, the operations of government, and is a trustee of the reputation of his country. For him to touch a dollar entrusted by others, and use it even in speculation, is inevitable disaster. Indeed, he should be held accountable by the severest pains and penalties of the law for the administration of his office. If nothing else, visions of cells and striped jackets should hold back his fingers. Yet within a few years how many of our trustees of money have commenced with improper ventures in the use of funds they intended to replace, and ended with the pistol, the rope, and the river, spreading horror through the community, and impairing faith in human nature! Or if they have dared to continue a dishonored existence, the impunity of their crimes through the weakness of juries and the connivance of judges, has been more tainting than suicide itself.

But after all, the modern Monopolist stands on the top of the mountain of temptation. Towering over all the rest is the Railway King. Heaven help him not to tumble from the clouds over precipices into the chasms roaring beneath to receive him! His example moulds, directly and indirectly, thousands of dependents. If he rob, they will steal and pilfer. Little fishes are just as rapacious as whales, and in their proportion swallow as much. If the monarch be a plunderer, the subjects will follow the ways of the court, and the example of the crown. He controls a railway which is the only great thoroughfare for a state, or even a nation. His monopoly is his empire. A rival road would interfere with his royal privilege. A municipality stands in his way; a jury is to be gained over; a judge is to be secured; a legislature is to be influenced. His path is plain,—his agent is ready,—his inducements are overwhelming,—he himself need not to be known in a transaction, which one moment will finish in a nook of his library, or a recess of his office. Nothing more brief or simple, or concealed. A check to bearer is sufficient. We have no hesitation in saying that a name written to buy *men* does more to debase him who compels an unwilling pen to an unworthy purpose, and to corrupt all around him,—destroy credit, kill faith, poison society, injure the country, prejudice religion—than we can ever estimate in time, or in eternity.

It is often in these hidden and noiseless deeds we have the seeds of our panics. What is done secretly will appear openly. The closet will become the housetop. You cannot keep down the stream in the dark places of the earth. Your effort will make it a flood. He who would stop the river must expect the deluge.

One law is unchangeable as Heaven. Corruptions make cowards, and cowards make panics. We can now interpret what we should have understood before. While the storm is on the world, we admire its power, and tremble before its majesty, but when the violence is expended, and the air is calm, and the sky clear, we can study the causes and principles of the agitation.

Let us honestly admit the truth, and manfully apply the remedy. The peril in our American life is dishonesty. This produces the lack of confidence which is the root of panics. Slavery involved us in the flames of a civil war. Better it should have burned us to ashes than we should survive to perish hereafter in corruptions. The urn is less offensive than the putrescence of the grave. Our very existence is at stake. American life presents an anomalous spectacle. We are socially pure and commercially depraved. Men who are up-

right in their neighborhood, and admirable in their homes, will, habitually and knowingly, and systematically, do wrong in their business. Nay! even churches, to draw crowds, and rent pews, and raise revenues, will resort, not only to sensationalism in choir and pulpit, but make earth blush and heaven weep over tricks which are degrading, demoralizing, and insulting to all manliness and religion.

Nor is the malady confined only to men in distinguished position. It affects all classes of our Republic. The tainted streams on the summit percolate the entire mountain.

Of all the sins of humanity *Bribery* is perhaps the meanest. Most other crimes are possible to a single transgressor. Here there must be two parties to the guilt—the man who gives and the man who takes. Both are debased. There may be daring in robbery, and courage in murder. The peculiarity of Bribery is its cowardice. It sneaks, it cringes, it hides, it winds, it twists, it wriggles, it skulks. It is not a lion roaring, and rushing on its prey, but a serpent lurking in the grass to infuse its poison before crushing with its coils. A man who abuses his office, warps his judgment, and twists his conscience for a bribe, sells his soul by his act, and ever after lives expecting a higher bidder for himself; and he is like nitro-glycerine, dangerous to his purchaser.

Now it is a painful and mortifying fact, that nearly everything in our country has, in some way, directly or indirectly, been controlled by bribes. Mechanics, overseers, builders, contractors, architects, have been bribed. Clerks, merchants, bankers, have been bribed. Constables, policemen, collectors, inspectors, weighers, measurers, gaugers, postmasters, have been bribed. Lawyers, doctors, chemists, analysts, surgeons, witnesses, have been bribed. Judges, juries, legislators, governors have been bribed. We have sometimes feared that it would be difficult to place a stone, or a timber, or a lock, or a screw, or a nail in your house, that has not somewhere on its passage felt the stain of a bribe. It is doubtful whether the food which supports our lives, or the coffins which will convey us to our graves, can wholly escape contamination. The consequence is, disturbed faith in each other, and sometimes a distrust of our country and our humanity, with a fear like a shadow, that on all modern European and American societies is but the old doom of ancient Babylon and Rome. One faith alone saves from despair. That is sufficient, but not here to be discussed.

Certain is it that panics and the other evils we have named, are but eruptions of disease on the surface of the body politic. Our

nation from our civil war has been preparing for our recent commercial disasters. The timbers of the edifice of our public credit had been secretly decaying long before the weakened structure was threatened with its crash. Many underlying sands must be washed away to make the mountain fall.

Our best illustration of the whole subject is found in a ruin long slowly preparing, but fearfully precipitated by the dishonored bills of a single great financier. Just here, our argument and our appeal will be to men of business.

One of your number, after a few years of prosperous accumulation retires from Broadway, or from Wall Street, yet in his manly vigor, to expend his remaining activities in the cultivation of the earth. He buys a farm. The soil is rich, and the timber excellent, while iron and coal abound in a mountain near its centre. On either side is a noble river commanding the markets of the country. The owner, excited by visions of glittering wealth, and splendid improvement, begins to build roads between the streams bordering his land. Every thing is done by him on a liberal scale. His highways are level, hard, wide, convenient, admirable. He invests largely in horses and wagons. When his funds begin to fail, he inspires his neighbors with his own enthusiasm, and by appealing now to their fancies, and again to their pockets, contrives to obtain more than they can afford to lend, or he to borrow. After exhausting his money and his credit, he issues promises to pay secured by bond and mortgage on his houses, his lands, his vehicles, his everything. The whole community becomes involved, and at last he has nothing left to till his fields, or work his mines, but is driven to shifts and artifices to sustain his tottering ventures. Eventually a note is unpaid, his neighbors fail, the community is bankrupt, and while he sees around him noble avenues and superb vehicles, his scheme is a wreck, his farm lies undeveloped, and his labors and expenditures inure to the benefit of others. His mistake was that he invested too large a proportion of his capital in secondary means of transportation, and left too little to be employed in the primary production of values.

Now here is our vast national farm, with its boundless resources of soil and mine, lying between the two great oceans of the world, and in the best conceivable situation to command its markets. There is no sham in our location. There is no sham in our agricultural and mineral resources. There is no sham in our genius and in our enterprise. There is no sham in the lavish gifts of Heaven. There *is* a sham in all our commercial ways. We are in some respects warring

against nature herself, and she is punishing our revolt, and our temerity. We have a treasure in population, and territory, and wealth, and institutions, never before committed to a people, and if we do not cultivate the bounty of the Almighty, it is because our race, by some inevitable law, is destined to destruction. We have recklessly diverted our capital from the creation of other essential values, and necessary channels of trade, and unnaturally, and disproportionately forced it into a few great highways of transportation. By anticipating the future, and building for posterity, these gigantic Railway Monopolies have absorbed the means required by many indispensable industries. The whole process has been carried forward by those unwholesome, and often corrupting methods which too much pervade our entire commercial and political life, but in the case of these particular corporations on a scale corresponding to their overshadowing influence and resources. The imposing and splendid structure shook in all its parts when the first great stone in its treacherous foundation was moved away from beneath its burdened pillars.

We must come back to first principles. The Railway should cease to live on stimulants. It has been petted and pampered and spoiled by expensive luxuries. Hereafter let it be content with the plain food of the land. Let it quit chasing speculations, navigating oceans, building empires, and piling structures into the clouds for the benefit of our grandchildren. It must come down to its homely work of digging earth, blasting rocks, laying tracks, buying rolling stock, and carrying coal and oil and cattle and bales and boxes and passengers. Never should it aspire to dwell in palaces, dress in purple and walk among kings. Let it be an honest servant of a democratic people, if not doing its work noiselessly, at least performing it faithfully.

And let all sensible people follow the good example! Let every citizen imitate every railway in attending to his own business, while he lives modestly, pays as he goes, helps his neighbor and is old-fashioned enough to love his country! Diamonds and dinners have too often overtaxed the brains and purses of merchants and bankers. We should indeed more and more cultivate art and music and poetry and history and science and philosophy. But books, statues, pictures, operas and clubs should never gratify the mind at the expense of the business. Americans frequently rob the store to furnish the house. The attractions of New York are not in the wharves and piers and harbor improvements and river edifices, which make her wealth, but too much along the splendid avenues where it is spent. Our social glitter hence is often tinsel. Trade-tricks and stock-gam-

blings will decrease just in proportion as we are wise in our families and true to the great laws by which the Almighty as surely controls society as he governs the universe. And such should be the purity and sensitiveness of conscience that every man who abuses a trust in business, or is guilty of any crime, should be marked and execrated. Guilt should be condemned by public opinion before it is convicted by juries, sentenced by judges, and consigned to the penitentiary, or punished on the gallows. In short, we must quit flying kites, sailing balloons and making life a sham, and descend to the rules of common sense and common honesty, and request our officials, state and national, including the President and his Cabinet, to encourage us in our honorable course.

While pursuing this subject, often has risen before us the image of the Great Financier whose fame fills the world. When a cloud of war covered his country he proved a friend. She required more than men and courage and patriotism. In her dark hours of peril a sum had to be raised so great that the enterprise seemed like piling a mountain of gold into the skies. A man was found equal to the task. The means were provided. The treasury was filled. The national credit was preserved. The army was supplied. Our Flag was triumphant.

After a success so brilliant it was not wonderful that so gifted a financier should seek, with the conclusion of the war, a field suitable to his developed activities. Before him rises the vision of a city on the Pacific, a peopled wilderness, a railway between two oceans controlling the trade of two continents. He if any man, sitting amid the bloom of his conservatories, and the splendors of his palace, can realize his dreams and wear the crown of a success so dazzling and so fascinating. But the achievement was beyond mortal power. A wilderness devoured all the fabulous sums that could be commanded. Even an appeal to Europe is unexpectedly vain. The phantom cries—"more gold!" It was like feeding a lean monster with a man's own flesh, and at last draining away his blood drop by drop to smear the hungry jaws. With the prospect of ruined credit and widespread disaster when a single bill was refused payment, we can imagine the agony as there passed from the bank to the wilderness deposits sacred as the tears of distress—sacred as the interests of patrons, and the rights of friends—sacred as the voice of conscience, the nobility of manhood, the character of our country, and the honor of our religion.

We are glad Europe declined sending more money for the benefit of speculators, and posterity. She is now like the old gentleman

who sees the folly of his spendthrift boy. It is not desirable to take our Railways out of her pocket. She has already invested enough where the loss is all hers, and the gain is all ours. We have indeed, use for all the capital she can spare. But let her lend to us as she would to borrowers at home, and sharply examine our credit. She should send over commissioners who will not be dazzled by fine stories and fine dinners, and who will never recommend giving us a dollar but on the best security. When all the relations of Europe and America are on a basis of shrewd sense, sterling honesty, and reciprocal interest, the new world and the old will understand and esteem each other, and each particular nation will share an individual benefit. *Then* will mutual intercourse prove a mutual blessing. Notwithstanding the glaring and monstrous faults of our young Republic, they will eventually be known as mere excrescences, while beneath the surface—in the roots and the trunk of the social tree—will be detected the circulation of a deathless sap destined yet to be developed into a bloom and fruitage which will make our national character command universal respect and admiration.

One final word in regard to our great railway projects. Corrupt as they have often been, they have not always sprung from a mad love of gain. The vastness of our domain, the magnificence of our situation, the splendor of our resources, the glory of our constitution, the brilliance of promise in a country attracting all races to mingle the blood of our humanity, and promote its last development, so expand the minds, and color the imaginations of a young people, that their plans insensibly swell to gigantic and impossible proportions.

If our wildest enterprises were at this hour realized they would prove practically final failures.

Conceive a completed Railway from Puget Sound to New York Harbor! Let it erect a metropolis, and populate a wilderness! Let it build at its eastern terminus a line of steamers to Europe, and at its western, one to Asia, and succeed in controlling the trade of two continents! It has passed beyond its sphere and must pay the penalty of violated law. Oceanic transportation is one thing and inland transportation is another as different as the sea from the land. Such a monopoly would be unmanageable. From want of minute economic inspection at its extremities, and efficient superintendence from its centre, it would become loose and extravagant in all its operations. At last degenerating into a scheme of boundless official plunder, it would perish from its corruptions, strewing our country with its wrecks, and startling the world with its crash.

Not even the General Government could control interests so vast and so complicated. It seems plausible to consign to it a monopoly of Finance, and Railway and Telegraph. But there is a limit to human capacity; divisions of labor are essential. Our Republic can no more be a National Banker or Telegraph Operator or Railway King, than it can turn Religious Teacher and control the revenues and appointments of a State Establishment. Its sole sphere is to guard rights. In the multiplied processes of modern society, functions must be distributed, and financial difficulties will always result from undue stimulations of capital into any department, and from absurd attempts in great corporations to monopolize powers and enterprises which do not belong to them.

Out of our troubles will ensue benefit. The recklessness of Europe in making loans, and the extravagance of America in projecting plans, have covered our country with Railways. Where the enterprise fails in the present it will be resumed in the future. The money is not lost, nor are the schemes all air. They cover the earth with improvements which will realize brighter dreams to posterity than those which have given them their birth.

And in another way will come a blessing.

We all remember what an incubus was Slavery on our Republic. North and South shared, although unequally, the guilt. Europe derived an indirect profit, and sometimes upheld the system. Heaven at last took away the roots of the evil, distributing the punishment in proportion to the crime.

As slavery before the war, so since the war CORRUPTION has hung over our country like a cloud. The earth stood aghast before our frauds. A reckoning came. At our great commercial centre began the purgation, and the perpetrators of the wrongs, if not all punished, are at least exposed and execrated. Justice then passed over to our national capital, there to cut another tangled web of corruption. Since the two processes commenced, some of the actors have been stamped with infamy; some have been driven into social exile; one perished by a pistol; others died from mortification—all have been tortured by chagrin, or remorse, or despair.

The work will not stop. Individuals and monopolies will be sifted before all ends. No man and no corporation will stand where there is not beneath a basis of solid property and sterling integrity. We resemble those walking over a bridge crowded by rushing thousands who know the arches are trembling and the pillars tottering, and that any moment may tumble them into the abyss. Dreadful as is the

catastrophe, there can be no security until it is over. When the present structure of our financial credit falls finally, it will be succeeded by a better built on honesty and wisdom. Our Republic is preparing by a discipline of suffering to fulfil that mission for humanity destined by Heaven.

To assist its sound and healthful development, and unite it more closely to the whole world, is the purpose of the INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

Again and again we have mentioned Europe and America. It is because they are so bound together that they cannot be discussed apart. Indeed all national life is a distribution from a common fountain. As Europe was derived from Asia, so America sprang from Europe. Civilization, beginning in the East, has moved towards the West, and must on our Pacific coast reach its necessary limit. To our Republic, across the two great oceans, are flowing all races, that, fusing, they may realize in type and image the dream of our humanity for its universal fellowship. Our immigration is now so diffusive that a throb here is felt everywhere. Perhaps, notwithstanding our youth, as we are thus closely united to the world, we are best fitted to represent it. Hence as we are more sensitive than any other people to influences from all parts of our globe, and as we seek aid from the more mature wisdom of the lands of our progenitors, it will not be deemed immodest, or improper, that on our new shores should be established an INTERNATIONAL REVIEW which shall seize and fix and transmit the spirit of a new era where science, working with such plain agents as iron and copper and zinc and acids and water, is making tangible and visible by steam and electricity the vision of the poet, the aim of the philanthropist and the faith of the christian.

We will be pardoned in pausing for a moment to explain more fully the object of an enterprise so vast and so important.

The INTERNATIONAL REVIEW, while published in America, calls Europe to share its work, and placing itself in sympathy with healthful progress everywhere, would furnish facts and arguments to the people by contributions from the best pens at home and abroad. It would have each country photographed by itself, and thus present a faithful picture of the world. Many eminent writers, as shown by its prospectus, have been already secured for its pages. It would interpret the spirit of nations and of the age in forms, always popular, never sensational. With reverence for christianity, and love for our constitution it would pierce every sham of church and state, and reach the solid truth, however hard the soil, or great the distance to

be penetrated. It would ally itself closely with art, science, literature, and whatever pertains to the physical, social, political, or religious developments of the times. It would humbly seek truth, and boldly proclaim conviction, aiming to be manly and progressive, but never reckless. It would criticise books with fairness to the author, and fidelity to the public, and strive to elevate style while avoiding literary pretense and classic pedantry. It would discuss all principles and measures in a spirit large and noble. No party, no sect, no corporation shall buy its support, or influence its course.

The names of both the American and European writers of the INTERNATIONAL REVIEW stand pledges to the country and the world that it has not been rashly undertaken. We hope it will not be feebly conducted.

ARTICLE II.

FIRES IN AMERICAN CITIES.

Prof. A. P. PEABODY, D.D.

AMONG the most alarming features of our recent history—peculiar to this country—are the frequency and destructiveness of fires in our cities and larger towns. Leaving out the exceptional cases of Chicago and Boston, the daily record of fires embraces property estimated always by tens, often by hundreds of thousands, not rarely by millions of dollars. It is impossible to obtain statistics, or to make even approximate calculations; but we have little doubt that the tax paid to the fire-king has for the last three years exceeded the entire revenue of the United States. If we add to the property thus consumed, the losses by flood, storm and shipwreck, there may be reason to apprehend that the annual surplus products of our national industry are nearly or quite canceled by these casualties. It is certain, also, that fires have increased in frequency and extent much faster than the population and wealth of the cities devastated by them have grown,—a fact which, as to wealth, is concealed from general recognition, in part, by the large amount of ready money paid in insurance and thus sent into circulation after every great fire, and in part by the enhanced valuation almost always put upon the denuded sites which are a favorite arena of speculators in real estate. It is equally certain that, under seemingly like conditions, fires are less manageable than formerly; that is, that under the most favorable circumstances, a small fire is much more likely to grow into a large one, and a large one to outgrow the resources of human labor, skill and science. We propose to consider some of the causes of this condition of things, and to suggest such remedies as have presented themselves to our careful reflection. If our hints have in themselves no practical value, they may at least be of worth in leading wiser minds and more able pens to undertake the discussion of a subject of vital importance to the prosperity of our people.

We will first inquire how far our insurance system is answerable for the losses which it is designed to replace. We yield to none in admiration for the principle of insurance, and regard its establishment

on a scientific basis, its efficiency, its extension to risks and contingencies of every description, as among the foremost achievements of modern civilization. It so distributes losses and calamities, else crushingly heavy, that no member of the community need feel their burden. It is like the conducting rod that draws harmless to the ground the thunderbolt full-fraught with death and ruin. But the rod may attract the bolt it discharges; and there is reason to fear that insurance multiplies the disasters which it neutralizes. No one who has examined the subject, can doubt that the number of preventable fires very far exceeds those, the causes of which could not have been foreseen and guarded against.

The instances are by no means few in which there is reason to believe that the owner of the property himself kindles the fire. This, from the very nature of the case, it is generally impossible to prove. Incendiarism almost always escapes detection; and it is especially easy for a man thus to work on his own premises, where he can choose his time, conceal his preparations, and arrange beforehand circumstantial evidence to avert suspicion. Meanwhile, his reputation is protected. His neighbors may think him guilty; but they dare not whisper the charge, which may lead to a suit for defamation and heavy damages,—a result which has repeatedly ensued on one's giving voice to the belief of an entire community, based too on amply sufficient grounds, though not on legally admissible evidence. Yet, unlawful though it be, it is right to think ill, and it ought to be lawful to speak ill, of any man who derives pecuniary benefit from the destruction of his property. If his building or goods be manifestly over-insured; if his stock has been suffered to decline without replenishment, or has become unsalable; if it is certain, beyond dispute, that by no other possible way he could have made his property so lucrative as by burning it,—then the entire burden of proof as to his innocence rests on him; and if he cannot show how the fire originated, the public has a right to regard him as its author. He has placed himself in a position which no honest and honorable man can occupy, and the presumption, therefore, is against him,—a presumption justly strengthened by any unusual circumstance in his conduct, even though it have in itself no evidential value.

Now there can be no question that by this criterion of judgment the cases of incendiarism by the owners of property burned have been very numerous, and that some of the most destructive conflagrations are to be traced to this cause. Such fires have commenced in the interior of the building,—often, we are told, where no light or fire

could have lawfully been,—perhaps shortly after the proprietor is known to have left the premises,—perhaps after he had dismissed his assistants at an unusually early hour—sometimes, without involving the loss of certain valuables which by an unaccountable instinct the owner had for once been moved to put out of danger,—sometimes, at the hour of night when an alarm is the most tardily given,—sometimes, in broad daylight, yet with a rapidity of combustion inconceivable unless prearranged,—very often too,—it must be acknowledged in mitigation of judgment—under conditions of wind and weather unfavorable to the spreading of the flames, were it not that they, once kindled, create their own whirls and eddies of wind though there be a dead calm around.

Insurance renders many persons careless who could not be guilty of crime. Formerly—some of our readers have lived long enough to know—special and minute care of the fires was an essential part of the nightly routine in every house, shop and counting-room,—an office seldom left to a deputy, but performed by the master or mistress of the establishment. Careful inspection was made, first, with a light; in the best usage with a lantern; then without a light, with eyes and nostrils equally on the alert. If like care is exercised now, it must be only here and there by some worshiper of the past. Young America disdains the curfew rites. Meanwhile, the furnace, with its flues often liable to overheating, has replaced the broad screen-fenced hearth; explosive liquids or gases have superseded oil; while for the ancient flint and steel, from which only skilled and resolute hands could elicit a spark, we have the lucifer match, lying and thrown about in all sorts of places, ready to be ignited by a foot-fall, a mouse's tooth, or even the torrid sun-heat of a summer noon. Improvements all these undoubtedly are, if under intelligent and responsible custody and management; but the conscious security which insurance inspires has taken the place of vigilance precisely at the time when buildings can be made safe at no other price.

It is believed that, under shelter of an adequate insurance-policy, many persons who would indignantly spurn the thought of a criminal act, contentedly leave their buildings or heating apparatus in what they know to be an insecure condition, and postponing repairs or alterations of the necessity of which they are fully aware. "I am well insured, there's no need of haste," is sometimes said, and is no doubt much oftener thought. Sometimes destruction by fire is openly proclaimed to be desirable. We have known even the trustees of a religious society to express the hope that their church-edifice would burn, adding

“ It is insured for as much as it is worth, and while it stands, it is impossible for the society to unite in building a new church.” Such wardens will not, indeed, light the match ; but they will be slow to detect a flaw in furnace-flue or smoke-pipe, and the coldest Sunday in the following winter will probably number this desired catastrophe among the burnings of churches which every year signalize that day in our ecclesiastical annals.

All the crime and carelessness of which we have spoken may be traced, not indeed to the system of insurance, or to its avowed principles and rules, but to the absurdly reckless method of its administration. If only men of known probity and of careful habits could obtain insurance, and if their policies were voidable on proof of negligence or the lack of due precaution, the insurers would throw their influence on the side of public safety. But, practically, every man can secure insurance on all kinds of property, for its entire value or more, under whatever degree of exposure ; and, in case of loss, unless the charge of incendiarism be proved against him beyond dispute, he can obtain, in remuneration, generally all that he claims, or if the claim be controverted, all that his books—which may be prepared for such a contingency—will show to have been consumed. Insurance stock is not, indeed, in the average of a long series of years, more productive than other stocks ; but there are periods of ten or twelve successive years for which particular companies pay enormous dividends. Such prosperous seasons, together with the proclivity to gambling which makes many persons prefer hazardous to safe investments, multiply insurance companies beyond the spontaneous demand and actual need of the community. The business that would naturally come to them would be insufficient for the support of this growing number of separate corporations. They must therefore seek business and make it ; and in the sharp competition that necessarily ensues, so far from waiting for the owner of property to apply for insurance as a benefit to him personally, the company seeks him out, follows him up, and will give him no rest until he has conferred upon it, or its more insinuating rival, the favor of his patronage. “ Beggars cannot be choosers ;” and by the mendicant position in which insurance companies have placed themselves, they have surrendered the privilege of selecting risks, imposing imperative conditions, and making searching scrutiny for the guidance of their operations.

The rivalry of which we speak is rendered the more keen and reckless by the appearance of mutual companies on the field. Let the stock-

offices reduce the rates even below the point of safety, there is a possibility, under the most favorable circumstances, of still cheaper insurance. If risks be widely scattered, a body of property-owners may be mutually insurers and insured for several years with very small assessments or none; and though such a body generally finds itself overtaken at length by a heavy assessment, the prospect of temporary immunity from payment frequently gives these companies the vantage-ground in competition, especially as the insured person has the ghost of a potential return-premium presented to his cupidity. The success of a mutual company, obviously, must depend on its transacting so large an amount of business, that the advanced payment on new premium-notes shall meet the current expenses and satisfy the petty losses which are constantly occurring.

Of course, the only assurance of a reasonably safe business for a company of either class is that its transactions be not concentrated, but distributed over a wide extent of territory, and not in great cities only, but in every region in which there is a town or village large enough to serve as a base for operation. Hence the necessity of employing in distant places agents whose contracts shall bind the company; otherwise the insurance of each city or district would be effected with its own local offices. Of course, a minute *surveillance* cannot be maintained by the directing board of each company,—especially when there are on the ground, in every considerable place, agents of trans-Atlantic companies, who—necessarily untrammelled—would procure the lion's share of the business, were not the agents of our domestic offices enabled to act with equal promptness, and with equal certainty of having their doings ratified.

We have, then, the insurance business, practically, in the hands of an army of several thousand agents of companies, stock and mutual, domestic and foreign, each of them obliged, in order to stand well with his employers, to keep up a brisk demand for new or renewed policies, and thus with very strong inducements to accept in behalf of his company risks of every description. But this is not all. The agents are generally paid in proportion to the business they do, and the usual compensation is fifteen per cent of all the money received on policies. There is hardly any more lucrative employment than this for a man of smooth tongue and bland manners. There have been cases in which a single year's commissions have exceeded the combined salaries of the Supreme Bench of the United States. We have known instances in which a thousand dollars have been thus received—not to say earned—in a single week, and there are afloat sto-

ries which, if mythical, are yet typical, of a like sum pocketed in a single day. Now if these agents are all rigidly honest men, it is too much to suppose them all so clear-sighted and so thoroughly purged from unconscious reference to their own interest, as to look with judicial strictness and severity at every risk that is offered them. Is it not conceivable that a man who means to do right, in his complaisance for the man who has the good sense to single him out from his brother-agents, and in his unwillingness to lose what in any other industry he could earn only by a week's labor, should really believe his client's building, goods or operations safer than they appear to the rest of the community? This unconscious leaning in the direction in which their gain lies is the heaviest charge that we would make against insurance agents as a class; for we have no doubt that this profession has its full quota of conscientious and honorable men. But there are among them some who are manifestly unscrupulous, and a very few such would suffice to account for numberless fires that ought not to take place. It is certain that some agents will accept risks that others refuse. Persons who have had their property burned more than once, under suspicious circumstances, can still obtain insurance, and we have yet to learn that there is a person, whatever his character, or however perilous his business, who has been everywhere rejected. Nay, we doubt whether there exists an owner of uninsured property, who has not repeatedly encountered the importunate solicitations of insurance agents. Indeed, there is something weird, almost preternatural, in the *clairvoyance* by which these agents know when one's policy is about expiring, or divine the list of potential clients for their services on the dissolution or bankruptcy of a company.

It is perfectly evident that fires cannot diminish in frequency so long as this system remains unchecked. The first movement of reform should be directed toward the agencies. The stimulus to unscrupulous temerity in the risks admitted to insurance should be checked, by legislation, if necessary, but rather, were it possible, by the general demand of good citizens. Let the agents have a stated compensation, fully equal to what they would receive for services of like skill and responsibility in a bank or a financial bureau of any kind. If this compensation be increased from time to time, let it be on the ground, not of the amount of business done, but of the prudence, integrity and fidelity with which it is transacted. Let each be expected to do his share of the safe business in and around his place of residence, and to keep himself and his employers well

informed as to the condition of the property which has their guaranty. Let it be regarded as a merit in him to refuse a doubtful risk, and to make the insured person, as he really is, the obliged party of the two. . By this method the profits of the companies would be largely increased, and their stability to a great degree secured ; for not only do the risks that would be declined on prudential grounds occasion a very large proportion of the losses which insurers must pay, but the initiation of such a line of policy by the insurers could not fail to impose added caution on the insured, and to make the public intolerant of dangerous buildings and neighbors. Even now, it may be doubted whether there be a community which would not regard a building or business—not isolated—for which insurance could not be obtained, as a nuisance to be immediately abated.

There should be, in the next place, in the legal provisions connected with insurance, an inevitable penalty on carelessness, which, however free from bad intent, is always blameworthy, and merits at least a pecuniary mulct. We doubt whether it would be well to go the full length of the French law, which deprives of indemnity the person on whose premises a fire originates. Such a provision would undoubtedly prevent half of our fires ; but with us it would leave some very hard cases, while in France fires are of infrequent occurrence, and are commonly extinguished with slight damage, so that insurance is sought mainly with reference to the rare contingency of an extensive conflagration. But would any essential wrong be done, were the person on whose premises a fire commenced permitted to recover not more than two-thirds of the value of the property consumed ? An exception might be made in cases in which it could be clearly proved that the fire originated from a cause that could not have been foreseen and prevented ; but the presumption should be of carelessness in the absence of express evidence to the contrary. The negligence or folly of employés or servants should not be accepted as a plea in abatement of the penalty. In all other matters a man is responsible for the mistakes and failures of those in his service, and this rule is founded in equity ; for in whatever may compromise the well-being of those around him a man is bound to exercise personal circumspection and vigilance, unless he can delegate his charge to safe agents. When a servant of well-known stupidity and shiftlessness, who would not be entrusted with the delivery of a message or the removal of a porcelain vase, crams a stove or furnace with fuel, and so opens or closes drafts or registers as to make the combustion

of the nearest woodwork inevitable, the blame belongs wholly to the master or mistress, who is no more justified in committing heating apparatus to the charge of a dolt or a fool than in giving loaded fire-arms to the keeping of an infant or an idiot.

There is yet another responsibility which rests, if not on the insurers, on the legislatures in which the competent authority resides,—that of a judicial inquiry as to the cause of each specific conflagration, and the publication of the results of such inquiry. There are, indeed, cases in which the origin of a fire cannot be traced, or even imagined; but there are many more in which it would be easy to substantiate facts that would suggest a probable solution, and to the authentic materials for such a solution the endangered public has a right. This procedure would arrest groundless suspicion of criminality on the part of the owner of the property consumed; for unless he would be a gainer by its destruction, no one would suppose him guilty. But if he be over insured, the fact ought to be made public under official sanction, even though in every other respect his character for integrity be unimpeached.

A further benefit which would result from such inquiry would be the publicity thus given to culpable, though not criminal, carelessness. The architect, the carpenter, the mason, the adjuster of stoves, furnaces and funnels, to whose inadvertency or rashness a disastrous fire is chargeable, might thus be advertised as unworthy of confidence, and the numberless makeshifts that take the place of sincere and honest work would in this way be superseded by the very same selfish considerations to which they owe their existence. Artificers, in their respective departments of building, would expect to secure reputation, and the consequent profit, only by rigid and thorough fidelity.

We are aware that in several States fire-inquests may be held if the individuals most nearly concerned, or the local authorities, take the needed preliminary steps. But what is to be desired is a permanent tribunal, competent for and charged with this express duty, and legally bound to perform it in every case of sufficient magnitude to demand or authorize investigation. Unless judicial inquiry be a matter of course, it will be omitted in many cases when it would be of especial service whether in removing or confirming such suspicions as are often rife, and sometimes without substantial ground.

We would now speak of the methods of dealing with fires. Here the all-important element is time. We are almost always

told, with reference to a great conflagration, that when first discovered, it might have been extinguished with a bucket or two of water. But the person who makes the discovery, instead of seeking the water, raises the alarm, and he and such bystanders as may join him, wait passively for the advent of the fire-department, just as in a case of sudden death it used to be thought necessary to suspend all offices of humanity till the arrival of the coroner. The fire, however, does not wait, but spreads in a geometrical ratio corresponding to the arithmetical increments of time, and when the expected aid arrives, has passed beyond control. This is prone to be the case when the officials are alert and prompt. But there is always danger of needless delay. Sometimes the nearest engine with its custodians is gracing a civic procession, or, it may be, on exhibition at a firemen's parade fifty miles away. Sometimes a dispute between two rival engine companies must be settled or compromised, before either will do its work. Seldom, however, has there been a degree of fatuity to be compared with that which was the proximate cause of the great Boston fire of 1872. One would have thought that, had there remained a score of undiseased horses in such a city, they should have been impressed and kept in hand for the use of the fire-department. But on that ill-starred Saturday the stress of the horse-disease had been overpassed, the running of the street cars had been resumed, the convalescents far outnumbered the still diseased in all the stables; yet men were employed by the fire-department instead of horses, and so slow and tardy were they under the yoke, that an engine had arrived from Worcester before the remotest of the Boston engines reached the scene of action.

Then again, though in theory a steam fire-engine can be brought into play with great expedition, there are various practical hindrances which may occasion a fatal delay. In a narrow street or court it may be difficult to find an advantageous position for the engine, and if so, the requisite adjustment of the hose may be a slow and precarious operation, especially if, as was the case at the Boston fire, the department has not the paramount right of way, and reckless draymen—stimulated by exorbitant prices—have free license to drive over the hose and intercept the movements of the firemen. The steam-engine, too, is a rapid consumer, and must have not only a full supply, but an unintermitted flow of water, in order to attain its entire capacity of service; while not only blamable negligence, but circumstances that could not be foreseen or prevented may, at a particular time or place, render reservoirs, hydrants or service-pipes inadequate to the emer-

gency,—a condition of things tenfold more likely to occur from the fact that the fire and water departments are under the control of separate boards, the former having no immediate authority over the latter.

Another element of danger is to be found in the constitution of the fire-department in most of our large cities. The chief engineer or head of the department is generally chosen every year by the city council, and is often elected or removed on grounds entirely independent of his qualifications for the office. The best man that could be chosen is liable to be displaced by a change of national parties in the municipal government, and it is perfectly possible for an unscrupulous party fugleman to obtain the place, if he belong to that pestilential class of paupers that depend on the public crib for their subsistence. We have personally known an instance in which the sole assignable reason for ousting a competent chief engineer was that he had had a negro or mulatto grandfather, and that the examination of his features by strong gaslight revealed traces of his African ancestry. The firemen, too, are seldom of the class of men who are likely to combine prudence, skill, strength and persistency to the degree that seems desirable. Except in the city of New York, they are inadequately paid, and consequently cannot be recruited from the class of persons who are able and willing to give the best work for an ample and generous compensation. The deficit of wages is made up by the attractions of the engine-house, the opportunity for associations of a somewhat festive character, the convivial occasions growing out of such intercourse, the eclat of public exhibitions, and the excitement of professional excursions, receptions, parades and entertainments. This supplementary payment invites precisely the sort of persons who can best afford to be firemen, namely, young men with no definite trade or occupation, with a strong love for frolic and adventure, without family ties, in fine, such as live mainly for and in the fresh experience of the passing hour,—Bohemians, if we may use the term where neither art nor literature forms a part of its meaning. We would not say a word in reproach of those engaged in this service. We cannot forget the numerous instances of heroic daring and generous self-sacrifice which have often made their ranks illustrious. But a higher rate of payment might secure men trained and hardened by labor and exposure, while much more than the added compensation which such men would claim is now consumed in the ornamental and festive accessories of the department, which they should not need nor crave.

Fifty years ago, even in our large cities, every man was a fireman. In the towns and cities of New England, and probably in all the

Northern States, every householder was obliged, under penalties rigidly enforced, to keep certain buckets, bags and other apparatus in readiness or use, and the able-bodied man or boy who failed to obey the first summons of the alarm bell, and to work to the best of his ability till the fire was over, would have utterly lost caste. Every man and boy then understood the importance of pouring water on a fire the moment it was discovered, instead of waiting for the unrolling of sundry yards of red tape. The hand engines then in use were manned by volunteer companies which had not yet begun to be demoralized, and consisted, for the most part, of robust and energetic young men; while there were among the elder citizens fire-companies whose members were pledged to active service on all occasions of need, and to special obligations of mutual aid, protection or relief in case of danger or loss within their own body. The office of fireward, corresponding to that of the chief engineer and his staff, being without fee or salary, was generally conferred by vote on the very men whose presence of mind, alertness, vigor, and power of command could be relied on with the fullest confidence; by law they were invested with large discretionary authority; and by universal consent they exercised when on active duty an absolute dictatorship.

It would be difficult to determine the merit of this method as compared with the present, even if we had the most thorough and minute statistical data; for there have been changes both in the style of building and in the modes of water-supply which essentially affect the subject in all its bearings. Early in the present century there were very few buildings that had more than four stories above the basement; while now the inaccessibleness and often the superior combustibility of the upper stories constitute a chief cause of peril. But then, on the other hand, there were, in all the larger municipalities, many districts as densely covered with buildings as at the present time, and with wooden buildings which are now replaced by brick. Those of us who were conversant with earlier times can well remember the promptness with which workers of every condition and age resorted to the scene of danger at the earliest moment, the frequency with which fires of the most threatening aspect were quenched with slight damage, and the desperate and successful hand-to-hand struggles with the flames when they seemed to have all the odds in their favor. There were, to be sure, some frightful conflagrations, which swept through the entire length or breadth of a town, and were arrested only when there was no more fuel in their track. But these occurred, with hardly an exception, in the dead of winter, when wells and

cisterns, if not frozen, could not be freely drawn from ; and it is impossible to say how far, with the present water-supply, the former modes of working might now be successful, even in the worst cases. Certain it is that fires did not formerly grow so frequently as now into unmanageable dimensions, with every element of wind, temperature and water-supply favorable to their suppression.

We by no means question the eminent usefulness, nay, the necessity, of the powerful steam-engines which have monopolized the work of the fire-departments in our larger cities, and are fast superseding other apparatus in our thriving towns and villages. They alone can fully utilize the existing sources of water-supply ; they alone (and they not always) can throw an efficient stream upon the roofs or into the upper stories of the highest buildings ; and they can keep up the show and sustain the hope of resistance when no feebler agency would be worth the labor of working it. But what is more needed than anything else is the multiplication, and, if possible, the thorough organization, of methods analogous to those formerly in use, to which resort may be had at the first moment of known danger, and pending the necessarily slower movements of more complex apparatus. There are engines, adapted to domestic service, so simple as to require no special training for their use, so easy of working as not to exceed a child's strength, so cheap as to be within the purchasing power of every householder, so efficient that they have often checked rapidly spreading flames among the most combustible materials. These could be purchased by the hundred or thousand, and deposited in shops, warehouses, and dwellings of the better sort,* throughout a city or town, at a less amount of expense from the municipal treasury than is often wasted in a needless pageant or a civic feast. Perhaps, however, the same purpose could be better effected through the insurance companies. It would be a wise economy for them to give engines of this description to their policy-holders, or to make a stated deduction from their charge for insurance on the condition of the purchasing of such an engine, and keeping it—subject to periodical inspection—in working order. The educational influence of such an article of furniture would be of no little worth. There would be not a child whose curiosity would not be stimulated by it, or who would not be ambitious to experiment with it and learn its use. The contingency of

* It is worthy of remark that an alarm of fire hardly ever proceeds from houses occupied by the very poor. They generally have but small and safe fires, with no complex or concealed apparatus ; and what is more, their dwellings are so crowded with human life, that an abnormal fire is sure to be detected before it can become dangerous.

peril by fire, the first steps to be taken in case of such peril, the necessity of prompt action, the folly and mischief of trepidation and terror in view of a calamity so easily preventable, would be matters of familiar conversation and discussion, and the family would become unconsciously organized as a fire-company, ready at need for efficient service. This domestic discipline would be greatly aided by the distribution from time to time, under proper authority, of printed directions as to the measures to be taken by day, by night, and under the different aspects in which danger by fire may present itself.

In every shop, warehouse, or manufactory where many persons are employed, there ought to be an organization for defense against fire, with suitable apparatus, occasional drills, and a specific post or service assigned to each member in case of an alarm. By this method even a seemingly irresistible fire might often be kept at bay without any outside aid. What private energy can effect was witnessed in the case of the great dry-goods store of C. F. Hovey & Co., in the Boston fire of 1872. The building was surrounded by flames for many hours, and was not only believed and reported to have been burned, but was so situated that the fact of its having remained uninjured, when first reported, was discredited as utterly impossible. The fire-department did not regard the chance of saving it as worth their serious effort. But the then present, with not a few of the past, employés of the firm—urged, indeed, by strong sentiments of affection and gratitude, sentiments for which, in like case, good reason ought never to be wanting—resorted at once to the imperiled building, and covered the roof and all exposed portions of the walls with blankets, shawls, and cloths, which they contrived to keep constantly wet, though they had to bring all the water from the cellar, and even there would get only a languid and intermittent stream. Since that time the employés of the establishment have been regularly organized with a full supply of available apparatus, and other large firms of Boston have taken the same course. Should this plan be generally adopted, it will be hardly possible for the destroying element to spread unchecked, as it has so often, in the very heart of a city's wealth and commerce.

Yet while we would attach the highest importance to these private measures of protection and defense, the ultimate dependence must be on the municipal fire-department, and with reference to this there are two or three points that need to be urged as of essential moment. In a large city, the head of the department should be such a man as only by the rarest of chances could obtain or would accept the office at the

hands of a city council, by an annual election. He should be such a man as would be eligible for those few highest trusts which demand in equal and generous measure science, skill, tact, prudence, energy and integrity,—such a man as might be entrusted with the command of an army, or the construction of a new bureau of national administration. He should have, we will not say as high a compensation as many insurance agents get for multiplying fires, but three or four times what any of them can fairly earn,—a salary adequate to procure the services of the best talent in the land, and so large that the incumbent could not resign his office for one more lucrative. He should be not elected, but appointed by the Governor of the State, and by him only with the approval of the State Board of Public Works, if there be one, or of whatever board might be most fit for consultation in such a matter. He should be removable only for proved malfeasance or incompetency, with perhaps a limit of age. He should have an assistant of similar capacity, and with a correspondingly large salary, who should take the place of the chief during any temporary absence or inability, at other times serving under him, and who should be, by virtue of his appointment, the successor of his chief on the death, resignation, or removal of the latter, so that the office might never for a single day be vacant, or be filled by a novice. The chief, thus qualified and appointed, should have the supervision of the entire department, the power of removing any of its members for sufficient cause, absolute command, for the time being, within the premises endangered by fire, or to be occupied, used, or cleared for the purpose of arresting it, and even the right, in stress of need, of confiscating property for the public safety,—not, of course, without accountability—but amenable for alleged official misconduct or violation of law, to no lower tribunal than the highest of the State Courts. In fine, there is in the management of a fire-department in action fully as urgent a necessity for undisputed authority and implicit obedience as there is in an army on the battle-field; and whatever weakness or division of counsels may result from the ignoring of this necessity may be no less fatal in the one case than in the other.

In a large city, the members of the fire-department should be picked men,—intelligent, strong, active, sober. They should be paid for their whole time, at a rate which should put their profession on the same footing with the better paid descriptions of manual and mechanical labor. The festive element should be entirely eliminated; the occasions for it abolished; the employment of the fire-apparatus for parade on gala-days, and its transportation to other cities, pro-

hibited. The firemen should, indeed, have the same opportunities for rest and relaxation with other men of their condition in life, but not collectively or officially. As single members could from time to time be spared, or were able to furnish acceptable substitutes, they might be allowed any reasonable liberty. But, unless on leave of absence, they should be held to constant readiness for any alarm in their respective districts. They should be thoroughly instructed and drilled in their several functions, and trained, not only in the management of their engines, but in the entire range of resources by which skill and experience can often supersede, and always supplement the use of the larger engines. They might also, very fittingly, be employed in the intervals of severer duty, as inspectors of buildings and fixtures in their relations to fire, or as a fire-police for the suppression of dangerous practices, employments and amusements.

We have left ourselves less space than we ought for the ultimate mode of safety, to which we shall be driven as regards new buildings, if the present rate of destruction remains undiminished, namely, the erection of fire-proof edifices. There are cities in which this art, though perhaps without express design, has been carried almost to perfection. In Paris, though the common building stone is easily disintegrated in a hot fire, wood is so sparingly employed in building, that a hot fire is hardly possible. It is doubted whether the entire space occupied by all the buildings consumed in the late communist outrages, when incendiarism labored unchecked with strenuous purpose to destroy the city, is as large as that often burned over in a single night in one of our fires of second magnitude. In the old Italian cities an extensive conflagration is inconceivable; a fire that shall spread beyond the apartment where it begins, hardly possible. In Florence the fire-department—adequate to all uses—consists of a single hand-engine, a few buckets, and about a dozen men. In London, where fires are more frequent and destructive, they seldom pass from one building to another; for in blocks, a double division-wall carried several feet above the roofs interposes an effective check. We remember having seen a house thoroughly on fire in a densely settled portion of London, with the furniture in the two adjacent houses unremoved, and the inmates entirely at their ease. A few firemen were present, with a single hand-engine, the steam-engines being reserved for more important occasions.

In this country, it would seem as if superior combustibility were a foremost aim in building. If the walls are of brick or stone, the window-sashes, and often the entire window-frames are of wood; the

cornices and mouldings more frequently of wood than of stone ; the Mansard roof—for which there seems to be nothing less than an unreasoning mania—almost always of wood. The major part of the towers, steeples and cupolas of our brick and stone churches and public edifices are of wood. This is no less objectionable on the score of taste than of safety. The very idea of ornament includes comparative sumptuousness of material. No tailor or dressmaker uses ornamental trimming of a meaner fabric than that of the garment to be trimmed. A building, otherwise handsome, is made paltry and vulgar by the cheap wooden accessories, by which rather than by solidity and symmetry, the architect—himself half-trained—often seeks to captivate the untrained eye and judgment.

In Europe, the building of cities *de novo* is not to be thought of. With us it is likely to be, in whole or in part, a common operation for many years to come ; for to say nothing of the new centres of travel and trade that are every year striding from birth to plethoric maturity, *there are large portions of all our existing cities that are destined to the flames*, unless measures of reform shall be more rapid than we dare to anticipate.

In the building or reconstruction of cities a prime element of safety consists in the banishing to less thickly settled suburbs or solitary situations, all workshops or warehouses that are of necessity dangerous on the score of fire. In this regard, improvidence is not confined to our side of the Atlantic. Several years ago the city of Antwerp was imperiled by the burning of an immense range of petroleum warehouses in a very central position. In some of our cities similar sites are occupied by manufactories that require or create vast masses of the most readily combustible materials. A very disastrous fire, on such a site, occurred recently in a building in which were many tons of a species of wood-shavings absurdly named *excelsior*, used in the making of a certain description of mattress, which, probably on account of its highly inflammable qualities, has come into extensive use. A well-ordered municipal government would expel from its denser districts such branches of trade or manufacture as require the constant presence of combustibles in large quantities, and would bind under heavy penalties those which are liable to rapid accumulation of such materials to the daily removal of what cannot be massed with safety.

As regards materials for building, there can be no doubt that thoroughly burned bricks are best suited to resist the action of fire. A brick wall, if self-supporting, will stand with very little injury, when

the building which it enclosed is entirely consumed. On the other hand, granite cracks, marble and all the softer stones crumble, and iron melts and runs away before a heat no more intense than that through which bricks came into being and can pass unscathed. The external surface of the building should have nothing combustible about it, and in stores, warehouses and public edifices, the windows should be guarded by iron shutters, and the doors by an external plating of iron. The iron shutters might be recommended for dwelling-houses also, unless there be insuperable æsthetic objections. For roofing, slates or tiles should, we think, have the preference. The compositions for roofing of which pitch is a principal ingredient do not, indeed, readily take fire; yet when a building so covered is in flames, it is impossible that the disintegration of the materials of the roof should not add fierceness to the fire, intensity to the heat, and danger to surrounding objects.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century great attention was paid in England and in this country to plans for making the interior of buildings fire-proof. In the American Museum for May, 1788, we find the sketch of a method devised, and subjected to the severest experimental tests, by Lord Mahon, who seems to have borne a strong resemblance to Franklin in his enlightened zeal for the application of science to the arts of common life. His plan rests on the known necessity of a draft from beneath or behind, in order to sustain combustion. He laid all the floors of his buildings in mortar, and back-plastered all the vertical woodwork. On floors and against vertical boarding thus prepared, it was found that fires might be kindled with a generous supply of combustibles, and would smoulder away and expire when this supply was exhausted, without essential injury to the building; and that by no amount of feeding or urging could a fire be made to pass from room to room. An improvement on this method is to leave no unfilled space behind either the main or partition walls, but instead, to build interior walls of cheap brick laid edgewise. Not only is security against fire thus gained, but a house so built is unaffected by exterior dampness, and by the slowness of bricks as a conductor of caloric, is made warmer in winter and cooler in summer. A wooden house thus constructed is drier and more equable in temperature than a brick house, as the external wall of painted wood rejects the greater part of the moisture which an external brick wall absorbs. In this way, also, rats and mice are excluded, while they seldom fail to find permanent lodgings in a wall constructed in the ordinary mode. In connection with this method, which hardly admits of essential

improvement, it is desirable, in view of the present cheapness and availableness of iron, to use it for various purposes in the details of the building, as for floor-beams, balustrades for stairs, and pillars wherever required.

The only practical objection to fire-proof buildings is their greater first cost; but on a wise calculation this objection will disappear. The most generous estimate would add on this account not more than twenty-five per cent to the cost, and it is believed that all the essential benefits of the method proposed might be secured at an advance of fifteen per cent. It would take but a few years to cancel this extra cost by saving in the single item of insurance, which would be hardly necessary, or if still thought advisable, would be effected at a greatly diminished rate. At the same time, the solidity of this mode of construction would reduce to the very lowest point, the expense for necessary repairs. We are acquainted with one massive building thus constructed nearly a century ago, which has not begun to show any token of infirmity or age.

We have exceeded our proposed limits; but the subject has developed itself in our thought in several directions in which we lack space to pursue it. It is a concern of the profoundest moment, not only to the peace and well-being of individual members of our several communities, but equally to the financial prosperity and wealth of the nation. Under each of the heads which we have specified there is scope for legislative action; and there are few topics that so imperatively crave the wise intervention of the law-making power. Especially should it be employed in preventing the erection of similarly unsafe edifices, to replace those destroyed in the great conflagrations which are from month to month sweeping away blocks, streets and districts in so many of our cities in every part of the land.

It is worthy of emphatic notice that the New Jerusalem of the Apocalypse has no inflammable materials,—its walls of jasper, its foundations precious stones, its streets of gold, its gates of pearl. Emblems these are, no doubt, of the strength and beauty with which we are to build characters that shall come forth unscathed and immortal from the fires of earthly temptation and trial; but may we not equally take them as types of the material structures, which, in their fragility or their enduring massiveness, we are prone to build after our own likeness?

ARTICLE III.

DEEP-SEA EXPLORATION.

WILLIAM B. CARPENTER, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.

THE Physical and Biological condition of the Deep Sea has until lately, been almost completely unknown, and seemed likely to remain so. For while it may be expected that the whole land surface of our globe may ultimately be brought under the direct survey of its master—Man, it seemed altogether chimerical to suppose that he could ever carry that survey to the abyssal depths of the Ocean; since, though he can ascend a mountain so lofty that the pressure of the atmosphere is reduced at its summit to considerably less than *one-half* of that under which he ordinarily lives, the limit within which a diver can carry on his operations is restricted to little more than 20 fathoms (120 feet), at which depth he works under a pressure of superincumbent water equal to *four* atmospheres, in addition to the pressure of the atmosphere itself.

The only mode, then, in which the Ocean-depths can be explored, is the sending down into them such instruments as may furnish trustworthy information in regard to their physical conditions, and may bring up samples both of the surface-deposits on the Sea-bed, and of the living Organisms it supports. The improvements which have been recently made in these instruments, and in the mode of working them, have already fructified into an abundant harvest of novel and important results; and these can only be regarded as a foretaste of what may be expected from the continued and systematic use of the same methods of inquiry.

The first point to be determined in the exploration of what are often called the “fathomless abysses” of the Ocean, is their actual *depth*. This is easily ascertained by the ordinary sounding-lead, when the depth does not exceed a few hundred fathoms, and there is no strong current; but when the depth ranges to thousands of fathoms instead of hundreds, and particularly when the line, as it progressively runs out, is acted on by a movement either of the surface-stratum or

of any deeper layer,—even though this movement be so slow as not to amount to a definite current,—the ordinary method is quite inapplicable, its results being utterly fallacious. Hence all those older Soundings which were supposed to indicate an Ocean-depth of six or eight miles, still more those which represented it as absolutely fathomless, must be altogether put aside as worthless.

It was, I believe, by Lieut. Brooke of the U. S. Navy, that the *principle* common to all the sounding-instruments now in use was first introduced;—namely, that regard should be had, not to the recovery of the plummet or “sinker,” which is a matter of quite subordinate importance, but to the rapid running-out of the line, whereby its vertical direction may be best secured, and the actual depth thus obtained as nearly as possible. Now as it is by the *friction* of the line through the water that the rate of descent of the weight is progressively retarded, it is obvious that the *size* of the line should be reduced to a minimum; but since for the purposes of scientific exploration, we require to bring up, not only a sample of the bottom, but thermometers and water-bottles, it is now found desirable to employ, not the fine twine or silk thread of the earlier instruments constructed on this plan, but a line about the thickness of a quill, which, if made of the best hemp, will bear a strain of more than half a ton. The sounding instrument now preferred in the British service is known as the “Hydra” apparatus; having been devised by Capt. Shortland of H. M. S. Hydra. It consists of a strong brass tubular rod, furnished at its lower end with valves that open upwards, so as to retain any mud or sand that may enter it when it strikes the bottom; this being afterwards extracted by unscrewing the lower portion of the tube from the upper. This tube is loaded with sinkers, which are masses of iron, each weighing one cwt.; they are perforated for the passage of the rod; and are so hung on to it, that when the rod touches the bottom, they fall off and are left there, so that only the rod and the instruments attached to it have to be drawn up again. When the present bed of the Atlantic shall have been raised into dry land, some geologist of the future may puzzle himself as to the meaning of these mysterious masses of iron, which will be found scattered like “erratic blocks” over its surface.

The trustworthiness of the soundings taken on the modern method, is shown by the coincidence of the results obtained by different marine Surveyors; so that the Ocean-depths, on areas that have been carefully examined, are known with almost the same exactness as the heights of mountain-ranges. Until very recently, there was reason

to believe that the depth of the North Atlantic nowhere exceeds about 2800 fathoms ; but the "Challenger," now on a Scientific Circumnavigation voyage, has recently met with the extraordinary depth of 3800 fathoms (more than four miles) between St. Thomas' and Bermuda ; and that this result did not proceed from an accidental error, is shown by the fact that the "protected" Thermometers which had been tested under a hydrostatic pressure of three tons and a quarter, were crushed by the excess.

It is not a little curious that very great depths should be met with in Inland Seas, and in nooks or corners of the Ocean which are in great degree surrounded by land. Thus in the Mediterranean, a depth of more than 1500 fathoms prevails over a considerable area of its Western basin, extending between Spain and Sardinia ; whilst in the Eastern basin, between Malta and Crete, the depth ranges to nearly 2000 fathoms. The Celebes Sea has a maximum depth of 2670 fathoms ; and the Sulu Sea, lying between the N. E. of Borneo and Mindinao, the boundary of which, where not formed by islands, is completed by submarine reefs, has a depth of nearly 1800 fathoms. On the other hand, the seas by which the British Islands are immediately surrounded are so shallow, that an elevation of 100 fathoms (600 feet) would not only join all these Islands to each other, but would unite their eastern and southern borders to the Continent of Europe, completely obliterating the North Sea and the English Channel ; and would also extend their area for a considerable distance westwards into what is now the Atlantic. There can be no question that such a continuity has existed within a very recent geological period, and an elevation of the bed of the English Channel not equaling the height of St. Paul's would suffice to restore it along a considerable extent of the southern coast of England. On the other hand, an elevation of the Mediterranean area to the amount of 200 fathoms, while closing the Strait of Gibraltar, and restoring the continuity of Sicily with both Italy and the African continent, would still leave two salt water lakes, an Eastern and a Western, of enormous depth and but slightly reduced area. Thus we see how important is a knowledge of the exact depth of the existing sea-bottom in geological inquiry. A yet more striking example will be adduced hereafter.

The *pressure* exerted by the water of the Ocean upon whatever is submerged in its abysses, may be readily calculated from its depth ; for the weight of a column one inch square is almost exactly a ton for every 800 fathoms of its height ; and consequently the pressure at 2400 fathoms is *three tons upon every square inch*, while at 3800 fath-

oms it is nearly *five tons*. This enormous pressure has been lately found by experiment to exert an influence, of which the amount had been previously quite unsuspected, on the Thermometers used for one of the most important portions of Deep-sea research,—namely, the determination of the *Temperature* both of the waters of the bottom and of that of intermediate strata. It is on such determinations that we depend for our knowledge, not only of these differences of Submarine Climate by which the distribution of animal life is mainly regulated, but of those undercurrents that form part of the great system of Oceanic Circulation. No determination of Deep-sea Temperatures can have the least value, unless either the instruments employed are furnished with a special “protection” which removes them from the influence of the enormous pressure to which they are subjected, or their error has been experimentally tested at the pressures corresponding to different depths. And all the older observations (as those made in Sir James Ross’s Antarctic expedition) on which was based the doctrine—adopted by Sir John Herschel—of a uniform Deep-sea temperature of 30° all over the globe, must now be thrown overboard like the older determinations of depth.

It was in the “Porcupine” expeditions of 1869 and 1870, which (in consequence of the remarkable success obtained in the short cruise of the “Lightning” in 1868) were placed by the British Admiralty under the scientific charge of Prof. Wyville Thomson, Mr. J. Gwyn Jeffreys, and myself, that the first trustworthy Deep-sea Temperatures were obtained by means of self-registering Thermometers of the ordinary (Six’s) construction, protected against pressure according to a plan devised by the late Prof. W. A. Miller, which was admirably worked out by Mr. Casella. These Thermometers, when tested under a hydrostatic pressure of more than three tons on the square inch, were found to indicate a rise of less than 1° Fahr., which might be fairly attributed to an actual elevation of temperature produced by the pressure on the water in which they were immersed; while the very best unprotected Thermometers previously used rose under the same pressure as much as 8° or 10° and inferior instruments to the extent of even 50° or 60° . Two protected Thermometers were used in every observation; and as they always accorded within the fraction of a degree, and as, on our return, they were found to be in perfectly good order, we felt confident that the temperatures which they recorded were true to within 1° Fahr. The “Porcupine” observations on the Temperature of the North Atlantic have recently received full confirmation from the very numerous

Temperature soundings of the "Challenger;" and results of the greatest interest have been obtained by the use of similar instruments in the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, and among the islands of the Eastern Archipelago. Before I proceed to state these results, it may be well for me to notice a prevalent misconception as to the Temperature at which Sea-water attains its *maximum* density.

Every one knows that *fresh* water *contracts* (and thus increases in density) as it cools from any higher temperature down to about $39^{\circ} 2$ Fahr., and that it then *expands* again (thereby undergoing a diminution of density) as its temperature is reduced to 32° ; so that, when just about to freeze, it has the same density that it had at the temperature of $46^{\circ} 4$. And thus it happens that before a pond or lake is frozen, the surface-layers whose temperature has been reduced by atmospheric cold successively sink, and are replaced by warmer layers rising up from below, until the temperature of the mass of water has been reduced to $39^{\circ} 2$; but that, when this stage has been reached, the further chilling of the surface-layer renders it lighter instead of heavier, so that it continues to float upon the warmer water beneath, which retains its temperature of $39^{\circ} 2$ though covered with a layer of ice or of ice-cold waters. This, however, is not the case with Sea-water, which as was long since ascertained by Despretz, differs from fresh water in continuing to contract (thus increasing in density) down to its freezing-point at about 27° Fahr., and thus, when its surface is exposed to extreme atmospheric cold, each layer as it is chilled will descend, and will be replaced by a warmer layer either from beneath or from around; the coldest waters always gravitating to the bottom, unless the effect of Temperature be modified by some other condition,—such as difference in salinity or movement of one stratum over another. Of the former we have an example in the fact that in the neighborhood of melting ice, the water of which is either fresh or of low salinity, the surface-layer is often colder than the more saline water beneath, on which it floats in virtue of its lower specific gravity. And the latter case occasionally presents itself, when some meeting of currents slants upwards a deeper and colder stratum, so that, whilst its movement of translation lasts, it overlies a lighter because a warmer layer,—as happens on the Agulhas Bank near the Cape of Good Hope.

Under ordinary circumstances, then, the *minimum* temperature recorded by Thermometers sent down with the sounding apparatus, may be expected to be the *bottom* temperature; and this expectation has been fully verified by the results of the *serial* Temperature-observing.

vations made in the "Porcupine" and "Challenger" Expeditions; which have shown that the Temperature of the Atlantic undergoes a progressive reduction from above downwards, but at a rate by no means uniform. In order that the *rationale* of these observations may be made clear, I shall first state the results which I obtained from similar Temperature-soundings in the Mediterranean.

The strait by which this Inland sea communicates with the Atlantic, has, at its western embouchure between Capes Trafalgar and Spartel, a depth nowhere exceeding 200 fathoms; so that the deeper portion of the Mediterranean basin is as completely cut off from communication with the great Ocean-basin of the Atlantic, as if it were entirely land-locked. Now while the *surface*-temperature of the Mediterranean during the months of August and September, ranges between 70° and 80° , the thermometer rapidly descends through the first fifty fathoms, so that the temperature is there reduced to about 58° ; and a slight further reduction shows itself in the stratum between fifty and a hundred fathoms, the temperature at that depth averaging 55° in the Western basin, and 56° in the Eastern. Now from this depth to the bottom, even where it lies at from 1500 to 1900 fathoms beneath, *the temperature is uniform*, the difference never exceeding a degree. Thus it is obvious that depth *per se* has no effect upon the temperature of this great body of salt waters; a fact which will be presently shown to be of cardinal importance.—To what, then, is this uniformity of temperature due? The answer to this question is furnished by observations on the *winter*-temperature of the surface, which show that as the superjacent atmosphere becomes colder, the temperature of the surface and of the 100 fathoms' layer is progressively reduced, until it is brought down to that of the uniform stratum beneath; so that the *entire* column of Mediterranean water has then the same temperature from its surface to its greatest depths, that temperature being the *Isochimal* or lowest mean winter-temperature of the latitude. With the seasonal increase of atmospheric warmth and of the heating power of the sun, the surface-temperature progressively rises; and this elevation is made to extend downwards, not so much by the direct penetration of the heating rays, or by the conducting power of the water itself, as by the successive descent of the surface-films, which, having been concentrated by evaporation, become augmented in density notwithstanding the elevation of their temperature, and sink through the subjacent stratum until they lose their excess of salt by diffusion, and thus *superheat* the uppermost fifty fathoms.

So in the Red Sea, while the summer temperature of the surface has been known to reach 90° , the superheated stratum is similarly limited in depth; and in the month of February the Gulf of Suez was found by Capt. Nares to have a uniform temperature of 71° from the surface downwards to the bottom at 450 fathoms.

Now if we compare the thermal condition of the deeper stratum of the Mediterranean with that of the Atlantic between the same parallels, and that of the Red Sea with that of the Arabian Gulf, we shall find a most remarkable contrast. For the serial Temperature-soundings taken in the former show the existence, 1st, of a surface-stratum having rather a lower *summer* temperature than that of the Mediterranean, and about the same *winter* temperature; 2nd, of a stratum of several hundred fathoms' thickness whose temperature falls very slowly down to about 49° ; 3rd, of a stratum of not more than 200 fathoms' thickness, in which the thermometer falls *nine or ten degrees*; and 4th, of a vast body of water, ranging downwards from 900 or 1000 fathoms to 2000, 3000, or even more, of which the temperature shows a progressive reduction with depth, from 39° to about $34^{\circ} 5'$.—So in the Arabian Gulf between Aden and Bombay, from which the deeper part of the Red Sea basin is cut off by the shallow strait of Babel Mandeb, the bottom-temperature, at a depth exceeding 1800 fathoms, is certainly as low as $36^{\circ} 5'$, and is probably lower. And the recent observations of Capt. Chimmo in the Indian Ocean, between Ceylon and Sumatra, have shown that nearly under the Equator, the temperature, which is 85° at the surface, falls rapidly through the first 150 fathoms, at which depth it is only 54° ; that it then diminishes at the rate of somewhat more than 2° for every hundred fathoms, so that the thermometer descends to $40^{\circ} 2'$ at 750 fathoms; and that in the deeper stratum extending from this to 2656 fathoms, there is a slower progressive reduction, bringing down the bottom-temperature to 32° . The comparative observations made by the same able Surveyor on the temperature of the China Sea and of the Sulu Sea, which (as already mentioned) bears somewhat the same relation to the China Sea, that the Mediterranean does to the Atlantic, are peculiarly instructive. The surface-temperatures of the two Seas are nearly the same, as is the rate of descent through the superheated stratum which represents the direct influence of insulation; but the temperature of the China Sea falls to 51° at 200 fathoms, and to 37° from 550 to 900 fathoms; while that of the Sulu Sea falls so much more slowly that it does not reach 50° until 1100 fath-

oms, and then remains uniform to the bottom at 1778 fathoms. How are these differences to be accounted for?

It is perfectly obvious that the Glacial stratum which covers the Sea-bed of the Temperate region of the North Atlantic,—still more, that which overlies the Equatorial portion of the Indian Ocean,—must have come thither from one of the Polar areas; and it is also clear that it must be in a state of constant renewal. For observations made upon the temperature of the crust of the earth, at such depths as remove it alike from the influence of *surface* heat or cold, and from that of the deeper subterranean agencies, show it to be not under 50° . This heat, therefore, must be continually being imparted from the Sea-bed to the water which overlies it, so that the film after film of the glacial stratum will rise from below until it reaches a stratum as warm as itself; and thus the whole of this deeper stratum would be gradually warmed up to 50° , if it were not continually renewed by a bottom-flow from the Polar area. What force puts this body of water in movement? Simply, I maintain, the *opposition of temperature* between the Polar and Equatorial areas; which produces a disturbance of equilibrium that is a fully sufficient cause for that *creeping flow* of the deeper stratum from the Polar to the Equatorial area, and of the superficial stratum from the Equatorial to the Polar, of which I consider that we have now adequate evidence.

Let a long narrow trough with glass sides be filled with water having a temperature of 50° , and let cold be applied to the surface of the water at one end, whilst heat is similarly applied at the other. By the introduction of a coloring liquid, mixed with gum of sufficient viscosity to prevent its too rapid diffusion, it will be seen that a *vertical circulation* will be set up in the liquid; for that portion of it which has been acted on by the surface-cold, becoming thereby increased in density, falls to the bottom, and is replaced by a surface flow, which, when cooled in its turn, descends like the preceding; and the denser water, in virtue of its excess of *lateral* pressure, creeps along the bottom of the trough towards the other end, where it gradually rises upwards to replace that which has been draughted off. As it approaches the surface, it comes under the influence of the heat applied to it; and being warmed by this, it carries along its excess of temperature in a creeping-flow towards the cold extremity, where it is again made to descend by the reduction of its temperature; and thus a circulation is kept up, as long as this antagonism of temperature at the two ends of the trough is maintained. The case, in fact, only differs from that of the hot water apparatus used for heating build-

ings in this,—that whilst the *primum mobile* in the latter is heat applied below, which causes the water to rise in it by the diminution of its specific gravity, the *primum mobile* of the circulation in the trough is cold applied at the surface, which causes the water to descend through the increase of its specific gravity. The application of surface-heat at the other end of the trough would have scarcely any effect *per se* in giving motion to the water; but it serves to maintain the disturbance of equilibrium, which, if cold alone were in operation, would gradually decrease with the reduction of temperature of the entire body of water in the trough, which would cease to circulate as soon as its temperature should be brought to one uniform degree of depression.

Thus, then, between a column of Polar waters of an average temperature of (say) 30° , and a column of Equatorial water of an average temperature of (say) 50° , such a difference of *downward* and therefore of *lateral* pressure must exist, as will suffice to maintain a circulation corresponding to that of the trough; the heavy Polar waters moving along the floor of the Ocean towards the Equator, and gradually rising there to the surface as each new arrival pushes up that which preceded it; whilst a surface stratum of lighter Equatorial water will be continually moving towards the Poles, in virtue of the indraught produced by the downward movement of the Polar column.

This doctrine of Vertical Oceanic Circulation, originally sketched out by Pouillet, but pushed aside by the subsequent prevalence of the erroneous doctrine of a uniform Deep-sea temperature of 39° , accounts satisfactorily for all the facts recently ascertained in regard to the Temperature of the Deep-sea; whilst its theoretical soundness has been fully endorsed by three of the most eminent British authorities in Thermotics—Sir John Herschel, Sir William Thomson, and Sir George Airy. And I therefore venture to present it with some confidence for general acceptance. Let us now trace some of its applications.

In the first place, it explains the fact now established beyond question, that the temperature of the whole deeper stratum of the North Atlantic, even in the inter-tropical area, is not many degrees above the freezing-point of fresh water; whilst that of the Arabian Gulf, is nearly, if not quite, as low; and that of the Equatorial portion of the Indian Ocean yet lower; whilst the bottom temperature of the Mediterranean Sea is nowhere lower than 54° and that of the Red Sea considerably higher; whilst that of the Sulu Sea is 50° , and that of the Celebes Sea $38^{\circ} 5'$. For all these seas, though exceed-

ingly deep, are more or less completely cut off from the access of the deep stratum of cold Oceanic water; this access being permitted down to a certain depth in the Celebes Sea, but being much more restricted as to depth in the Sulu Sea, and being virtually closed by the shallowness of the submarine water-sheds that separate the basins of the Mediterranean and of the Red Sea from the outside Oceans. Again, that the bottom-temperature should be lower in the Equatorial portion of the Indian Ocean than it is in the Temperate area of the North Atlantic is readily accounted for by the openness of the Antarctic basin, which allows the Polar water to flow over the whole Southern Oceanic area without hindrance, whilst the communications of the North Atlantic with the Arctic basin are far more restricted. For putting aside what may come down through Baffin's Bay, there can be no deep flow of Arctic water except through the channel between Greenland and Iceland, which is not a very wide one, and the still narrower channel between the north of Scotland and the Faroe islands; the bank which extends between the Faroe islands and Newfoundland, and the shallowness of bed of the North Sea, presenting an effectual barrier to the exit of the glacial waters of the Arctic basin through those passages. Although no temperature-soundings have been taken in the Greenland-Iceland channel, yet as its depth ranges to 1200 fathoms, I can feel no doubt that it will be found to be occupied below 200 or 250 fathoms by a vast stream.

One of these communications is formed by the Channel of 650 fathoms depth, lying N. E. and S. W. between the Shetlands and the Faroes, which we examined in the "Lightning" Expedition of 1868 and in the "Porcupine" Expedition of 1869. The Temperature-phenomena of this channel are so peculiar as to deserve a more detailed notice.

Our attention was first attracted by the extraordinary coldness of the bottom in some parts of this channel while in other parts the bottom temperature was considerably above what might be regarded as the normal of the Latitude; a difference of from 13° to 15° being found between contiguous *bottoms* lying at the very same depth, while the *surface*-temperature was everywhere alike. With this marked difference of temperature, there was an equally well-marked difference in the character of the bottom, and of the Animal life it supported; for whilst the "warm area" was covered by the whitish "Globigerina-mud," which may be considered as chalk in process of formation, and supported an abundant and varied Fauna, of which the *facies* was that of a more southerly clime, the "cold area" was entirely desti-

tute of "Globigerina-mud," and was covered with gravel and sand containing volcanic detritus, on which lay a Fauna by no means scanty, but of a most characteristically Boreal type. Our further inquiries disclosed the full meaning of this singular state of things, for they made it evident that in the northern part of this channel, the whole of its lower stratum is occupied by a glacial stream of which the temperature ranges downwards from 32° to 29° ; and that this is overlaid by a warm stream moving from S. W. to N. E.; the thermometers falling rapidly in the "stratum of intermixture" between the two, so as, between 200 and 300 fathoms, to sink 15 degrees in the southern part of the channel. On the other hand the cold stream from the N. E. appeared to have been diverted by a middle bank, so as to be narrowed and at the same time increased in velocity, as was indicated by the rounding of the pebbles which covered the bottom; and a part of the channel was occupied by the warm stream coming up from the S. W. which gave an excess of warmth to its bottom even at a depth of 530 fathoms. Though we did not trace the glacial stream further than the southern border of the Faroe banks, I cannot doubt that it passed onwards to discharge itself into the deeper portion of the North Atlantic Basin; while the warm stream in its course to the N. E. no longer flowed side by side with it, but left the bottom and flowed over it.

Here, then, we have a sort of compact edition of the double movement which I believe to be taking place throughout the great Oceanic areas, quite independently of the *horizontal* surface-circulation which is produced by wind-currents. How the one may work in with the other, so that the effects of the two can with difficulty be discriminated, is shown in the case of the Gulf-stream.

It has been very generally assumed that the N. E. flow of warm water which ameliorates the climate of the western shores of the British Isles, still more that of the Shetlands and Faroes, and yet more again that of the northern part of the Norwegian coast, extending its influence even to Spitzbergen and the entrance to the White Sea, is a continuation of the current which issues from the Gulf of Mexico through the Florida Channel, and carries a vast body of warm water in a N. E. direction towards the Banks of Newfoundland. For although between the Banks and the British Isles its rate is so reduced that at last it degenerates into a mere surface-drift, although a large part of it is undoubtedly deflected southwards to the east of the Azores so as to return into the Equatorial current from which it originated, and although no decided elevation of temperature above

the normal of its latitude can be shown along the direct line of its movement towards the Bay of Biscay, yet so long as no other account could be given of that N. E. flow, the "Gulf-stream" seemed to afford the *vera causa* required. Some indeed have denied the existence of any other N. E. movement of Sea water than that produced by the prevalence of S. W. winds, to which they attribute the peculiar climatic conditions of the Northwest corner of Europe. But as recent Meteorological observations have shown that the Temperature of the Sea at several stations in the Faroes and Shetlands, and on the Coast of Norway, is during the winter months considerably higher than that of the air, it is clear that there must be a steady flow of a great body of water from a southerly source, carrying with it sufficient heat to maintain a high surface-temperature against the cooling influence of the atmosphere. Now the true Gulf-stream, or Florida Current, even at its deepest and strongest, loses 15° of surface-temperature during its winter passage from the Florida Channel to the longitude of Nova Scotia, which is accomplished in from forty to fifty days. When it reaches the Banks of Newfoundland, it encounters the Labrador Current, with its fleet of icebergs, by which its temperature is still further reduced; and as its superficial area increases, its depth diminishes, so that it becomes less and less able to maintain its temperature against the cooling influence of the air above it. As at least 100 days must be occupied in its passage from the Banks of Newfoundland to the Land's End, it can scarcely be conceived that the thinned-out surface-layer to which it is reduced when it is last distinctly recognizable, should do otherwise than *follow* the temperature of the atmosphere above it, as is the case with the superheated stratum of the Mediterranean. And I consider Mr. Findlay and Dr. Hayes, therefore, to be fully justified in the assertion that the thermal influence of the true Gulf Stream dies out in the Mid-Atlantic. •

If, now, we examine into the effect of such an *indraught* movement of the whole upper stratum of the North Atlantic towards the Polar Area, as I have shown to be involved in the doctrine of a Vertical Oceanic Circulation, we shall see that it exactly meets the requirements of the case. For, as I have already mentioned, the excess of Temperature which we met with near the Faroe islands, was not limited to the surface-layer, but in the warm area extended to a depth of 500 or even 600 fathoms; indicating a movement, from some southern source, of a vast stratum of water having at least this thickness. Now by comparing the temperatures obtained by soundings taken at every 100 fathoms from the surface down to 500 fathoms, at

four stations having an extreme range of 23° of latitude,—the most northerly being about 120 miles to the N. W. of Stornoway in the Island of Lewis, and the most southerly off the coast of Lisbon,—I have obtained this remarkable result; that while the surface-temperature at each station corresponds closely with that of the air, the difference of 16° between the extremes gradually diminished from the surface downwards, until at depths from 300 to 500 fathoms it is reduced to 6° ; and that the gradation between the four stations is so regular as fully to justify the belief that the whole upper stratum of water along the eastern border of the Atlantic, to a depth of at least 500 fathoms, is slowly moving northwards, carrying with it a *deep* temperature which is only reduced by 6° by the time it reaches the Faroes, whilst its *surface*-temperature (in summer) follows that of the air. But in the winter months, when the temperature of the air falls below that of the *deeper* stratum, each surface-film as it is cooled will descend, and will be replaced by warmer water from below; and thus a deep moderately-warm stratum becomes a much more potent heat-carrier than a mere surface-layer of superheated water.

Now as any mass of water moving *northwards* must carry with it an excess of *easterly* momentum derived from the Earth's rotation, the tendency of this Equatorial-Polar flow towards the N. E. is fully accounted for; just as the *westerly* momentum of the mass of Polar water moving *southwards* from the coast of Labrador causes it to keep close to the sea-board of the United States. That there *is* such a constant slow N. E. movement of the upper stratum of the North Atlantic between the Shetlands and Iceland, appears from Admiral Irmingier's careful discussion of the reckonings kept by ships of the Danish Navy in their passages to and from Iceland and Greenland; the rate of that movement being estimated by him at from 0·8 to 4·7 miles per day.*—We seem justified, then, in affirming that whilst there is no evidence whatever that the Climate of Northwestern Europe is in any sensible degree ameliorated by the extension of the Florida Current, or true Gulf Stream, to its shores, the Thermal influence of the *vis a tergo* which propels that current, is taken up and continued by a *vis a fronte*, which originating in the action of a Polar cold, thus tends to mitigate its severity and renders the shores of Northern Europe far more habitable than are those of Northern Asia or America under the same parallels.

Although the direct motor effect of Heat applied to the surface

* A similar slow "set" towards the Antarctic area has been observed by several Navigators in Southern Seas.

of Ocean-water is very small,—being limited to the upward expansion of its superheated stratum, which is probably equaled (if not exceeded) by its loss by evaporation,—yet its indirect effect may under certain circumstances be very considerable. Thus, the amount raised in vapor from the surface of the Mediterranean being very considerably greater than the quantity of fresh water returned to it by rain and rivers, its level would be progressively lowered, if loss were not supplied by the Gibraltar current, which is an *indraught* rendered sensible by the narrowing of the channel through which it enters. On the other hand, as the water that passes off is *fresh*, while that which supplies its place is *salt*, there would be a progressive increase in the salinity of the Mediterranean, if it were not that a very small increase in the specific gravity of its water suffices, by its excess of downward and therefore of lateral pressure, to produce an outward undercurrent; the existence of which—long suspected—has been demonstrated by the researches carried on by myself in conjunction with Captains Calver and Nares of the Royal Navy. But the existence of a still more remarkable under-current has been subsequently demonstrated most unequivocally in the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus; thus verifying a prediction on the truth of which I had ventured to stake the credit of my whole fabric of reasoning on this subject. Both sets of conditions are here reversed; for the excess of river-flow into the Black Sea, above the evaporation from its surface, tends to *raise* its level and *lower* its density; so that if this reduction were not compensated by a reflux of salt water from the Ægean, the whole of the salt would in time be washed out of its basin, instead of being kept at about half the normal proportion. During a large part of the year, a strong surface-current sets outwards from the Black Sea, through the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles; partly sustained by the overflow of river water, and partly by the almost constant wind from the Northeast. But beneath this, it has been lately shown by Captain Wharton (whom the Hydrographer to the Admiralty had directed, at my request, to examine into the matter,) that an under-current of heavy Ægean water flows back into the Black Sea; thus restoring the saline which the surface-current of half-salt Black Sea water had carried out. The force of this inward under-current he found to bear a constant proportion to that of the outward surface-current; and when the latter was running at a rate of from 3 to 4 knots an hour, the buoy from which the current-drag was suspended in the under-current was carried inwards in opposition to it, at a rate greater than that at which any row-boat could keep up,

so that the buoy would have been lost if the steam launch of the Shearwater had not been able to follow it. Here, then, we see, yet more strikingly than in the case of the Gibraltar currents, the effects produced by slight differences of level and specific gravity between bodies of water connected by a narrow strait. For the difference of level produced in the one case by excess of evaporation, and in the other by excess of river-supply, constantly tends to rectify itself by maintaining a surface-current from the higher to the lower level,—that is, inwards in the Strait of Gibraltar, outwards in the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. On the other hand, the difference of lateral pressure occasioned in the one case by excess of evaporation, and in the other by excess of river-supply, constantly tends to equalization by producing an under-current from the denser towards the less dense,—that is, outwards in the Strait of Gibraltar, inwards in the Black Sea Straits. That this under-current should be much stronger in the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus than it is in the Strait of Gibraltar, is only what the theory would lead us to predict; since the difference between the Specific Gravities of the water in the two Seas connected by the Strait, is much greater in the former case than in the latter; while the influence of the wind blowing outwards along the Black Sea Straits, coming in aid of the surface-current, tends further to diminish the pressure at the inner end, and to increase the pressure at the outer. In the Strait of Gibraltar, I found that the effect of a strong easterly wind, which checked the surface in-current and thus piled up the water in the middle of the Strait, was to augment very considerably the reversal of the under-current which ordinarily takes place during a part of every tide, so that it set rapidly *inwards* while the surface-water was nearly stationary.

This demonstration of the powerful effects of what at first sight would appear very feeble causes, may remove the difficulties which some may experience in believing that the Vertical Oceanic Circulation I advocate can be sustained by an agency which may seem to them so inadequate. For if an excess in the Specific Gravity of Mediterranean over that of Atlantic water, amounting to only 2 or 3 parts in 1000, is adequate to produce an under-current through the Strait of Gibraltar, which sometimes runs at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile per hour, there can be no reasonable question that the difference of density, produced by the great difference of temperature between Polar and Equatorial water, is adequate to produce such a “creeping flow” of the deeper stratum from the Pole towards the Equator, as can be experimentally shown in the manner already described. Indications of

such a movement are not wanting. For it has been frequently observed that icebergs brought down by the Labrador current descend into comparatively low latitudes, so as to be met with beyond the southern border of the Gulf-Stream; and this could scarcely happen unless their deeply submerged portion were borne along by a southward flow sufficiently powerful to carry them with it across the surface-current. There is strong evidence, moreover, in the low temperature that is met with in the deeper portion of the Florida channel, that this is traversed by an *inward* under-current of Polar water; and I have little doubt that the existence of this might be mechanically demonstrated, if the United States Coast Surveyors would make use of an apparatus similar to that so successfully employed by Captain Wharton in the Black Sea Straits.

To those who may consider that I have bestowed a disproportionate share of the space assigned to me, in the discussion of the doctrine of Oceanic Circulation, I would reply that this doctrine, if firmly established, must be one of vast importance, not only in Physical Geography, but also in Geology. If the foregoing views are correct, such a complete severance of the North American from the South American Continent, as would annihilate the Gulf-Stream by giving to the Atlantic Equatorial Current a free passage into the Pacific, would cause but a slight reduction in the temperature of North-western Europe, which would be still kept up (as I believe it to be at present) by the indraught flow of warm water into the Arctic basin, and such an indraught must have taken place in all Geological periods in which there existed a sufficiently free *deep* communication between the Polar and the warmer Oceanic basins to allow of the outflow of glacial water from the former over the floors of the latter. So as a glacial deposit must be at present in progress on every part of the Intertropical Sea-bed which is in free communication with the Polar areas, a similar marine deposit may have been formed at any previous Geological period, without any reference either to latitude, to the climate of the neighboring land, or the general prevalence of a glacial temperature over the globe. On the other hand, the seclusion of the Polar areas from the great Ocean-basins would have entirely altered the Thermal condition of the latter, bringing it to resemble that of the Mediterranean at the present time; and Mr. Prestwich has adduced strong reason for the belief that such was the condition of the vast Sea extending from Asia and Europe across the Atlantic to America, in which the Old Chalk was deposited. Thus it becomes obvious that most important changes in the climatic conditions of any

particular Deep-Sea bottom, may have been effected, in any Geological period, by upward or downward movements in portions of the crust of the earth thousands of miles off; and some of these changes may have consisted in the establishment of two streams of very different temperature, flowing side by side in opposite directions, and forming deposits of very different characters, with almost totally diverse Fauna, on the very same geological horizon, and in absolute continuity with each other; as in the "Lightning" channel at the present time.

The Geologist who might encounter such a phenomenon would have formerly supposed that the apparent contemporaneousness of two such formations could not be real, and would have been driven to account for it by a hypothetical "fault." He will now be able to interpret the fact more truly; and will be guided by it in the search for the conditions under which these opposite movements were established and sustained.

The extension of our knowledge of the *Biological* condition of the Deep-Sea which has been effected by recent explorations, is of no inferior importance. Our knowledge of it was previously limited to that which could be derived from the examination of the small samples brought up by the Sounding Apparatus; the use of the dredge having been restricted to depths of about 400 fathoms. These samples were sufficient to prove the very extensive diffusion of low and simple forms of Animal life, belonging for the most part to the group of Foraminifera. But only a few specimens of any higher type had been obtained; and the opinion was very generally entertained that the existence of such could not be sustained under the enormous pressure to which they must be subjected at great depths. But it seems to have been forgotten that this pressure, being equal in all directions, can have but a very trifling influence on the condition of animals composed entirely of solid and liquid parts; neither altering their shape, interfering with their movements, nor obstructing any of their functions. A drop of water enclosed in a globular membranous capsule of the extremest tenuity, would undergo no other change under a fluid pressure of three tons on the square inch, than a very slight reduction of its bulk; and if an aperture existed in the capsule the contents would not escape, since while the external pressure would tend to force them out, an inward pressure of exactly equivalent amount would tend to keep them in.

It was by the remarkable success of the dredgings carried on in 1866 near the Loffoden Islands, by M. Sars, Jr., (son of the late eminent Professor at Christiania, and himself Inspector of Fisheries to

the Swedish Government), at depths ranging between 200 and 450 fathoms, that Prof. Wyville Thomson and I were first induced to move in the matter. Within this range no fewer than 427 species were collected, belonging to the higher as well as to the lower types of Marine Animal Life, and many of them entirely new. The most interesting of these was a small Crinoid, differing in the most marked manner from any Crinoid known to exist at the present time, but clearly belonging to the *Apiocrinite* family, which flourished in the Oolitic period, the large Pear-encrinite of the Bradford Clay being its most characteristic representative, whilst the far smaller *Bourgueticrinus* of the Chalk seemed to be its latest. To Prof. Wyville Thomson and myself, who had been conjointly making a special study of this group, it was clear that the little *Rhizocrinus* of Prof. Sars was a dwarfed and deformed representative of the Apiocrinite type; looking (to use Prof. Wyville Thomson's words) "like a *Bourgueticrinus* which has been going to the bad for a million of ages, somehow getting worsted in the struggle for life." And carrying backwards the same idea, the *Bourgueticrinus* itself might be supposed to be the lineal descendant of one of the great Pear-encrinites of the Oolitic period, which, during the millions of ages that elapsed before the Chalk formation began to be deposited, was undergoing the like degeneration, not improbably through a change in the Temperature of the Sea-bottom on which it lived.

The support received by my friend and myself from the most eminent Scientific authorities in London, who fully recognized the value of M. Sars's discoveries, induced the Admiralty to place at our disposal for a few weeks in the summer of 1868, the steam-vessel "Lightning;" in which we carried on dredging operations as frequently as very unfavorable weather permitted, over the area between the North of Scotland and the Faroe Islands,—this area having been selected by us, because it offered depths of from 500 to 600 fathoms within easy reach of harbor. Our success surpassed our most sanguine expectations; for not only were we able to prosecute this method of research without difficulty to a depth of 650 fathoms, and to determine the existence of a varied and abundant Marine Fauna at twice the depth which had been generally accepted (on the authority of Edward Forbes) as the *zero* of Animal life; but we obtained a number of types, which (as Thackeray said of a Church in "Our Street") were "bran new and intensely old,"—that is, were entire novelties to the Zoologist of the present, but (like the little *Rhizocrinus*) carried back the Paleontologist to the Cretaceous epoch.

Among these, the most interesting was a Siliceous Sponge so closely corresponding in general structure with the *Ventriculites* of the Chalk, that no doubt could any longer be entertained of the real character of the latter. We also brought up by the hundred-weight the grayish Atlantic mud chiefly consisting of *Globigerina*, which had been previously obtained only by the spoonful; and we entirely confirmed the observations previously made by Bailey (U. S.), Wallich, Huxley, and others, in regard to its close resemblance to chalk.

On our return from this cruise, we learned that Count Pourtales had been engaged in Deep-sea dredging, in connection with the United States coast survey of the Florida Channel; and that his results presented a remarkable accordance with our own. For he found Animal life abundant down to 350 fathoms; and several examples of higher types, though less varied and reduced in size (probably by the lower temperature, p. 45), were brought up with *Globigerina*-mud from depths ranging between 350 and 517 fathoms. Like ourselves, he obtained specimens of Sars's *Rhizocrinus* the range of which is probably co-extensive with the *Globigerina*-mud. And among the new Echinoderms he collected, several were at once recognized by Mr. Alexander Agassiz as representing cretaceous types.

These facts confirmed a surmise which had previously occurred to my colleague, and which very early appeared to me to possess a strong probability,—viz, that the formation now going on upon the North Atlantic Sea-bed is not a *repetition*, but an absolute *continuation* of the cretaceous; the deposit of *Globigerina*-mud over that area having never been interrupted during the whole of the Tertiary period. It is generally believed by Geologists that the old Cretaceous Ocean was continuous across the present Atlantic, from the cretaceous area of Europe and Asia to that of North America, and there is no evidence whatever that since the time when these two areas were uplifted into dry land, there has been any such change in the elevation of the bed of the North Atlantic, as would seriously affect its depth and extent. If this be the case, upon the newest beds of the old cretaceous formation containing the characteristic Fauna of the cretaceous epoch, there has been there deposited, contemporaneously with the Tertiaries of Europe and America, an unbroken succession of layers of a substance resembling the Old Chalk in all essential particulars, and containing numerous animal types which do not differ more from those of its uppermost beds, than do those from the types characteristic of the earlier members of the Chalk Formation. That at the end of the Secondary Period a very marked change took place in the Marine Fauna of the Cretaceous

Sea, showing itself especially in the disappearance of the *higher* types—such as Fishes and the chambered Cephalopods,—no Geologist can question. But Mr. Prestwich has supplied an adequate *vera causa* for this extinction, in the establishment at this period of a pre-communication between the Polar Area and the Cretaceous Sea, which he regards as having been previously cut off from it by an intervening Continent. The reduction of temperature thus produced would have killed off all the animals which were dependent on a warmth approaching the Tropical: whilst those which could adapt themselves to the change would have maintained their ground (with more or less of modification of structure), and would in turn leave their remains to be entombed in the ever-accumulating mass of Globigerina-mud. And thus it comes to pass that whilst we have at the present time a few Mollusks, Echinoderms, Corals, and Foraminifera which are *specifically* identical with those of the Chalk, there is a far larger number which represent the same *generic* types, and which those who accept Mr. Darwin's doctrine of "descent with modification" can have no difficulty in regarding as their lineal descendants.

The success of our "Lightning" Cruise having led to a general desire for the extension of the same method of research over a wider area, the "Porcupine" was assigned to us for the purpose in the season of 1869; during which our dredging-operations were progressively carried down to the enormous depth of 2435 fathoms, without reaching any *zero* of Animal life. From that abyssal depth (nearly equaling the height of Mont Blanc) a hundred weight and a half of Globigerina mud was brought up, and was found to contain specimens of all the principal types of Marine Animal life; among them the *Rhizocrinus* and another small Crinoid related to Apiocrinites. Of the additions made to zoology by the collections made in the three cruises of this five months' Expedition, along the Eastern border of the North Atlantic, between the latitude of 48° and 60°, it will be sufficient to state that the number of species of Testaceous Mollusca alone which they added to the British Fauna was 117, or about one-fourth of the previous total; of which 56 were absolutely new; whilst 7 were only known as Tertiary Fossils.

The interest of the zoological acquisitions actually made, and the vast extent of the new area thus opened to future research, the novelty of the Temperature observations, and the importance of the general views to which they point, seem to justify the assertion that no previous Scientific exploration of such limited extent and duration has ever yielded such a copious harvest of valuable results.

Circumstances induced us in the following year (1870) to restrict the further prosecution of our inquiries to the Atlantic coast of Spain and Portugal, the Strait of Gibraltar, and the Western basin of the Mediterranean. Our dredgings in the deep water which is found at no great distance from the Western shores of the Peninsula were extremely successful; yielding among other novelties of great interest about 20 specimens of a new and beautiful species of the *Pentacrinus* hitherto found only in West Indian Seas, which came up from a muddy bottom of between 800 and 900 fathoms depth; while another cast of the dredge in 994 fathoms brought up no fewer than 186 species of shells, of which 71 (many of them representing new genera) were previously undescribed, whilst 24 were only known as Fossils of the Sicilian Tertiaries. But when we entered the Mediterranean basin, we found over the deeper bottom, in place of the abundant Fauna we had expected, an almost total barrenness. Dredge after dredge came up laden with a tenacious mud, the most careful sifting of which gave no organic forms whatever, not even minute Foraminiferal shells. Wherever we searched at more than about 300 fathoms' depth, the result was the same; although within that depth, both along the African shore, and on the Adventure and Skerki Banks (between Sicily and the Tunisian coast) we had very fair success. This negative result tallied singularly with the conclusion drawn by Edward Forbes from his dredgings in the Ægean, which thus proved to be perfectly correct as regards the Mediterranean, though inapplicable to the open Ocean; and it also corresponded with the results obtained in the Adriatic by Oscar Schmidt, about the same time with our own. Thus the nearly *azoic* condition of the deeper part of the Mediterranean and its two extensions, obviously points to some peculiarity in its Physical conditions which unfits it for the support of Animal Life.

The question as to the nature of this peculiarity is one of great interest; for the existence of vast thicknesses of sedimentary strata almost or entirely destitute of Organic Remains, has been one of the standing puzzles of Geology, which Edward Forbes's limitation of Animal Life to 300 fathoms was supposed to have solved by relegating these deposits to seas too deep to allow of the existence of animals on their bottom. But our previous researches having shown this explanation to be untenable, a new solution of it had to be sought, and such a solution appears to me to be afforded by the peculiar state of *stagnation* which must prevail throughout the deeper portion of the two Mediterranean basins. For in the great Oceanic area, if the doctrine of a general Vertical Circulation be correct, every drop

of water is in turn brought to the surface, and exposed to the purifying influence of prolonged exposure to air. But from this movement, the water of the Mediterranean may be said to be virtually excluded, by the shallowness of the ridge which forms the marine watershed that divides it from the Atlantic; and the uniformity of its temperature from 100 fathoms downwards, precludes the existence of any Thermal circulation of its own, which would have the effect of bringing its abyssal water to the surface. That water being shut in by walls which rise 10,000 feet from its bottom, it is difficult to conceive of any agency which can disturb its stillness; and thus it comes to pass that the finest of the sedimentary particles brought down by the Rhone and the Nile, requiring a very long time to settle down, are diffused by the movement of the superficial stratum over the entire area, and then very slowly gravitate to the bottom, giving such a turbidity to the deeper water (of which samples were brought up by our water-bottle) as would be very unfavorable to the existence of most forms of Marine Animals. But this is by no means all. This sediment includes a large proportion of Organic matter; the slow decomposition of which will use up the Oxygen contained in the water, and replace it by Carbonic Acid; while the absence of any Vertical Circulation will prevent the aërating process which in the open Ocean would furnish the corrective. Continuing my inquiries in the following year (1871), I ascertained by analysis of the gases boiled off from the bottom water that my surmise was correct; the reduction of the Oxygen and the excess of Carbonic acid being such as fully to account for the Azoic character of the deeper Mediterranean bottom. And thus it would appear that the similarly Azoic strata just referred to (such as the Fleisch, a deposit 6000 feet thick, which extends from Mont Blanc to the Styrian Alps) owe their peculiarity to having been deposited in an Inland Sea cut off from the General Oceanic Circulation.

These are a few of the many points of Scientific interest, which the recent Deep-Sea Explorations in which it has been my good fortune to take a principal share, have brought into prominence. These explorations are now being carried on over a much wider area by the "Challenger" Expedition, which has been fitted out by the British Government for a Scientific Circumnavigation Voyage of from three to four years, with every appliance that experience and foresight could suggest, under the command of a most able Surveying Officer, and with an adequate Scientific staff placed under the direction of Prof. Wyville Thomson; who has been allowed the necessary leave of ab-

sence by the Senatus of the University of Edinburgh, for the purpose of affording to this Expedition the advantage of the knowledge and experience he had gathered in the researches of which the chief results have been sketched out in the foregoing pages. Nothing would be a greater pleasure to him or to myself, than to find that this communication of our result to the enlightened Public of the United States should excite sufficient interest to cause its Government to take up and prosecute similar researches with the like adequate preparation. The field is wide enough for all; a plentiful harvest may be surely counted on; will not you share it with us?

ARTICLE IV.

UNIVERSAL EDUCATION.

BY RAY PALMER, D.D.

The Connecticut Common School Journal. Edited by HENRY BARNARD, LL.D.
The American Journal of Education. Published Quarterly. Edited by HENRY BARNARD.
Report of the Commissioner of Education. By JOHN EATON, JR., U. S. C.

THE true conception of Civilization is that of a condition of society in which there is a right adjustment of the relations of man to man and of the entire spirit and drift of social life to the highest interests of the race.

This conception is a comparatively modern one, if indeed it can even now be said to have been clearly developed by those who have discussed the subject. The best ideals of the past centuries fell far short of it. They lacked certain essential elements which experience and thought, and more especially the wider influence of Christianity, have supplied. It is still common to find the word Civilization used to signify nothing more than a state of society that is characterized by the possession of some good measure of general knowledge, and of the comforts and the arts of life, and is so distinguished from a state of barbarism.

The truth is, we are convinced, that to no people of any past age has the attainment of anything nearly approaching to a complete Civilization been within the range of possibility. Such misadjustments of the individual members of society to each other, such clashing of interests and aims, such mutual wrongs among the various classes and ranks, such immeasurable vices and miseries, have everywhere existed, that to hold evil in check and to save the well disposed from the horrors of anarchy, have been the chief concern of those who, with right intentions, have wielded influence and power. That sharply to define and carefully to guard the rights, and impartially to secure the highest well being of all who compose the social body, is the true

end of civil laws and institutions, the world has been very slow to learn.

It has, however, for some time been manifest that, among the more advanced nations, a new and greatly auspicious movement towards a right practical solution of the social problem has begun. On many of the more difficult questions connected with social and civil life, the thought and the events of the present century have shed new light. The civilization of the future is henceforth to be carried forward under essentially new conditions. These must be comprehended by those who would rightly shape society and institutions. The many inventions and discoveries that have characterized the period have wrought such changes in the social system—especially in the modes of intercommunication and interaction between individuals and nations—and these have in so many particulars revolutionized the views not only of publicists and statesmen, but of the more intelligent portion of the people, that the great forces of society are in many respects working toward higher ends to-day than they ever could have been before. While this is observable in all departments of social activity, it is especially to be noticed in that of education ; in which, notwithstanding so much remains undone, a great deal has been well accomplished.

On a review of the century, it is plain that there has been a steady and great advance towards a practical conviction in the public mind of the necessity of an absolutely Universal Education in order to the highest well-being of society. The growth of this conviction has been discernible over all the States of Europe, as well as among ourselves. The civil convulsions with which the last century closed and the present opened, disastrous as they were in many respects in their immediate consequences, were partly the effect and still more largely the salutary causes, of an awakened desire and striving on the part of the masses of the people, to rise to a better condition. Even the Kings, Princes and Cabinets of the leading States, among the last too often to concern themselves about the rights and the needs of the lower classes, began early in the century to see and to admit the political necessity of giving to the greatest possible number the means of becoming fitted to take care of themselves and to fulfill individually the functions of citizenship. So widely prevalent had been before the idea that education was needed only or chiefly by those who were to fill the learned professions and the higher positions in life, that it was only by a very gradual process that the great truth that education was at once the right and the need of all, dawned

on the understandings even of the most thoughtful and philanthropic.

But the conception of education as a good to which all were entitled to have access, was not yet broad enough. It was sure to be seen also, so soon as any thorough attention should be given to the subject, that there was equal need to enlarge greatly the range of disciplines and studies. While every individual was to be trained and taught, the advantage, it was plain, should be comparatively small if each was trained and taught only on the narrow basis of the old conventional ideas of education. The next step of progress, therefore, was of course the rapid enlargement in all directions of the curriculum of studies, with corresponding advances on the established methods of instruction. It has been clearly seen that to reading, writing and arithmetic in the common schools, and the classical and philosophical courses in the higher institutions, must be added the teaching of the practical sciences and arts; of everything, in short, needed by any considerable number to fit them to work to the greatest advantage in their various pursuits. To reach all classes of society with the means of development and culture, and to teach every individual what he personally most needs to know in order that he may live usefully and well—this is the rounded, the complete conception of Universal Education.

We have spoken of the new impulse which the cause of popular education has received, as belonging to the present century. It ought, however, to be noted that various experiments looking in the right direction had been made at particular points before. Luther and Melancthon, Zwingli and Calvin and other leaders of the Reformation, as a necessary result of their position, recognized the importance of extending facilities for education to the many, and did what they could to encourage schools of different grades. Sturm, in the latter half of the 16th century, and Comenius, in the first half of the 17th, contributed greatly to the improvement of the prevailing methods of instruction, and did much to produce a better public sentiment in regard to the elevation of the people.* Scotland, so early as 1616, by act of Parliament, laid the foundation for the system of schools to which her people doubtless owe much of their proverbial acuteness

* Other names might easily be added of prominent educators whose influence was widely felt in their time; such as Spener, who introduced the catechetic method; Franké, the founder of the orphan house at Halle, in 1696; Felbiger, who reconstructed the schools of Silesia and of Austria; Basedow, who in 1781 established the Philanthropinum at Dessau, among many more or less distinguished.

and intellectual strength. Our own ancestors, but a few years later, amidst all the hardships of early colonial life, established the common schools whose fruits have so greatly enriched New England. The Empress Maria Theresa, on coming to the throne in 1740, performed a noble service of the same kind for the common people, especially in Bohemia and Belgium. Frederick II., in 1750, made provision by law for the institution and support of public schools among his subjects. But most of these earlier movements were only partially successful; because that while the people were required to establish and in part or altogether to support the schools, no adequate provision was made to secure the attendance of the entire body of children, for whose profit they were designed. They all, nevertheless, helped to bring on a better day.

It is always difficult to fix an exact date to a reformatory movement. Before such a movement becomes sufficiently conspicuous to attract the notice of the public at large, much has commonly gone before that had direct causative relation to it. But it will be sufficiently accurate if we say that the modern rapidly progressive era of popular education may very well be considered as commencing, or at least taking a new departure, with the labors of Pestalozzi and De Fellenberg in Switzerland. Pestalozzi was born in 1746 and was fifty-four years old when he established his educational institution at Burgdorf in 1800. Twenty years before he had published his *Lienhard und Gertrud*, which made him widely known as a writer on education; and the next year he published his *Wie Gertrud ihre Kinderlehrt*, in which his maturest thoughts and the principles of his system, that was destined directly and indirectly to inaugurate a new educational era, were very fully unfolded. That part of his life, therefore, in which his influence became wide and practically effective, fell within the present century. In the experiments by which, in connection with De Fellenberg and Wehrli, he attempted a practical application of his theories, enough was accomplished to make an impression that was well nigh revolutionary. The methods had enough of novelty to attract attention. The principles were many of them really new, at least in the distinctness and force with which they were propounded. The enthusiasm of the men was itself contagious. Their influence was felt through Europe, and men watched their labors not merely to admire, but to imitate as well. It was an easy and natural step from the recognition of the fact that education must involve the development of all the senses and of the physical powers, as well as of the purely intellectual faculties, and this in a

simple way, to the recognition of the propriety of carrying educational appliances into every class of society and every sphere of social life. The result was a sudden widening of the range of experiment and instruction—the rapid establishment of schools of agriculture, and of art and science in all their manifold applications to practical affairs. Polytechnic Institutions were organized one after another; and then as the necessary result of multiplying schools and departments of study, an urgent demand for teachers led to the great increase of Normal Schools in which they might be trained. Prussia, during a course of years from 1809 to 1822, reorganized and perfected her school system, since so famous.* France followed the lead of Prussia. M. Victor Cousin made his first report to the French Minister of the Interior in 1831, and a second and supplementary report in 1833; and from that time until recently, each Commune in France has had a public school. Owing to the indifference and neglect of the people, however, this provision has but very partially fulfilled its end. The Scandinavian countries, together with Austria, Switzerland and the smaller German States, have more or less rapidly advanced in the same direction. Sardinia readjusted her system of public instruction in 1859, and the law then enacted has determined the general course of education for United Italy since. Many modifications, however, have been adopted in the changed condition of the country, and other important measures have been proposed and under discussion during the last two years. The Mother of letters and arts, mindful of her old renown, is manifestly resolved to make herself a place among the most progressive nations.

In England several prominent individuals have, at different times, with some success, made attempts to fix public attention on the existing want of anything like adequate means for the education of the common people. Lord Brougham, in 1816, obtained from Parliament the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the state of education among the poor of London. In 1819, he, with some of his friends, established a model school for the children of this class. But England, though moving forward and doing some things wisely

* M. Cousin, in his well-known reports, misled many writers who adopted from him the statement that the Prussian system in its completeness was established by law in 1819. There was no such law enacted at that time. The latest and best authorities affirm that the Minister of Public Instruction showed M. Cousin a *projet* of the system and probably gave him the impression that it was to be formally established by statute. In fact, however, it was carried into effect by means of instructions given to Superintendents, and not by legal enactments.

after her conservative fashion, especially since 1871, is still far behind the most advanced portions of the continent as regards the means of popular education. The Emperor of Russia, in connection with the emancipation of the serfs, appointed a Commission to report a system of national education, which they did in 1861, and in spite of very great difficulties, it seems to be the purpose of the Imperial Government to press on in the good work begun. Even in Turkey, where it would hardly have been looked for, an admirable system of public instruction was promulgated in 1869. How far it will be made practically effective remains to be seen.

In our own country, the awakening of the public mind to the disorganized, or at least flagrantly defective, condition of the common schools, even in New England, cannot be dated much farther back than thirty-five or forty years. At the beginning of this period, their state and prospects were every way discouraging. Almost the only hopeful sign then was that there was beginning to be, in the minds of many, a painful consciousness that such was indeed the fact. Some few preliminary and almost isolated efforts for a reform had indeed been made. In 1827 the Legislature of New York, which so far back as 1812 had been the first to institute the office of State Superintendent, made provision by law for the education of teachers, by establishing departments for their training in eight Academies within the State. In the State of Massachusetts, through the exertions of a few, a decided impulse was given to public sentiment. Among the most conspicuous of those who wrote and spoke with intelligent earnestness were James G. Carter, William B. Calhoun, William C. Woodbridge, who conducted the *Journal of Education*, published at Boston; Dr. William Ellery Channing, whose eloquent pleas for the professional training of teachers and the intellectual and moral improvement of the working classes attracted much attention; Jacob Abbott, the well-known author of "The Teacher;" the Hon. Horace Mann, afterwards the able Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education; and we may fitly add Dr. Lowell Mason, by whose efforts chiefly, and not without great difficulty, the introduction of music into the public schools was at length secured. About the same time, in Connecticut, Dr. Henry Barnard was commencing that career of devoted and untiring labor, in the course of which he has rendered such distinguished service to the cause of popular education.

Mr. Mann, in his Report as Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education in 1838, wrote as follows, in relation to the actual con-

dition of the schools: "It appeared from facts ascertained during the last part of the year 1837, and communicated by me to the Board, January 1st, 1838, that the common school system of Massachusetts had fallen into a state of general unsoundness and debility; that a great majority of the school-houses were not only ill-adapted to encourage mental effort, but in many cases were absolutely perilous to the health and symmetrical growth of the children; that the schools were under a sleepy supervision; that many of the most wealthy and intelligent of our citizens had become estranged from their welfare; and that the teachers, although, with very few exceptions, persons of estimable character and great private worth, yet in the absence of all opportunities for the most difficult and delicate task which is committed to human hands, were necessarily, and therefore without fault of their own, deeply and widely deficient in the two indispensable prerequisites for their office, viz: a knowledge of the human mind, as the subject of improvement, and a knowledge of the means best adapted wisely to unfold and direct its governing faculties."

What Mr. Mann found to be the state of things in Massachusetts, Dr. Barnard, when he became Secretary of the Connecticut Board of Education, found in that Commonwealth. Provision had there been early made for the institution and support of schools, at first without enforcement by penalties; but these at a later date were found necessary, and were added. After referring to these several enactments, the late Professor Kingsley, of Yale College, in his "Historical Discourse," goes on to say that "from this detail, it is manifest that the introduction of the common school system was a work of time and unwearied effort. By perseverance, however, the benefits of education were finally perceived and acknowledged by all. A school was brought to every man's door; the poor, and even the slave, were within the reach of instruction; and hence, for nearly a century and a half, a native of Connecticut, of mature age, unable to 'read the English tongue,' has been looked upon as a prodigy." It was a great falling away from this that Dr. Barnard described in his first annual report, presented May, 1839. In that report he said—"There is no attempt to enforce the law. Hence our prisons and poorhouses number among their inmates many natives of the State, brought up within sight of the district schools, who cannot read or write; and official returns show that we have thousands who were in no school whatever in the course of the past winter and summer."

It was quite time, therefore, that the work of arousing the public

mind to the need of a wide and vigorous reform were undertaken. It was necessary, at the same time, to take care that a right direction should be given to awakened thought and feeling, by the thorough discussion of the subject in its various relations, and the gathering up of the results of the experiments made elsewhere for the sake of the light they might afford. Dr. Barnard evidently gave himself to the work with the enthusiasm of an Apostle. Commencing the *Connecticut Common School Journal* in 1838, he entered at once with ability on the fundamental questions pertaining to Popular Education, and began to publish for the benefit of all educators, and others interested, the most valuable information as to what had been done in Europe, and the aims and methods of the best systems and institutions there. In his repeated visits to the principal countries of the old world, he has examined for himself the experiments in progress, and by personal communication with the most prominent educators of Germany and Switzerland, has possessed himself of their best and broadest views. The results of his observations and thinking, he has, for a long course of years, been carefully digesting and publishing in his *Common School Journal*, and in the invaluable volumes of his *American Journal of Education*. These volumes constitute an Encyclopædia of facts, arguments, and practical methods which no organizer or teacher can afford to be without. Besides the preparation of these works, Dr. Barnard has delivered lectures and addresses on his favorite subject numbered literally by thousands. Probably no one man in the United States has done as much to advance, direct and consolidate the movement for popular education. In looking back to the commencement of his life-long labors, it would seem that he must contemplate with eminent satisfaction the progress of public sentiment and the good results already attained, as well as the brightening prospects for the future. He has done a work for which his country and coming generations ought to thank him and do honor to his name. The late Chancellor Kent, even in the earlier years of Dr. Barnard's labors, characterized him as "the most able, efficient, and best-informed officer that could be engaged perhaps in the service;" and said of the earlier volumes of his *Journal* and other publications, "I can only refer to these documents with the highest opinion of their value."* The later volumes are much more complete and valuable than the earlier.

As the result of the efforts of such leaders as those to whom we have referred, the progressive movement for popular education in this

* Kent's Commentaries, Vol. II., 7th Ed., p. 197.

country has been healthful and as rapid as could reasonably have been expected. The policy of the General Government of the United States has from the first been liberal as regards provision for education. In admitting the new States, Congress has made it a condition that in each township a section of land should be set apart for the support of public schools. The State governments also have provided by law for the interests of common education; and though in several of the States the provision is practically far from being adequate, yet the current of public sentiment is setting strongly in the right direction. It is gratifying to know from the census of 1870, that there were then in the United States more than six and a half millions of pupils in more than one hundred and twenty-four thousand schools, taught by upwards of two hundred and nineteen thousand teachers; and that one hundred and fourteen Normal Schools were in operation, only two States remaining without. The influence of the Normal Schools appears in the marked improvement of the common schools under the care of the teachers they have furnished. To these encouraging signs of progress may be added the organization of a great number of teachers' associations and conventions, meeting at stated times for the purpose of discussion and the comparison of views and practical experiences; the great improvement in school-books, apparatus and methods of instruction; the increased respect paid to the office of a teacher, and the deeper interest in the whole subject exhibited by parents, by eminent public men, and by the press. It is sufficiently humiliating to learn from Commissioner Eaton, that there are still at the very least a million and a half of wholly illiterate adult males in the United States; yet one cannot well note what is actually going forward in the way of educational improvement and not anticipate the speedy coming of a better period. That we cannot as a people rest content till ample provision for Universal Education has not only been made, but rendered generally effectual, seems now to be quite certain.

The true system of means and agencies for the attainment of this great end must accomplish the following things:

1. It must secure to the whole people such elementary education and training as all alike need for the common offices and the ordinary industries of life.

2. Such as shall prepare those who wish to apply themselves to all kinds of labor requiring special skill, to the highest forms of mercantile and general business, to the learned professions and to public life, to do so intelligently and without waste of time and power.

3. Such as shall render it easy, in every department of labor, to turn to the best account the various resources of Art and the possible practicable applications of the Sciences.

4. Such as shall effectively stimulate observation, invention and discovery, and so help to extend the boundaries of knowledge.

5. Such as will supply the requisite number of accomplished teachers of all grades, from the primary school to the university.

6. Such as will enable the student who desires to do so to advance to the highest range of scholarship, in the largest meaning of that term.

7. And finally, such as will secure a liberal moral and religious culture to all classes.

Fully to prepare and to put into operation a system of appliances that can do all this, must of course be a work of time and a result of patient and unwearied effort. But great as the task is, when one considers its relation to national well-being and to the advancement of the race it is impossible not to feel that it can and must be accomplished. That it has been earnestly begun, may well awaken thankfulness and lend fresh inspiration to the zeal of those who appreciate its moral grandeur.

The comprehensive statement just made of what is essential to Universal Education includes, it will be noticed, provision for all grades of culture, from the lowest to the highest.* In the advance of the educational movement, there must of course be a working upward, till the colleges and universities, including in these the polytechnic and professional schools, are fully developed and the highest wants are provided for; and a working downward, till the common schools and the schools of purely elementary and practical arts and industries are made as perfect as possible and the lowest wants are met. It is not our present purpose to refer to the higher forms of education. An able writer, we understand, will treat of these in an Article of a future number of this Review. It is in reaching the great

* It has not been necessary, in the modern educational advance, to insist on the value of the higher institutions of learning. This was already well understood. The spirit of progress has, however, reached and agitated these. They have been moved to add to the colleges, faculties of Science and Art with reference to their practical applications; to produce and use far better text-books and more extensive and ingenious apparatus, and to adopt better methods of instruction. Men of wealth have been led, with a munificence before unknown, to give large sums for the erection of buildings, the enlargement of libraries and cabinets, and the endowment of new and special chairs of instruction. The result of these things has been, in the older institutions, like Yale and Harvard, some decided progress towards a realization of the true idea of a University.

masses of the people, and especially the laboring classes, that the chief difficulties must be encountered and the most notable transformations wrought. Let the common schools of the country be made numerous enough and such in character as they should be, and the higher education will take care of itself. The force of public sentiment will be sufficient to secure the liberal endowment of the needed institutions, and to give them proper shape.

At this point, then, we reach the great practical question—How is the *universal* attendance of the young on the means of popular education to be secured? It is just here that there is at the present time, as it would seem, the greatest need of light, or at least of strong convictions. The subject is sometimes treated without a due regard to its intrinsic difficulties. It has been thought that what is so much to be desired might be accomplished in a very summary way by the sheer force of law; as if nothing were needed but compulsory enactments. The idea of compulsory education is by no means a modern one. It is at least as old as Plato. In the *Laws*, the Athenian Stranger is made to say :*

“In these several schools let there be dwellings for teachers who shall be brought from foreign parts by pay; and let them teach the frequenters of the school the art of war and the art of music; and they shall come not only if their parents please but if they do not please; and if then education is neglected, there shall be *compulsory education* of all and sundry, as the saying is, so far as this is possible; and the pupils shall be regarded as belonging to the *State* rather than their parents.”

In the modern educational movement, the question of compulsory education has of course become an immediately practical one. On the one hand, we have the fact that in this country, where the execution of the laws depends so much on public opinion, though compulsory statutes—those of Connecticut for example—availed for a time, as stated by Professor Kingsley, yet at last when the public grew indifferent, they proved wholly ineffectual. On the other hand it appears that compulsory laws with a strong government to enforce them, as in Prussia, have produced excellent results. The effect of legislation, in such a matter, must obviously depend very much on the circumstances under which the experiment is made. Statutes, however stringent, are likely to accomplish very little unless some power behind sustains and gives them force.

On the whole, we incline to the opinion that here in the United States, it would be nearly or quite as great an error to attempt to se-

* Plato's *Laws*, Jowett's Trans., Book 7., p. 732.

cure Universal Education by relying chiefly on legislation, as it would be to leave parents and children entirely free to use or to neglect educational provisions. We believe fully in coercion as a necessary element in a complete educational system ; but there is much that in the order of importance should be placed before it. There is need of practical wisdom in the adjustment of means to the end proposed. Much may be done that will help to reduce the necessity for coercive measures to the narrowest possible limits. If the idea of compulsion is put in the foreground and made too prominent, it is very likely to produce the impression in the popular mind that to educate children is an unwelcome duty, like that of paying taxes ; and so to cause it to be regarded with repugnance. The statute should press only as the adjunct and complement of sound views wrought into the popular mind and heart ; together with all persuasive and generous influences so brought to bear as to move the better portion of the people to do gladly and thankfully what, for the sake of the remaining portion, the law must positively command.

The truth must not be overlooked that the basis and starting point for the Universal Education of the people is the family. Though the individual may be regarded as the unit of social life, the family is the unit of social organization. By the law of nature children are placed, in their earliest and most impressible years, under the care and control of parents. Their education, for good or evil, will inevitably begin under the influences so supplied ; and parents have, or may have, by far the most effective agency in determining what their children shall be when they shall have grown up to mature years. They have, too, a deeper interest in the future of their children than any one else can have. Says Chancellor Kent ;

“Without some preparation made in youth for the sequel of life, children of all conditions would probably become idle and vicious when they grow up, either from the want of good instruction and habits, and the means of subsistence, or from want of rational and useful occupation. A parent who sends his son into the world uneducated, and without skill in any art or science, does great injury to mankind, as well as to his own family ; for he defrauds the community of a useful citizen and bequeaths to it a nuisance. This parental duty is strongly inculcated by the writers on natural law. Solon was so deeply impressed with the force of the obligation that he even excused the children of Athens from maintaining their parents, if they had neglected to train them up to some art or profession.” *

Christianity likewise distinctly recognizes, and enforces with its sanctions, the responsibility of parents for the suitable training of

* Kent's Commentaries, Vol. II., 7th ed., p. 187-8.

their children. By special precepts it in fact constitutes the family a school.

The first step, therefore, towards Universal Education is to act on parental judgment and affection ; to awaken in the minds of parents the conviction that with them it rests to determine, in great measure, the failure or success of their children in coming life ; and to show them the necessity of earnest effort to secure for them, in addition to home training, the best possible educational advantages. When once their interest has been awakened, and they are led to notice that other children in circumstances like those of their own households, by availing themselves of the means of education placed within their reach, have been enabled steadily to rise till they have attained the highest positions, the largest wealth, the greatest honor and influence ; to gain, in short, what are regarded as the highest prizes of life ; when they see that the artists, the men of science, the scholars, the poets, orators and statesmen, to whom the world does homage, have ascended from the lowest to the highest of human conditions by means of personal training and culture, they will, as a matter of course, become eager to secure for their own children the benefits of education. Great numbers of parents, if proper pains be taken, may so be taught to claim it as their right—far better than to have them driven to it as a duty—to secure for their sons and daughters every advantage that the best public schools, and afterwards perhaps the higher institutions, can bestow.

It may be thought that this method of beginning with the family will prove too slow ; that to wait till parents shall have learned to demand that provision be made for the education of their children, will be to defer indefinitely the day when the means of culture shall be enjoyed by all. To this objection two answers may be given. First, that were this true, it is none the less beginning where alone, in the nature of things, a sure foundation for Universal Education can be laid ; so that it were best to adopt this course, although it would take longer. But secondly, that if once it be clearly understood that this is the primary thing to be done, and the efforts of those who would promote the cause of education were energetically turned in this direction, it need not require so very long a time to enlighten and move the majority of parents. Even now it is often seen that parental solicitude prompts the common laborer, himself uneducated, not only to desire, but to make great sacrifices to secure for his children the educational advantages which may prepare them to rise in the social scale, and become, in the various contests of life, the rivals

of the best. What then might not be looked for, if systematic and effective means to enlighten them were used; if courses of popular lectures, for example, were arranged in a way to reach the many who need to be instructed on the subject; if by friendly visitation in their homes, they were approached with persuasive words; if simple tracts and books, prepared for the special purpose, were placed in every family where there was any one who could read; and above all, if the various Christian Churches, conscious of a high responsibility in relation to the matter, would co-operate vigorously in the work; and the ministers of religion, and the great army of Sabbath-school teachers, would faithfully teach the inexpressible value of education to all classes? We hold it certain, that if the masses who to a great extent neglect to seek a proper training for their children, were approached on the subject of education as a right to be justly claimed, and a great and precious benefit, with something like the earnestness and perseverance that have been exhibited in relation to temperance, for example, it would not be found difficult to enkindle in the minds of great numbers, now indifferent, a strength of desire, an enthusiasm even, in behalf of education, that would speedily and greatly swell the ranks of pupils in our schools. The movement once begun, moreover, might be expected to advance as if in geometrical progression. Almost nothing has as yet been attempted in this direction. The experiment should faithfully be made.

While endeavoring to bring parental influence to aid spontaneously in securing attendance on the public schools, the schools themselves must be invested with an attractiveness which shall be a positive element of power. The locality, the edifice and architectural arrangements, the methods of government and instruction, the entire atmosphere and genius of the place must be made such as to invite attendance. The reverse of this was very generally found to be the case by Mr. Mann, in Massachusetts, and by Dr. Barnard, in Connecticut. The common school house of forty years ago, even in the best rural districts of New England, was too generally placed on a site appropriated to this purpose apparently because it was good for nothing else. It might be on a naked rock, a barren sand or clay bank, or a piece of bog meadow, without inclosure, shade, or ornament; hot as an oven beneath its low roof in the summer, and in the winter half-warmed with its open fire-place. In the cities, of course, the state of things was better, but almost everywhere it was bad. Within the unsightly edifice were found seats hardly more comfortable to sit in than the stocks, and much too commonly an almost ferocious severity

of discipline. With honorable exceptions, the teachers knew comparatively little of the art of teaching, or of the pleasant devices which it belongs to that art to employ in relieving monotony by well-adjusted change, and breathing over all a spirit of cheerful animation. No wonder that children shrank from leaving home, especially when that was bright and happy, to spend long hours each day where all was sombre and forbidding. Let the location of the school-house be pleasant, healthful and convenient; let its architecture and outward aspect, its surrounding trees and shrubbery, when these are possible, its walks and its playgrounds, and all its internal economy and arrangements, be such as true taste and fitness will approve; and above all, let the teacher be one who practically understands the art of combining the necessary authority with a spirit of refinement, gentleness, and love; and the place will have a charm about it which both parents and children will not fail to recognize. One of the earliest attempts that we remember to make a large school positively attractive and enjoyable, was that of Mr. Jacob Abbott at the Mt. Vernon school in Boston, a private school, established upwards of forty years ago. As it was in the midst of a city there was nothing external to distinguish it; but its arrangement of studies, its variety of duties, its well-timed recreations, its perfect order, which made the whole appear as if moved by unseen clockwork, and the kindly and genial spirit that seemed entirely to pervade the place, gave it to the pupils the attractiveness of a social gathering for the enjoyment of a refined and noble pleasure. By similar means, even in the heart of the City of New York, the Twenty-seventh Street public school has for a long time been kept crowded; the parents being eager to send their children, and the children counting it a hardship to be excluded. It will be an immense advantage gained, when to the minds of parents and children generally, the public school shall seem surrounded with a lustrous halo, and connected with all sorts of pleasant associations.

Of course it is impossible that any school should bear the character now indicated, unless it be thoroughly permeated by a moral atmosphere that is felt, by all who come in contact with it, to be positively pure and salutary. There has been no little discussion, and some excited feeling, in relation to the opening of the daily sessions of the public schools with the reading of the scriptures and some simple religious exercises. We do not propose to discuss that subject here. To do so would oblige us to exceed our limits. There are, no doubt, serious difficulties to be met in reaching an adjustment

of it that shall prove generally satisfactory. Yet we cannot but think there are none that may not be surmounted without infringing the rights or wounding the consciences of any, if the matter be approached in a just and kindly spirit. But leaving this great question to be decided in the light of full discussion and large experience, we earnestly maintain, that the elementary principles of moral philosophy, and the ethical rules that must practically determine the spirit and conduct of every well-ordered life, are an absolutely essential part of the course of popular instruction and discipline; and that the omission to teach these faithfully, cannot be justified on any ground whatever. A thousand children are brought together into one of our city schools. As they come from their homes, many of them from their miserable dens that do not deserve that name, they form a heterogeneous multitude, a large part of whom have received no wholesome instruction, and of course have no distinct conception of what good morals and refined manners do really require. There may be among them many jewels in the rough. But how are these young—it may almost literally be said—semi-barbarians, to be fashioned by the school into modest, well-behaved, and to a reasonable extent, refined and virtuous boys and girls? Is there the least hope that any such result can be attained without giving them careful instruction as to the difference between right and wrong, and as to what constitutes, in minute detail, good conduct, cultivated or at least becoming manners, and pure morals? It cannot be done by the mere force of authority and command. The moral nature must itself be quickened, conscience and sensibility developed, right impulses and worthy aspirations awakened and directed, and the perception of what is excellent and beautiful in character made as definite as possible. So far as this is done, the influence of the teacher is increased, and the difficulties of his work diminished. His words of counsel will have greater weight and his rules and drill will be more effective. Law and order will be sustained by the convictions, and the tastes even, of the great body of the pupils. A school in which the pupils are wisely and persistently taught good morals and good manners, as an essential part of the course of daily instruction, and inspired with a laudable ambition to exemplify these in themselves, will steadily become homogeneous, more plastic to the teacher, and more happy and successful in its study. There will be little difficulty in drawing pupils to such a school.

In determining the internal arrangements, method and spirit of a school, the teacher will necessarily be the central force. It will not

be possible to make such schools as will win and hold the popular favor, without teachers that understand their business; teachers that to an acquaintance with the branches of knowledge to be taught, add also agreeable manners, self-control, tact in organization and government, practical skill in the art of teaching, and a true enthusiasm in their work. In the earlier days of the present educational movement very few such could be found. Even now, the supply is comparatively limited, after all that has been done in the establishment of Normal Schools. Of the large number of these schools reported as in operation throughout the United States, a few are well organized and offer those who desire to teach the means of an adequate training, theoretical and practical, for their vocation. But many that are called Normal Schools, are but very partially what the name implies. It is indispensable to an advance towards Universal Education, that the schools for the training of teachers already existing should be made in the highest possible degree thorough and effective, and that many more should be added to the number; and then that care should be taken by those who are choosing teachers to accept such only—unless it be in cases of sheer necessity—as have availed themselves of the advantages of those preparatory institutions. By demanding of those who would engage in the business of teaching the evidence that they have faithfully submitted themselves to the theoretical drill and the experimental routine of the genuine Normal School, or done what is equivalent to this, two great advantages will be secured:—a higher type of teachers will be found generally in the places of instruction, and the profession of teaching will become, as it should, more honorable in public estimation and more remunerative to those who are successful in it and accept it as their life-work. It is impossible to make the position of a teacher such in the popular judgment that men of a high order of talent shall deem it worth their while to choose it for life, as one of commanding influence and yielding satisfactory rewards, except by elevating the average standard of qualification for teaching, and by sending forth from Normal Schools of the very highest character large numbers who are able to vindicate their right to respect and recompense. The more of such teachers are furnished, the more the priceless value of education will be seen of all, and the more easily will its influence be extended throughout society. We are on the right track, in this department of educational progress; but advanced educators, who are leaders of public opinion, should not rest satisfied till the whole country has a system of Normal Schools as complete as it can be made.

But even the most perfect educational system cannot be expected fully to accomplish its ends so as to commend itself permanently to popular favor, without efficient superintendence. That this is indispensable, experience has amply shown. Liberal provision for it has accordingly been made in the school legislation of the most advanced States of Europe, the form of it differing somewhat in different States, but the reality amounting practically to nearly the same thing in all. Teachers, even with the best training for their work, will on trial develop different degrees of aptitude. They will always be liable to grow remiss at some particular points; or to push favorite ideas and theories too far; or to venture on unprofitable experiments, at the expense of loss of time to the pupils and of money to the parents; or to lose the progressive spirit and fall into mere routine. It is therefore a matter of absolute necessity that there should be official and authoritative supervision, by means of which slight aberrations should be seasonably corrected, a sense of responsibility maintained, and the vital forces of each school kept perpetually in play. Happily, under the General Government in the United States there is now a department of education, at the head of which is an able and energetic Commissioner, Mr. John Eaton, Jr.; not exercising a direct superintendence over particular schools, but over the general adjustment and working of the entire system; collecting, and publishing in elaborately prepared annual reports, the statistics and history of progress made, and doing whatever can be done by such an officer to enlighten the public mind, in relation to national education, and give to the efforts of educators a wise direction. Each of the States, with the exception of Maryland, has now a Superintendent. The State Superintendents, of course, come into closer relation to the teachers and the schools. Where Superintendents of cities and towns have been provided—and they have been in many towns and cities and ought to be to the greatest practicable extent—they are able, by immediate contact with teachers and schools, to suggest, direct, and stimulate, as may be needful. If the Superintendents are qualified for their position and exercise a constant and faithful supervision, the result is sure to appear in the high discipline, the thoroughness of instruction and training, and the healthful atmosphere and moral beauty of the schools.

In proportion as the public schools are made to realize the ideal of what such institutions ought to be, the number of private schools will undoubtedly diminish. These have multiplied to so great an extent, because the public schools were not of a character

to satisfy intelligent parents; and the withdrawing, on this account, of large numbers of the better class of pupils, has in turn helped on still further the process of deterioration. But with the best public schools, there will probably always be some parents who for one reason or another will still prefer schools of their own arranging. In securing an adequate education to every child, each State should of course provide by law that the *private*, no less than the public schools, should be subject to the inspection of the Superintendent of the city, or district, within which they are kept. It should be his duty to see that the programme of studies in the former were at least equivalent to that prescribed in the latter of the same grade, and to ascertain, by actual examinations, that the pupils were in good faith taught accordingly. Otherwise it would be possible that under the pretense of attending private schools, many children would grow up without having received any valuable training. No such possibility should be allowed to exist. While in accordance with the free spirit of American institutions, entire liberty should be allowed to such as may prefer to send their children to private schools, it belongs to the State to see that these too have all the advantages and safeguards of an impartial supervision. Without this there can be no certainty that Universal Education is secured.

That the movement towards Universal Education must rely largely for its success on the things to which we have particularly referred, will not be doubted by any who have intelligently given attention to the subject. To enlighten and interest parents and enlist the full power of home influence in favor of the schools; to make the schools themselves, externally and internally, inviting as well as morally healthful; to supply an adequate number of competent and well-trained teachers, and to secure by watchful supervision over public and private schools alike, the right working of the system even to its minute details, will be, we believe, to bring a large majority of the children of the country gladly to avail themselves of the means of education. These will be likely, at least the larger number of them, to make the most of their opportunities, because they will have learned to prize them as related to their own prospects for coming life. Awakened desire for knowledge will stimulate them more than statutes. But what of the remaining portion—the minority of children, many of whom are without home and parents, and have no chance of becoming acquainted with the worth of education, or with the attractions of the schools; or, worse still, who have parents so destitute even of the better instincts of humanity that, for their own

gain, they condemn their offspring to spend what should have been their years of discipline and culture, in the manufactory or the workshop? To leave these to their fate is to permit the existence in the bosom of society of a vast hot-bed of all vice; to perpetuate a school which will unceasingly educate and send forth in abundance all sorts of evil-workers. It is for the benefit of this class of the children of the country chiefly, that constraint must needs be applied. Compulsory laws, faithfully enforced, are for them indispensable. Experience has shown this everywhere. Let us not be understood as saying that it is best to wait till all other means have been fully tried, before requiring by law that all children at the proper age shall attend the schools. Judicious laws to this effect should be at once enacted where they have not been, and inexorably enforced; and this enforcement ought to be heartily sustained by public opinion. We have simply wished to insist that in the order of thought and feeling, in the popular apprehension of the matter, compulsory laws, instead of being the first things, should be among the last; that the friends of Universal Education should make it their chief labor so to instruct parents in relation to their duty and to enlighten the public mind in general, and so to perfect the character and working of the schools, that to the larger and better portion of the people it shall seem a matter of course, a privilege not to be foregone, that their children should diligently avail themselves of the means of education. It cannot be too strongly urged that there is a great work to be done of the kind which has been indicated; a work without the faithful doing of which we shall look in vain to legislation. Is there not some danger that in giving legislative action too great prominence, and turning our eyes too eagerly towards that, we may be in some measure diverted from the higher and more essential work of using direct and effectual means to remove the obstacles to Universal Education, that lie in the ignorance and prejudice and selfishness of the people? Let such means be used far more widely, more earnestly, and with more of Christian patriotism and philanthropy than they ever yet have been, by all who love their country and their race; and at the same time let them be supplemented by wise laws, enforced in a kind spirit, but with unyielding firmness. When the absolute necessity not only of providing the means of education for all, but of actually educating every child—so far at least as to qualify him or her for the duties of ordinary social and civil life—shall have become a profound conviction in the minds and hearts of the great body of the people,

love and law will harmoniously work together for the speediest possible attainment of the great result desired.

If the vast work of educating the entire population of the United States, so that all classes shall be able to meet the responsibilities of their position under favorable conditions, is to be successfully carried forward, it must be through the combined efforts of educators and other leaders of public thought and feeling directed vigorously to that specific end. A magnanimous liberality, broad and enlightened views, multiplied and reliable agencies, a generously co-operative spirit, and indomitable energy and perseverance, will be imperatively demanded. The more is done in the way of collecting and comparing the facts of experience, the more there shall be of candid and searching discussion of principles and methods, the more professional enthusiasm is enkindled among teachers, and especially, the more the power of education to advance the well-being of a people is illustrated before the eyes of all, the more rapid will be the progress towards complete success. That the education of the children of the country is to be accomplished mainly by means of the public schools, if it be done at all, we believe to be a thing entirely settled in the minds of the more intelligent portion of the American people. The system now in operation is not going to be broken up, that the funds appropriated by the General and State governments may be divided among many paltry cliques, but is to be perfected in the highest possible degree, and compacted into a grand unity. There is a wholesome sensitiveness in the public mind in relation to this matter; and no class of citizens, nor any political party, can make the attempt to overthrow or to cripple the public schools without arousing a popular sentiment that will overwhelm them with mortifying defeat. Not until, as a nation, we have lost the spirit of our ancestors and the love of enlightened and salutary freedom; not until we have become basely degenerate, and have lost the honorable ambition to build up on this magnificent domain that God has given us a nobler civilization than the world as yet has ever seen; shall we suffer ruthless hands to be laid on those provisions for the culture and elevation of all, which even now, though not yet complete, are our glory and just national pride. What has been accomplished during the last half century justifies the best hopes for the future.

It is coming to be more and more clearly seen that the prosecution of the work of extending education to the whole people is urged by the highest considerations. Political economy demands that it be done. The power of each citizen to benefit the whole is

enhanced tenfold by education. It will ordinarily be directly proportioned to his right discipline and knowledge. Philanthropy equally demands that it be done. The coarseness, the depravity, the vice and wretchedness that characterize such multitudes in our towns and cities, will only yield to intellectual and moral culture that shall reach them all. Patriotism demands that it be done. It is only by fusing together the elements supplied by the immigration from so many countries, that an American people in a good degree homogeneous in character, possessed by a common spirit, filled with similar aspirations, and ready to co-operate in all that may advance the true prosperity and glory of their country, can be formed. Christianity demands that it be done. She has made known the inestimable worth of individual man, and has asserted the obligation of the rich, of those who make and those who administer the laws, and of the churches and the ministers of religion, to recognize in each fellow-man a brother, and to do whatever wisdom and love combined can do, to elevate and bless those who are born to few advantages. We know of nothing to which the best gifts of genius, and the highest intellectual and moral culture can more worthily be consecrated, than this truly noble work of bringing on as speedily as possible the day when popular education shall have been made literally universal. Every educator, every statesman, every man of wealth and personal influence, every educated young man or woman, may well count it an object worthy of the best ambition, to help forward a work on which, to so great an extent, depends the future well-being, not of our own country alone, but of the whole human race.

ARTICLE V.

THE PRUSSIAN CHURCH LAW.

BY BARON FRANZ VON HOLTZENDORFF, LL.D.,

Professor of International and Criminal Law, Munich.

IN theory, the legal relations which can possibly exist between the Christian Church and the political State power, may be reduced to four different ground forms. The first may be termed Theocratical Government; the second Cæsaropapism; the third the system of perfect separation between Church and State; and finally there is the system of co-operation based upon common working, and at the same time on mutual recognition of respective independence in Church and State life. This classification might, perhaps, be simplified by referring it to two distinct principles ruling the historical vicissitudes of Church and State. It is either subordination and unity, or it is co-ordination and dualism, that are to be considered as the governing ideas in the development of Church and State life. The unmixed purity of any of those ground forms is of rare occurrence in the Christian world. There are many transitions and intermediate shades in the constitution of the ecclesiastical and the temporal power.

First as to Theocracy. It is the system of papacy and the canon law, as contained in the *decretales epistolæ*, more especially in the codifications of the mediæval Catholic Church. Since the times of Gregory VII., of Innocent III., and of Bonifacius VIII., the cardinal doctrine of the Roman Catholics has continued to maintain the supremacy of the papal power, its preponderance in all matters even of civil government, the subjection of kings and emperors under the absolute authority of priesthood, their liability to deposition in cases of heresy and rebellion against the eternal laws of the Christian Church. The Pope is the sovereign of the world, the King of kings. According to the doctrines of the canon law there cannot be any *sovereign* political power, nor any individual independence beyond the limits assigned by the ecclesiastical power. The consequence is,

that all civil government must remain under the higher control of the Pope. Neither the opposition which the spiritual supremacy had to encounter in the middle ages on the side of the Emperors and the Ghibellines, nor the more powerful revolution of Protestantism, have been strong enough to entirely subdue the aspirations of that theocracy in Europe. The Popes, it must be remembered, have not at all times been acting on the principle of ecclesiastical supremacy. In their quality as Italian princes, they had to experience the changing influences of political circumstances, driving them from time to time into modesty and reserve. In order to win over to their temporal interest the monarchs of Spain, France and Austria, they sometimes receded from their principles. They could not always escape the necessity of granting concessions to the temporal power and of recognizing its equality in their treaties of alliance or in their concordats. Nevertheless, and in spite of apparent modesty, the mediæval doctrine has without any interruption been taught as Christian truth in the clerical instruction of Roman seminaries and colleges. However weak in practice, the theory of papal supremacy has been considerably strengthened since the times of Loyola, and the doctrine of eternal war to be waged against the Protestant heresy has been the constant preaching of Jesuitism, wherever it was admitted to profess its tenets. A new world of inventions has grown up around us, which we cannot help seeing, yet the papal doctrine does either ignore or condemn it.

At no time whatever has the right of individual liberty and conscience been acknowledged by the Roman Court. A thirty years' war against German Protestantism could not impress it with the necessity of living at peace with heresy. On the contrary, the Popes have, ever since the peace of Westphalia, been protesting against recognizing the legal equality of different creeds. They protested against the erection of the Prussian Monarchy in 1701, pretending that it was *their* privilege to create royal dignity. Not even the restoration of the temporal power by the Congress of Vienna could satisfy their ambition so far as to secure their acquiescence in that treaty of peace. Since the times of the French revolution, the sudden and frequent recurrence of political overthrow had gradually been destroying the traditional belief which European nations had been accustomed to entertain in the permanence of secular government. Such a period appeared peculiarly adapted to the assertion of the immutability of the spiritual power. It is natural, therefore, that Ultramontanism and Jesuitism have been constantly increasing

since the downfall of the French revolution. All the novel ideas of personal freedom had perfectly failed to create that degree of human happiness, which the continental nations had been anticipating from the destruction of absolute monarchical power in France and Germany. The greatest amongst the generation living in the beginning of the present century, had been singled out to suffer the deepest fall, while the spiritual monarch had left captivity to triumphantly return to the eternal see of Saint Peter. In the eyes of the popular mind the Pope's power seemed to reflect the image of eternity. There is a natural tendency amongst the people at large, to associate the ideas of political stability with the blessings of religious life. And on the contrary, disappointment and the destruction of long cherished hopes will weaken their confidence in the value of political systems based upon the considerations of mere temporary expediency. As in some Protestant denominations, the outbreak of unforeseen calamities and commercial crises has been proved to favor religious revivals, and to dispose to active penitence, so clericalism is always rising into power in consequence of political failures. Three revolutions, which had been shaking almost all the countries of Europe, in 1789, 1830, and 1848, having remained without any visible effect, it was not at all astonishing to witness a constant growth in the worship of papal authority. In science and arts, in jurisprudence and poetry, in the administration of public affairs, and in theology, in the fashionable life of European courts and in the practice of diplomacy, there appeared since the restoration of 1815 that singular current of the public mind which has been historically described under the common name of "Romanticism." Quite a number of eminent men had been prevailed upon to renounce Protestantism as a sort of revolutionary fallacy, and again to embrace the Catholic Creed, which the Romantic school of politicians were ready to acknowledge as reliably warranting conservative traditions. As to Germany, even the Lutherans were strongly influenced by some strange predilection for the miraculous unity and strength of the Holy See. Some of their most prominent German leaders, as Professor Leo of Halle, Dr. Stahl of Berlin, and President von Gerlach, have openly professed their almost unlimited sympathy for the Roman Sister Church and her principles of theocratical authority.

In 1850 scarcely any one could have denied, that clericalism was possessed of such a degree of authority amidst the highest classes of European society, as it had not enjoyed in the times of Voltaire and Diderot, of Kant and Lessing. After the second

restoration of the Pope and his alliance with Louis Napoleon, *theocracy* was celebrating its revival not only in Catholic, but also in Protestant countries, more especially in Prussia, whose monarch, Frederick William IV. had at all times shown himself to be favorably disposed to the Roman Church. The period between 1850 and 1870 is remarkable for a series of such unparalleled triumphs as had, perhaps, never before been witnessed within so short a period of church history. There was the nomination of a Catholic Archbishop of Westminster against the outcry of the English Protestant press. There was the Pope's proclamation of the Immaculate Virgin. There was, amidst the inglorious rise of the Austrian Empire, the Austrian Concordat of 1855 with its almost incredible privileges in favor of the Catholic clergy, and with its concessions amounting almost to the abdication of the temporal power. There were the Papal Encyclica and the Syllabus, condemning modern history, religious liberty, liberalism, the liberty of the press and all the achievements of freedom and humanity, of peace and charity. There was Roman Jesuitism, imperceptibly creeping into the most powerful corporations of the Catholic Church. There was the subjection of the bishoprics and the metropolitan dignity under the absolute authority of the central power. There was, to the astonishment of the German world, the proclamation of the infallibility of the Pope. Infallibility of the Pope, referring to the present, to the future and the past of mankind—does it mean anything else but glorifying the principle of *theocracy*? No one amongst the living generation of statesmen has ever pretended to be exempt from the misleadings of error. The most sagacious politicians, as Bismarck, the most experienced generals, as Moltke, have, without feeling the slightest degree of reluctance, acknowledged their liability to erring even in the most familiar business of their professional life. The cleverest men have made a confession of their consciousness of human frailty, of their duty to amend the fallacies of their former lives. When, in comparison with those men enjoying the highest possible political authority, the Roman Pope is really believed to be infallible in all those matters, on which he might feel obliged to proclaim his spiritual doctrines, then there exists *theocracy*, and the doctrinal subordination of the temporal power at least proportionally to the number of the believing class. It is merely a question of time and fact, whether on any occasion the Pope will assume the real exercise of spiritual supremacy. With regard to some countries, he might perhaps never feel any temptation to do so. With regard to other countries, any circumstances whatever

might induce him to avail himself of what he will consider his divine right.

The second system, which we have described as Cæsaropapism, although descending from the same principle of perfect unity in the combination of temporal and spiritual power, is not now of such primary importance as the novel aspirations of *theocracy*. It is essential, and has been held to be essential since times immemorial, since the very beginnings of Christianity, that true religion and the individual action of our conscience should be proceeding from divine authority, and not from the political dictates of the temporal power. This belief is the corner-stone of practical theocracy, lasting so long as the priesthood is acknowledged to exclusively embody divine truth.

On the other hand, the most intelligent statesmanship has been prone to recognize the particular power inherent in the active play of religious motives. It is not necessary to go into details to prove the political importance of religious worship. It is sufficient to refer to the undeniable fact, that a pious and religious soldiery has on all battle-fields shown itself to be far superior to mere technical skill of warfare. There are few institutions weighing so heavily in the eyes of European statesmen as the efficiency of army organization. William of Orange, Cromwell, and Gustavus Adolphus, Eugene of Savoy, and Frederic the Great have been fully aware of what military value was to be attributed to religion. Hence it is natural, that, wherever there was religious unity in existence, the temporal power should have made legal provisions to maintain it against the dissolving power of controversial theology. In its preliminary stages of social development, no nation can stand hearing two theological and religious systems at once. There is a constant danger of religious warfare in all those countries, where people are living under the strong impression that there is only one belief leading to salvation. It requires a long teaching and sometimes a long suffering, before society becomes accustomed to the co-existence of different creeds, and the governing law of equality. No doubt that heterodoxy, religious controversy and the antagonism of contending or rivaling denominations have always been attended with a tendency to weaken the political government, or to provoke foreign intervention. Religious dissensions have at all times offered a fair opportunity of war-like aggression. Accordingly, the first feeling in strong communities will be always in favor of persecution against the weaker party, with a view to suppress religious discussions as something hostile to State

power. Owing to this feeling, it is easily to be explained, why even princes, averse to Popery, have during the middle ages been quite willing to obey the Church in burning heretics. The model system of Cæsaropapism must be acknowledged to have existed under the Byzantine emperors, and in the Greek empire. To some extent, the Russian Orthodox Church approaches to the same principle, the emperor holding at the same time the spiritual and the temporal power in his hands. Still it may be observed, that Cæsaropapism has never evinced so strong a tendency towards influencing the spiritual power as *vice versa* theocracy with regard to secular interests. Persecution, almost innate in the character of theocracy, is not equally cherished by the temporal power. A similar system of a State-Church has till recently been maintained in Sweden. As to England, there exists as yet the pure theory of the Established Church, although practically weakened by recent legislation and by the constitutional right of the Scotch Presbyterian. We need not enlarge upon this subject; yet it may be remembered, that the doctrine of the Established Church is very much the same as that of the Greek Orthodox Church. Their main difference is, that the Russian law makes it punishable to secede from the orthodox creed. At all events, it must be acknowledged, that the Catholic States of Southern Europe, more especially Italy and Spain, have, by abolishing their former State Church law, been considerably progressing, when compared with the standard doctrine of English and Russian legislation.

As to Germany, the pure theory of Cæsaropapism was rendered inapplicable by the stipulations of the treaty of Westphalia, whereby the equality and parity of the three principal denominations then existing in the southwest, the Catholics, the Lutherans, and the Calvinists, have been adopted as the fundamental principles of German political life.

With the exception of the Russian Empire, Cæsaropapism is almost obsolete.

Let us consider, therefore, the main characteristics of the *third* system of disunion and separation, each power professing to obey the prescripts of neutrality and non-intervention in the affairs of the other. If the evils of some Established Church have become widely felt and the principles of theocracy have been entirely rejected—consequential considerations must of necessity lead to a negative result with regard to both, and to some demand, that the individual should be emancipated from the rule of either; or that a state of permanent

peace should be founded upon perfect separation by confining Church life to the merely religious, and Politics to merely secular interests. This idea of separation might originate in the human mind either under the preponderance of religious motives, or as the result of indifference in religious matters.

The first American colonists, strongly impressed with the abominations of clerical persecutions, were guided by religious motives, when they resolved upon having their congregations and denominations organized like private associations, without any direct assistance or protection to be given them by the State power. On the other hand, the leading considerations of European statesmen, when advocating the system of separation, have been prompted by a feeling of indifference towards Church life. The Belgian and Italian Liberals, and their religious views, are by no means to be compared with those of the New England Independents. I feel a very great difficulty in venturing any attempt at appreciating the main features of American life. Still I must confess, that the impression prevalent among European politicians is, that, in spite, or perhaps because of, the American system of separation, American society at large appears to be strongly religious. Indeed, the common view taken on this side of the Atlantic, would perhaps not be in perfect harmony with the American doctrine. There would not be many European politicians ready to acknowledge that the American system of separation has been entirely carried out, so long as there exists compulsory Bible reading in any public school and the legal prescription of compulsory Sabbath-keeping.

At first sight it becomes apparent, that amongst a mainly, almost purely, Catholic population in Belgium and in Italy, separation must ultimately lead to conclusions entirely different from those accepted in some Protestant community. In spite of the considerable number of Irish and other Catholic Immigrants, the dominant element in the United States has hitherto remained Protestant. There may be many conflicting diversities in the political and social life of the United States. Yet there still is a common religious principle, connecting the majority of the Protestant population. There is no ignorant superstition as among the lower classes of the Belgian and Italian population, nor are there the open utterance of contempt and disregard for religious life, as among the higher classes of Belgian and Italian Liberals. This very important modification of the same system of separation must be taken into account by careful observers.

American separation has been carried out amidst a new society,

emancipated from the tyranny of historical traditions. Belgian and Italian attempts to realize the same task, have to meet the insuperable checks of Catholic traditions, existing as well in a strong body of the centralized priesthood as in the people at large.

Therefore, as to separation, the first question to be answered is this: where and by whom the boundary-line is to be drawn, in order to arrive at the separation of those powers which for centuries have been combined and interlaced with each other. There was a common understanding among the American settlers as to the true meaning of religious independence and the spiritual neutrality of the constitutional power either of the Union or of the single States. In Belgium, in Italy, and in Germany, there is no common understanding between the Liberal and the Clerical representatives of the people. With the Liberals, separation means gradual destruction of what they are accustomed to consider as religious superstition. With the Clerical representative, the liberty of Church means the best promise of success in the warfare against modern society and its liberal errors. Each party, therefore, is expecting just the opposite and contradictory result to proceed from the same source. In Belgium, Ultramontanism and Jesuitism have been acquiescing in the provisions of the Belgian constitution. Indeed, in the absence of the compulsory education of the people, they could feel satisfied with the prospect of introducing their wire-pulling machinery into the confessional, and experience shows, that the Ultramontanes have been better calculating than the Belgian Liberals.

I had to notice this fact before explaining the recent Prussian Legislation. From the peace of Westphalia down to the revolution of 1848, neither pure Theocracy, nor Cæsaropapism had been existing in the German States. It was a mixed system that prevailed, at least in those states, whose population was neither merely Protestant, nor merely Catholic. The Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Calvinistic denominations are legally comprised in the name of *privileged* churches. Their privilege was, and is, that they are entitled to equally receive a state pay out of the public treasury for their clergy after having been deprived of all means of subsistence by the antecedent fact and the repeated practice of secularization. After taking away Church property from its original owners, the State power could not repudiate the obligation of appropriating certain funds to the maintenance of the clergy.

The German revolution in 1848, being rather favorably disposed to a perfect separation of the ecclesiastical and temporal powers, and

Belgium being at that time just in the flower of liberalism, it was thought wise on the side of the leading politicians to adopt the same model of church policy. With the majority of Liberals, it was not any religious motive that prompted them to follow this course, but the hope they were entertaining to weaken the State power by removing its influence from ecclesiastical matters. Strange to say, King William Frederick IV., although strongly averse to political liberalism, did not hesitate in fully approving the same measures. With him, it was the energy of a strong religious feeling, that made him desirous of the independence, not of individual conscience or dissenting heresy, but of the ancient privileged churches. Therefore, the provisions contained in the Prussian constitution of the 31st January, 1850, were to the following effect: First, there is no denominational requisite in the admission to public offices; liberty of conscience and worship being acknowledged. Second, there are two important exceptions, added to the above principle of religious liberty. The corporate formation of religious bodies, more especially of dissenting congregations, shall depend on special permission, to be given by a legislative act under the full concurrence of the King and the Chambers. Moreover, the administration of such offices as have been historically connected with the *privileged* churches, shall be reserved to the members, belonging either to the Catholic or the Protestant Evangelical Church, by which clause practically, Jews and Dissenters were to remain excluded from participation in the administration of public instruction. A third clause (art. 15) provides, that the Evangelical and the Catholic Church and also other religious associations shall be entitled to *independence* ("Selbständig") in the administration of their own affairs, and to the possession and use of their respective funds. Finally the previous practice of preventive measures, controlling the intercourse between the (Catholic) clergy and their superiors (the Pope) has been abolished by the Prussian constitution.

The Catholic Church, possessed as it was of a traditional organization, and being under the rule of a foreign centralized power, resident in Rome, proved strong enough immediately to assume its full independence, while the Protestant Evangelical Church, owing to the absence of fixed rules applying to the management of its affairs, had to remain in the traditional connection with the royal prerogative. Up to the present moment, the King of Prussia has been maintaining his personal dignity as the highest Bishop of the Evangelical Church. He continues to govern the Protestant Church

either personally or indirectly by means of a supreme Church council, (ober kirchen Rath) its members being appointed by royal order. Accordingly, the Prussian Church Law was this: the Protestant (Evangelical Church), depending on secular government, remained under the personal control of Royal supremacy, although two-thirds of the Prussian population are belonging to the Evangelical denomination, while the Roman Catholic Church, enlisting only a minority of one-third of the population, was enjoying the almost unlimited advantage of sovereign independence.

There was no Protestant country in Europe, where the Roman Catholics could have boasted of so much freedom as in Prussia. Except Spain and the ancient Italian monarchies, there was not even any Catholic country where they have enjoyed so many advantages. As to Southern Germany, the Bavarian government, although it had to consider the religious character of their population and the very strong prevalence of Roman Catholicism, did not allow the Catholic clergy any liberties beyond the rather narrow limits of the Bavarian Concordat concluded in 1818.

With reference to the Roman Catholic Church, the Prussian system, as contained in the provisions of the constitution, may be said to have been a combination of two different rules, the common end of which was to elevate the spiritual power of the Roman priesthood. First, there were the theory and practice of independence and so-called "liberty," corresponding to the Belgian and American principle, while the same principle of independence was wanting in the relations of the State to the other denominations. And second, there were the theory and practice of a privileged Church on the side of the Catholics: Liberty and Privilege! Accordingly, since the times of the Prussian constitution, the Roman Church had grown into an independent and, moreover, politically privileged, religious body.

Let us briefly consider the series of those *privileges* which had been allowed the free and independent Roman Catholic Church, more especially in the Eastern provinces of the Prussian State. For it must be remembered, that the Rhenish provinces, since their restoration to Germany after the downfall of Napoleon I., have remained subject to the French civil law of the Code Napoleon. In spite of religious liberty, there was, according to the provisions of the Prussian law, the privilege of having children forcibly baptized contrary to the parent's wish, and of claiming the assistance of the police in order to execute christening. Next to it, there was the privilege of

compulsory religious instruction, to impart the tenets of each denomination to the respective children, either under the private care of the priest or under his control in public schools. In the absence of matrimonial law, relating to the civil celebration of the nuptial act, the privileged clergy had power to decide on giving or refusing their assistance to applicants, without incurring any legal responsibility.

Owing to a monstrous inconsequence, the Prussian civil law, although making provisions for and regulating the matter of invalidity and divorce in matrimonial cases, had omitted to provide for the formalities of the celebration act. Hence, it could happen and has happened in numerous cases, that the clergy refused officiating where the civil law had recognized the right of husband and wife. Not only the individual liberty and the law of husband and wife, but also the public and political right of personal independence had been crushed under the overwhelming privilege of the Church. Dissenters, not belonging to any corporate body, remained subject to church rates after their separation from the Evangelical or the Catholic Church. Considering the impediments thrown in the way of getting corporate right, the ratability of dissenters may be said to have practically destroyed the exercise of any dissenting worship. Next, there was the full power of excommunication, whose social influence in purely Catholic provinces cannot be denied sometimes to amount to social banishment. And finally, the State power had formally recognized the whole of the Roman Catholic discipline in giving aid and assistance for the purpose of enforcing punishment on clerical offenders wherever Ecclesiastical courts had resolved on inflicting either pecuniary punishment or even the privation of liberty in order to secure obedience. Lastly, I need not mention that the political administration itself had to obey any call coming from the ecclesiastical quarter to collect church rates among insolvent or disobedient members of the privileged denominations. It would be easy to augment this list of valuable privileges. I might mention that peculiar protection was given to the priesthood by some provisions of criminal law.

Still, I prefer avoiding any extended enumeration. What I have been describing will, I hope, afford ample evidence for the undeniable fact, that the Catholic Church of the German Empire and the Prussian Monarchy was to be legally considered as a *privileged church*, and had maintained all the advantages offered by the ancient system of State-Churchism.

There exists, however, one difference between the views which Ultramontanes are taking, and my own exposition. What I am describing as a privilege, they would simply consider as the emanation of their divine law.

No sooner had the Prussian Ultramontanes commenced to enjoy their independence, than they also contrived to use their liberty *in majorem Dei et Papæ gloriam*. It would fill many chapters to narrate the incidents of the campaign which the German Ultramontanes have been carrying out since the failure of the German revolutionary movement in 1850 had become apparent. That this campaign had been extremely successful until 1866, there can be no doubt.

According to modern Ultramontane doctrines, it is impossible to dissociate the Christian faith from the ideas of earthly power. As worship must be beautiful in order to impress the religious imagination, so the clergy must be *powerful* to secure the obedience of the mass. In their eyes it would be futile to say anything against the necessity of restoring the Pope to his temporal power. Still, infallibility and temporality of the papal authority would not satisfy Jesuitism. It would seem necessary besides to reduce European Protestantism to such modest limits, as to prove its political inferiority, and, on the other hand, to bring about the restoration of a close alliance between the legitimist and the clerical interest. To them it is all-important, that in continental politics no Protestant dynasty should accumulate such an amount of power as might impair the Catholic belief in the connection existing between clericalism and the political efficiency of civil government.

Therefore, the political system of Jesuitism has always required the preponderant dominion either of Spain and France, or of Austria, and at the same time the division of Italy and Germany. The division of Italy was a necessary part of their system on account of the temporal power of the Pope; the division of Germany since the peace of Westphalia and more especially since the Congress of Vienna, was considered as a means of checking the continental progress of Protestantism. As soon as the natural growth of the Prussian power became apparent, the German Ultramontanes were driven to cherish the legitimate conservatism of Austria and the centrifugal tendencies of the different German dynasties.

Not even the concessions and privileges granted by the Prussian constitution, nor the fact, that the Prussian Catholics were by far better off than the Bavarian Catholics, could in any way diminish the natural opposition of Jesuitism to a strong Protestant power. At

first, Prussia was believed to be so deeply humiliated after the days of Olmutz, that she had lost her place amongst the great powers of Europe. And indeed, a feeling of shame and weakness had slowly crept into the governing class of the Prussian capital. There was hardly any ambition at the Berlin court beyond the glorification of Russian and Austrian vassalage, and the revival of the Holy Alliance with its traditional depression of Prussian aspirations.

It is almost impossible to depict the marvelous growth and the incredible progress of German Jesuitism, accomplished in the period of sixteen years between 1850 and 1866. Year by year the Ultramontane statistics had to set down a strangely increasing number of converts, of monasteries, convents and clerical institutions.

Prisons, infirmaries and hospitals went under the control of spiritual congregations. The whole system of public charities had to experience the influence either of Ultramontanism or of Protestant pietism. There could be no reasonable objection to the expansive power of religious life so long as it went on in the direction of Christian charity. But it was otherwise with the accumulation of political power within the files of the Ultramontanes. They began to use their social influence with a view to obtaining such a number of representatives as appeared sufficient to secure their interest in the legislation. They tried to regain the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts to an extent unheard of in former days. They began to send out missionaries into merely Protestant districts and to disturb the public peace. The distinctive trait of their charities became more and more denominational. There were Catholic inns established to receive the Catholic workman on his travels and to segregate him from any intercourse with his Protestant fellow-workmen. The connubial tie between Protestant and Catholic consorts was described as incompatible with true Catholic faith. Theology and scientific research were scared off from the Catholic student. Mathematics, physics, jurisprudence and medicine were, according to the Ultramontane theory, to be reduced to the standard of mediæval scholastics. So dangerous appeared the influence of the German universities, that quite a number of Bishops ventured to establish special seminaries and to veto the access to the universities. A purely Ultramontane press was created and strongly recommended to the faithful. The doctrine of Adam Smith and of modern political Economics was decried as a fallacy concocted to deceive the poorer classes and the interests of the workman. The singular weight of this Ultramontane aggression was widely felt in those districts of Germany, where differ-

ent denominations had for a long time been at peace with each other, and where the members of a great many respectable families had intermarried without any apprehension of social disturbances on account of religious agitation.

A sudden change of German church politics was the necessary result of the overthrow of the Austrian preponderance in 1866. Contrary to the expectations of France, Austria, Southern Germany, and particularly of the Ultramontanes, the German supremacy of Prussia was established on the Bohemian battle-fields. It had been hoped by the Jesuits, that the alliance of Prussia and Italy would end in their common ruin. In consideration of the enormity of their disappointment, the Ultramontanes must be acknowledged to have wonderfully concealed their anger and their spirit of revenge. Still, the astonishment the Ultramontanes felt, when the battle of Sadowa became known, was not very much greater than the disappointment of the German Liberals, when just that Prussian province which had for twenty years been distinguished for its liberalism and progress, began to repay the Prussian victories by returning a great number of clerical representatives to the Prussian House of Deputies. The elections of the "Rheinproving" were pre-eminently "black" or according to clerical terminology favorable to the "central faction." The flag of Liberalism had been adopted by the Ultramontanes so long as it was their decided interest to weaken the Prussian government by opposing the military re-organization. At the same moment, when the Liberals were hailing the results of the Austrian campaign, the Ultramontanes were driven into open opposition against the North German confederation. The Rhenish Liberalism turned out to have been living by the grace of the Roman clergy.

In the eyes of sagacious politicians, the experience offered by the Rhenish elections has been working a perfect revelation of the tactics the Ultramontanes had adopted to secure their dominion. Liberty and independence of the Roman Catholic Church were a mere phraseology to cover aggression against the very foundations of modern society. As there exists a double manner of military warfare either by land or by sea, so there exists a double manner of Ultramontane warfare either by governing the princely conscience of a faithful monarch from the confessional, or by influencing the suffrage of ignorant and uneducated Radicalism. It is the strategy as expounded by early Jesuitism and by the systems of Bellarmin and Mariana. Therefore it is quite natural, that Ultramontanism wherever Royal power has been diminished by the constitutional principle

of responsible government, will be steadily advocating, as in Bavaria and in Belgium, the introduction of universal suffrage, as it promotes their interest by delivering the ignorant peasantry of rural districts to the influence of the confessional, to the advice of the pulpit, and to the deterrent fear of excommunication. Neither the German Liberals nor perhaps the Prussian Government had been aware of this masquerade of the Rhenish and Belgian Ultramontanism when it assumed the phrase of *Liberalism* and *Liberty* of the Church.

Still, the behavior of the German Ultramontanes in 1867, when they were advocating at the same time, as well the principles of their liberalism against the Prussian military organization, as the divine right of exiled German kings and dukes, was comparatively modest, if measured by their rage in 1870 and 1871. Prior to 1870, the Ultramontanes were firmly convinced that the North German confederation was a merely provisional creation of Bismarck's, with the manifest destiny of breaking down under the combined weight of an Austrian and French alliance. It belongs to the historian of future ages to delineate the connection of the Vatican Synod with the Napoleonic diplomacy and the sudden outbreak of the war, to trace the Austrian reserve to its true motives, and to show that the conspiracy of the Ultramontane clergy had been penetrating into the deliberations of the committee of the Bavarian Chamber. It is impossible to reconcile the fact of a Protestant Empire on the European continent, and the existence of a first rate Protestant power, with the system of the canon law, with the traditional policy of the Roman priesthood, and with the principles of Jesuitism. These points are lying on the surface of modern European History.

Hence, the question arises: will Ultramontanism ever renounce the hope of restoring the Papacy to temporal power and of breaking up the natural alliance between Germany and Italy, by claiming the support of France and Austria? Will they always, and even when the hour of revenge shall once have arrived in the estimation of the French, will they lose their opportunity of aiding in the restoration of the political preponderance of the Catholic powers on the European continent? Will they ever forget the destruction of their dearest dreams by the creation of the United States of Germany under a Protestant Emperor? Is there any warrant, that the theory of papal infallibility might not apply to the Catholic soldiers' conscience when he is to fight under the command of a Protestant Emperor against those Catholic powers, whose cause might have been declared sacred by the oracle of the Roman priest?

If not—is there any justification in offering and preserving privileges, on account of a party nominally religious, but really political and antinational, of that organization whose supreme desire is to aid in the destruction of the German Empire? No country whatever, is, by the proclamation of infallibility, politically considered, so much endangered as the German Empire. It is the more endangered, the less in the long run any power can be preserved by merely mechanical means of military skill and perfection. If there exists that geographical juxtaposition of the German power and the great military power of France, Austria and Russia, then it is of supreme importance, that the public mind in Germany should not be disrupted by treacherous agitation, founded on the pretended continuance of divine spiritual right and the pretended incapacity and illegitimacy of a heretic dynasty. To Prince Bismarck in 1871 no choice was left between accepting the challenge of the Ultramontanes or bending to their indirect dominion. A comparatively weak monarchy, as Prussia has been between 1850 and 1860, might have accepted the alliance of Ultramontanism, and its promise of keeping down oppositional tendencies among the people. The new German Empire could not accept clericalism in any way. Prince Bismarck personally and the Emperor had been always on very good terms both with the Protestant Orthodox party and the Ultramontanes whose social influence appeared for a long time firmly established at the Prussian Court. Even at present, it has not been forgotten, that prior to 1870 Prince Bismarck had been warmly advocating the singular aptitude of the Jesuits for the best kind of teaching and preaching. To the astonishment of the Liberal party he had cherished the plan of having a papal embassy accredited at the Berlin Court. He had tried to reconcile the Pope by entrusting to a Roman cardinal, Prince Hohenlohe, the representation of the newly erected Empire. But the legal testimony, coming from the Ultramontane press in the Rhenish provinces, in Silesia and Bavaria, was such as to convince him, that the Ultramontanes were resolved upon forming a central organization, around which all the elements of dissatisfaction in the Polish districts, in the ignorant peasantry, in Alsace-Lorraine, of the socialists and of the courts of dispossessed princes, wherever they were existing, could be invited to rally for the promotion of their combined opposition. Such an alliance might appear tolerable and even insignificant in insular countries like England, or in a Republic of unrivaled geographical strength, like the United States. But it has been and will be intolerable to a Republic like Switzerland, and still more so to an

Empire, where military discipline might be shaken by the centralized action of the confessional, and where foreign intervention of implacable enemies could at any time be provoked by the mere existence of serious civil dissensions. Nothing assuredly would be more alluring to the French, than the promise of a formidable alliance with the strongest partisans of clerical guerrillas in Germany. Was it not Renan's desire, that France should now, at least provisionally, make peace with Jesuitism in order to secure its assistance in her future wars?

It was the Bavarian Government, whose representative took the initiative to convince the Bundes Rath of the necessity of obviating the political abuse of the pulpit. The consequence thereof was the enactment of the present article 131a of the German criminal code, by which it is made punishable to transform the homestead of peace and Christian faith into the platform of social warfare.

The ensuing legislative measures against the Ultramontanes were partly enacted by the German Empire, partly by the Prussian Chambers. Amongst the first class, there is the expulsion of the Jesuits from their *corporate* and *public* working. It is lying out of my way to show the necessity of this measure. Nothing has been more powerful in gaining the assent of the most advanced Liberals to the abolition of Jesuitism, than the reference made to the Swiss Republic, where since 1848 the Jesuits' disabilities have continued to form a most important clause of the Federal Constitution. Is it a precept of Liberty to allow selling poison to children? If so, it is a requisite of political freedom, to allow the poisoning of morals in the way of instruction, given to the uneducated, the ignorant, and the fanatic.

The same views that have been leading to anti-Jesuitic legislation, have also been prevalent with the Prussian Government, when it resolved upon assuming the control over religious instruction in the State schools. For myself I feel not at all inclined to deny the Prussian law relating to School Inspection (*Schul-aussichts-gesetz*) to contain a good deal of inconsistency. Be this as it may, that inconsistency does in its very nature not exceed the American laws prescribing Bible reading in public schools. In truth, there is but one very clear alternative to be laid down in educational matters: either to have denominational instruction under the control of the clergy, or to discard altogether out of the public schools compulsory instruction in matters referring to denominational religion. Some excuse, however, may be admitted in favor of the Prussian Government from the

fact, that the political notions relating to religious instruction continue among the leading class of politicians, to remain very dim and uncertain. On the one side, the necessity of religious instruction is so widely felt, that a very small minority would be ready to assume the responsibility of renouncing it altogether. On the other hand, it appeared, that the temporal power could not well entrust the supreme control of denominational instruction to merely clerical interests, opposed as they were to the progress of German politics and the simple dictates of patriotism. At all events, the "*Schul-aussichts-gesetz*" must be acknowledged to have been and to be extremely offensive to the feelings as well of the Lutheran clergy as of the Ultramontanes, the latter claiming all over Europe the exclusive right of controlling the instruction of the people and being for the same reason decidedly opposed to compulsory State instruction, as interfering with the paternal authority and the natural right of ignorance, or rather intellectual innocence.

Shortly after the *Schul-aussichts-gesetz* had been voted by the Prussian Chambers, it became evident, that the Rubicon flowing between the territorial dominions of State and Church had been crossed by the assailants of both the belligerents. Amongst the clergy there was an outcry against what they believed to be religious persecution. On the other hand, Old Catholicism had made its appearance and raised its claims for recognition. It became urgent, to set down some fixed rule, in dealing with the Old Catholics, and to give a decision, applicable to their legal position in reference to the Infallibilists.

After a careful consideration of the pending conflict and a good deal of hesitation, the Prussian Government resolved upon preparing a series of very important measures, which were laid before the Prussian Chambers, and are now being carried out, since they became law in the month of May.

A preliminary question had to be answered beforehand; whether the new system, then under consideration, was in accordance with the article 15 of the Prussian constitution and its provision relative to the Independence of the privileged Churches of Prussia. In order to remove any serious doubt, the test reading was amended in such a way, as to express by its wording, that constitutional independence of any Church did not exclude the supremacy of State control, to be exercised in accordance with special laws referring thereto. Moreover, an addition was made to article 18 of the constitution, whereby it is declared, that by special enactment there can be made provision

for the exercise of the State's competence to regulate the disabilities of the clergy, their appointment or dismissal, and the limitations of spiritual discipline.

Properly speaking, there is not now, in my opinion, any alteration in the original meaning of the Prussian Constitution. Still a practice, contrary to the new explicit reading, cannot be denied to have been in permanent use during the period between 1850 and 1872. Nor can there be any doubt as to fact, that the whole system of Prussian Church policy has been entirely changed in consequence of the recent Prussian Church legislation, as expressed in three different enactments, whose main provisions we now are going briefly to describe.

The first law, under date of the 11th May, refers to the education and appointment of the clergy. Nominally there is no distinction made between Catholics and Protestants; really, however, the important change to be anticipated from the application of this law, is mainly affecting the candidates of the Catholic clergy. As has been already explained, it was a favorite idea with the Ultramontanes, to have their fighting men (*ecclesia militans*) perfectly drilled into a uniform body of warlike soldiery, to train them under the exclusive control of clerical seminaries and colleges, to guard them against the contagious diseases of rationalism and the liberal pestilence of the German University. And, indeed, the German bishops must be acknowledged to have completely succeeded in the extension of the Jesuitical maxims to the educational training of the secular clergy. Down to 1848 the majority of the lower clergy was composed of moderate, law-abiding, peaceful and charitable men. Since the year 1850 the times of the inquisition appeared to have been revived in the constant growth of clerical fanaticism and the increase of intolerance. To use the technical term of Jesuitism, the cadaverous obedience of the spiritual soldiery has been successful in suppressing and eradicating among the lower clergy the feeling of personal independence. They had learned to despise Cæsar and his laws, to blindly obey the command of their captains, and to avoid the inquisitorial tortures of their superiors' discontent. In spite of Ultramontanism, the clergy may remain patriotic and national in other countries; they have remained so in Poland, in France, in Spain and to a certain extent also in Italy. The Catholic clergy of Germany cannot, by the very law of spiritual gravitation, have a national feeling. They will always continue to sympathize with the disruption of the Protestant Empire. The Prussian law of the 11th May, may perhaps be described as an attempt to change Ultramontane and anti-Germanic education of the

Catholic clergy into a system of national education. All the existing seminaries and colleges are taken under the supervision of State authorities. The requisites for appointment are laid down in certain rules. The candidates are required to have gone through a regular scientific course, or a German Latin school (gymnasium), and a three years' University study, also to have acquired a certain degree of knowledge in philosophy, history and literature, besides their merely professional acquirements in theology. The provincial President (oberpräsident) has a right of control in the appointment for ecclesiastical offices. He may raise objections in certain cases specified by law, and enforce the legal provisions against resident Bishops. It cannot be said, that the new law aims at religious persecution. In its best times, ecclesiastical education has proceeded from the theological faculties of the German Universities. Nevertheless, there is a serious difficulty in the way of carrying out the system of University education amongst the Catholic clergy.

Quite a number of German Universities are openly opposed to Infallibilism, or at least suspected to be so. All the Bishops of Germany having, meanwhile, submitted to the Vatican council, it is not to be seen how they should acquiesce in a system of ecclesiastical education, opposed to what they pretend to be pure religion. I do not propose to inquire whether the State ought to have any power whatever in defining the requisites of the ecclesiastical education. Evidently it has not, so long as the Church is living on her own means. But it is otherwise when the Church consents to having her wants supplied by subsidies from the public Treasury and to having her clergymen treated on a footing of privileged officials. It would amount to iniquity to pay for the education of those who are constantly taught to destroy the work of modern culture and to aid in the reconstruction of an all-governing spiritual power. If there were any possibility of legally dealing with the Roman Catholic clergy as with a small number of Jewish rabbis, and of treating them as the chosen officials of a private association, there would be no pretext justifying the Prussian Government. But I believe we have sufficiently ample evidence, that the Catholic Church of Germany does not consider herself a private association. She is a powerful corporate body, enjoying a privileged and exceptional constitution. Her clergymen are not to be compared to the officers of any private association.

The second law, published under the date of the 12th May, has reference to the exercise of spiritual discipline and the creation of a Royal High Court, commissioned for ecclesiastical matters. In

its first section the law provides for a restriction in the exercise of spiritual criminal jurisdiction, corporal punishment being altogether abolished, and the infliction of any other punishment being made dependent either on the observance of certain prescribed proceedings, or on the appellate jurisdiction of the Royal Ecclesiastical Court. The ecclesiastical reformatories for the reception of such clerical offenders as have been sentenced by their superiors to undergo imprisonment, are henceforth to be liable to the inspection of the Oberpräsident.

Another section of the same law provides for the appellate jurisdiction of the Royal Courts in matters of ecclesiastical discipline, the cases where clerical delinquents may eventually use their right of appeal being specified under five different heads and in connection with the forms of proceeding.

The following section of the law provides for the ex-officio interference of the Royal Court with the abuse of spiritual discipline. Power is given to remove such clergymen from their office, as will have shown themselves to be offending against the law, so severely and to such an extent, that their continuance in office would be irreconcilable with public order. The two concluding sections are without any particular interest to the general reader, referring as they do, to the manner in which the eleven members of the Royal Ecclesiastical Courts shall be commissioned, their quorum being fixed at seven. The president and at least three members of the Court must have a judicial quality and accordingly be entitled to all the privileges of a judge; but also the other seven members cannot be removed at pleasure. It is inevitable that the High Court should embody in its composition what may be considered as the tendency actually prevailing against the Ultramontanes; but there is every likelihood and almost certainty, that in dealing with single cases, the Court will remain exempt from governmental influence and obey the dictates of honest impartiality even against political opponents. The institution of the High Court is by no means a new invention of the present age. On the contrary, the best juridical authorities have for a long time been complaining that something like the French ecclesiastical appellation, known under the term, "*recursus ab usu*," (*appel comme d'abus*) had been wanting in the management of ecclesiastical affairs. There is no country entirely exempt from the occasional occurrence of conflicts between the temporal and spiritual powers. If there be conflicts, provision must be made beforehand, in order to secure impartial decision in litigated cases. In Prussia

everything had till recently, been left to the arbitrary and administrative competence of the Minister of Public Instruction. As long as the Minister was a man professing Ultramontane or Orthodox Protestant views, he connived at the progressive usurpations on the side of the Ultramontanes. During the ministry of Herr von Raumer and Herr von Mühler, although both were Lutherans, the Catholic clergy were permitted to encroach by frequent inroads on the indubitable prerogatives of the temporal power. Since Dr. Falk's nomination in 1872, the restoration of ecclesiastical jurisdiction instead of arbitrary administration could not any longer be deferred. Perhaps it had been deferred too long. At present the minor Catholic clergy are not very likely to appeal to an ecclesiastical State Court. Still, they find the possibility offered them of doing so. If there be among the minor clergy any disposition tending towards Old Catholicism, any hesitation to obey the Vatican council, any doubt as to the truth of Infallibility, then the mere existence of the Ecclesiastical Court may become a powerful means for strengthening Old Catholicism, the more so since Bishop Reinkens has meanwhile been consecrated at Rotterdam.

A third law, under date of the 13th May, has been passed to regulate the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the application of spiritual punishment. It has been tried to exactly define the boundary-line separating civil and ecclesiastical punishment, the latter being henceforth disallowed with regard to lay members to extend to the infliction of corporal punishment, imprisonment, fines and infamy. And even within the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction no punishment whatever shall be applicable to such as may have been undertaken in compliance with a legal duty incumbent on Catholic citizens or in the exercise of their elective rights and political voting. Moreover, ecclesiastical discipline and punishment cannot be enforced in order to deter from the exercise of the political suffrage, or from the commission of any act required by legal prescription or any competent civil authority. Any excess, committed by transgression of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in behalf of lay members, is rendered punishable according to special rules of the same law, whose enactment had become necessary in consequence of some serious conflicts between the ecclesiastical and the civil jurisdictions. More especially it needs to be mentioned that sentences of excommunication had been passed on government officials for the commission of acts legally prescribed in the exercise of their civil duties.

The series of the above mentioned provisions is closed by an act

of the 14th May, relating to ecclesiastical membership. It has been shown, that in Prussia dissent from one of the privileged churches did not effect any liberation from the liability to paying church rates. Henceforth membership is rendered optional in every respect. Any formal declaration certified before the competent civil jurisdiction will take away from dissenting members their ratability, and such obligations as might have proceeded from their former membership in any privileged church, except however indebtedness lying on real estate, or incurred in the shape of contributions to some extraordinary undertaking of Church-building, the construction of which had been resolved upon during the current year. The reason why this exception has been admitted is obvious. It was held necessary to secure Church-building against subsequent repudiation, and the mere pecuniary motive of secession under the color of religious dissenting.

The legislative enactments I have been describing, apply, it will be seen, to four different subjects. Their aim is: first, to naturalize by means of national and scientific university study, the clergy, hitherto Roman and anti-German: second, to afford protection to the minor clergy against the irresponsible abuse of ecclesiastical discipline; third, to warrant lay members against the abuse of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and fourth, to recognize the liberty of individual conscience in dissenting from the privileged churches.

As to this last provision, I am sure it will meet with the full approval of almost every one. Not even the Ultramontanes, feeling assured in the stability of their power, have raised any serious objection against it.

As to the remaining three, some distinction is to be made in appreciating their bearing. No state whatever can endure within its territorial limits any power provoking civil disobedience by passing sentences of excommunication. The clergy might exercise their moral influence in order to promote the abolition of bad and irreligious laws, but they cannot at all be permitted to organize open resistance and disobedience to any law, so long as it is existing. It must be questioned where the Liberty of the Church is properly residing? Is it tantamount to arbitrary power of the Pope, the Metropolitans and the Bishops? Or is it at least partly residing also in the minor clergy and the lay members? I feel there are many dissensions and many controversies about the answer to be given. As to the first law, relating to clerical education, it is open to many objections. Yet it must be remembered, that, in an economical point of

*

view, the Catholic Church has as yet remained a privileged Church throughout Germany, and particularly in Prussia, the King and his Government exercising a less degree of influence in filling up vacant episcopal sees, than even the Republican French Government and the King of Bavaria. No one, I think, could earnestly maintain, that the liberty of conscience and religious worship has in any degree been lessened by the recent Prussian Church legislation. Nothing but the power of doing political harm and mischief has been curtailed in the most objectionable cases. Nothing has to be accused but the weakness of the Prussian Government for having shown so much connivance at the abuse of the spiritual supremacy of the Pope. Among the Orthodox Protestant clergy there have been many complaints brought forward on account of their being dealt with on the same footing with the Ultramontanes. Of course there is a difference between the Orthodox Protestant party and the Jesuits. Yet, the fundamental principle of equality and parity, ruling, as it does, German Church politics, did not allow of any legal distinction to be made between both the privileged Churches. The present state of the Evangelical Church will, in spite of the recent legislation, remain very much the same as before. Whether the Ultramontanes will be frightened into quiet modesty and resignation, I dare not say. There is every likelihood, that the German campaign against Jesuitism and the Roman militia, will be harder and last longer, than the French war. I do not see any chance of compromise. To bring this tremendous conflict to a close, either of two events must be expected: a new *Canossa*, meaning the greatest possible humiliation of the German Emperor, or a new *Cannae*, meaning the greatest possible defeat of the Roman power.

ARTICLE VI.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, D.D., LL.D.

THE wonderful events of the past thirteen years—the United States divided, to be united again after four years of bloody war; a new Germany, with Austria conquered and left out; a prostrate, mutilated France; a Kingdom of Italy embracing the whole peninsula, under one government, for the first time since the fall of Rome—the results of war on a vast scale, have aroused the feelings of humane, peace-loving men in many parts of Christendom. It cannot be denied that great good is likely to grow out of these bloody movements, but the spirit of peace seeks to put a stop to all similar ones henceforth and forever. As for the way in which the end is to come, every body seems to have his favorite plan. One recipe is disarmament, which, if once tried, would naturally perpetuate itself, but could never come to pass except by a common agreement; another is the codification of international law, which certainly is desirable; and yet the obscurities of this science did not bring on our war, nor the war of Sadowa, nor that of Sedan. Another is a congress of nations with a permanent court of arbitration, an old thought to which we shall return in the sequel. M. Charles Lucas, a veteran French philanthropist, a member of the Institut, and President of the Council of Inspectors-general of Prisons, insists on the criminality of all war which is not defensive, and often repeats the motto “*les peuples s'appartiennent.*” It was wrong for Napoleon to initiate a war with Germany, but it was wrong also for the Germans to insist on retaining Alsace without the consent of the inhabitants. But neither the position that only defensive war is lawful, nor the position that the votes of the inhabitants of conquered territory must always determine their political connections, can be regarded as sound either in law or morality. An offensive war may be really defensive, so that it would be safer to say that a war to inflict injustice, whatever its form, is unrighteous, and a war to prevent injustice, whatever its form, righteous.

Nor, again, has the law of nations required the consent of the inhabitants of a district to its becoming part of another nation. The conquered nation says, "I am unable to give you my protection, and must consent to your forming part of another sovereignty." Grotius expresses himself to the effect that the consent of the persons interested ought to be given, which however he deduces from his theory of contract (II. 6. § 4). A few of the writers, including Vattel, agree with him. But their opinion amounts to nothing more than this—that their sovereign is forced to allow another to exercise jurisdiction over them, and whether they shall submit or not depends on their own will. The rule has been followed in the incorporation of Savoy and Nice into the Kingdom of France, in the union of some of the Italian duchies and of Rome with the Kingdom of Italy, and in the provision of the treaty of Prague (1866) that the people of northern Schleswig (who speak Danish chiefly) should be united anew to Denmark, if by a free vote they should desire it. But the rule, while it may work well in certain cases, and within a narrow sphere, may prove a dangerous, even a revolutionary one. If it ought to hold good, why should not the wish of borderers to exchange their territorial relations be respected in a time of peace, as well as in war? Why should not a confederated government like ours, without being compelled, release from their obligations a cluster of states or even a state that is anxious to secede? The interests of the whole must be considered, and not those of the part only which desires to become independent.

The advantages of disarmament, or an entire change in the military system of Europe as at present existing, is the subject of several recent works. Such are Patrice Larroque's "*La Guerre et les Armées Permanentes*," and the crowned work of Count Goblet d'Alviella, a Belgian jurist, entitled "*Désarmer ou Déchoir*." Mr. Sumner, also, in his lecture entitled "*The Duel between France and Germany*," urges strongly, and in consistency with the peace principles which he has always professed, "the guaranty of disarmament," on account of its economy; its positive advantage, if not necessity, for France, and its assurance of peace. If nations could stand on equal ground in all respects, standing armies might be reduced by them all in some proportion to their number of inhabitants, and probably nothing would so hasten the era of general peace. But Prussia has a training system for all its male inhabitants, as well as a standing army. How can France, which has no such system, disarm its troops without putting itself at the mercy of Prussia?

The codification of international law has long been felt to be

desirable, and among those writers who have given their best studies to this science the desire is the strongest. The declaration of Paris of 1856 showed the world that on some very important points there can be a general, if not a universal, agreement of Christian States. If the doctrine there sanctioned of the invalidity of a paper blockade had been 60 years older, that chapter of European history which tells us of the Berlin and Milan Decrees and the Orders in Council, could never have been written. The settlement, also, of the three rules by the treaty of Washington, as permanent rules of neutral duty, and the promise of the parties to that treaty to bring them to the notice, and urge them on the acceptance, of other powers, shows what help can be offered by two nations, in their diplomatic transactions, towards a more certain and a better international law. Whether *nations* can best make the first move in such codification, or publicists, may be doubted. Within a few months, two conferences have been held on the neutralized soil of Belgium, one at Ghent, and one at Brussels, for this very purpose, and men of eminence from a number of countries have taken part in them. Single writers like Bluntschli in Germany in his "*Moderne Völkerrecht als Rechtsbuch dargestellt*," and D. Dudley Field in his "*Outlines of an International Code*," to which we may add the late Dr. Lieber's "*Instructions for the Government of the Armies of the United States in the Field*," give us examples of what can be done by separate efforts, and point to a time when a body of jurists shall, like those of Justinian, work up the cumbrous materials gathered by the past, into a new form. This, in fact, which recommends itself alike to peace societies and to publicists, is likely to be the first fruits of the spirit, at once humane, just and all-comprehending, which has begun to pervade modern society.

But suppose the law of nations to be codified and this code to be generally received, can we hope that all the wars of the nations will forthwith cease? No sound-minded man can hope so much. Before that consummation shall arrive, the ambitions, resentments, dynastic interests of kings must be held in check by the power of the people who pay taxes and do the fighting; the rivalries, arrogance, mutual hatred of nations must be forgotten; and the peaceful interests of all countries holding commercial relations with one another must become even greater than they are now. Add to this that the codification of international law will, no more than that of municipal law, be so clear as to prevent all ambiguities, and that new points must arise in the progress of society which will require supplemental legislation, or new interpretation. Unless, then, with the code there

are provisions made for its application and explanation, why will not new quarrels, possibly new wars, grow out of the terms themselves in which the code is expressed? Is it certain that the three rules of the Washington treaty will receive exactly the same interpretation fifty years hence that was given to it by the Tribunal at Geneva? To which we may add that much must of necessity be indefinite. "A blockade," says the declaration of 1856, "in order to be binding must be effective: that is to say, must be maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy." Must it then, in order to be effective, keep out of the blockaded harbor every vessel, or nine-tenths, or how many? In the late war, the English in general admitted the validity of our blockade of the Southern coasts; but if a less truth-loving or a pettifogging neutral had had its ships captured, might it not have claimed that the blockade was not an effective one, either according to the old definition or to that of 1856?

But besides all this, we have a right to add that very many wars have been commenced on pretexts which were outside of any code, which might be acted upon if international law had reached the greatest possible precision and clearness. To this class belong several of the wars of Louis XVI.; several of Napoleon's; and indeed, when we come to our own times, the remark is more eminently justified. What was Napoleon's pretext in the war of 1870? That the king of Prussia had refused to pledge himself that the prince of Hohenzollern should never be put forward as a candidate for the Spanish throne. Many equally good pretexts might occur in the course of a single sovereign's life, against which no provisions of the most minute code could guard, unless there was a power, not of mediation but of arms, ready to put down such causeless disturbances of the world's peace. But he who wanted to go to war, and was willing to justify himself before the world, would not, in the present age at least, be deterred by fear of being visited with the wrath of indignant neutral nations.

Mr. Frederic Seebohm, in his essay on "International Reform," first published in the *Contemporary Review*, and then, in 1871, as a separate work, advocates a revision of the law of nations as the point of prime importance. There are many valuable suggestions in this work, especially as it regards the changes in the relations of states to each other, and the necessity of a corresponding improvement in the laws of nations. His leading thought is that there is a continually increasing interdependence of the nations of the world—those nations which give themselves to manufactures and commerce, like England,

and the nations which need a foreign field for a share of their capital, like England and Holland, being foremost in this respect,—and that therefore a war in the civilized and Christian world affects this community of nations far more than in any previous age. At the same time war is “becoming less and less effective in the hands of belligerents.” Thus the rule of 1856, so long contended for in vain by neutrals, that the neutral flag protects belligerent goods of an innocent character, takes away from one enemy much of his power to distress his foe. So also the abolition of privateering, among those states which have acceded to that declaration, takes away an active arm of public service, which maritime states in war may use with great advantage. There is then great need of a reform in the modes of warfare which shall render it less injurious to neutrals, and this reform he finds to consist in the substitution of a system of *positive* international law for what he pleases himself, on every page, with calling international Lynch law, or the present mode of warfare. Such a system, enacted by the consent of all nations, needs to be interpreted by their joint authority, and enforced by their joint power. We reach, then, the old idea of a great international court, without any definite rules for its constitution being given by its author. Mr. Seebohm, in one chapter of his work, contrasts arbitration and international law as if they were inconsistent, as if the arbitrator was bound by no rules and followed his own sense of equity only. But the great body of those who have put arbitration forward as a way of ending disputes, have been equally earnest for the codification of international law. If the perfection of civil law does not prevent lawsuits, why should the perfection of the law of nations prevent differences of opinion in regard to its meaning? Even what may be called private or voluntary arbitration, like that of the tribunal at Geneva, may be according to certain fixed rules laid down by the parties. Nor is it possible that a court, confined in its functions to the explanation of a code merely, should be adequate to the settlement of the many quarrels of nations which have to do with amount of damages, with satisfaction for insult, with maltreatment of an individual pertaining to another state, with the exact course of boundary lines, with hostile intentions and injuries under the cover of law. So far then is arbitration inconsistent with a code that it is the natural sequel of it, applies it and supplies its necessary defects.

Mr. Seebohm’s argument is peculiarly an English one, dictated by a consideration of English interests principally, although not always in unison with the ordinary strain of English feeling. There is,

we think, a larger view, in the same spirit, of the equity due between neutrals and belligerents which commends itself to the sense of justice. Neutral power and interests have grown, under modern civilization, and with broader views of political economy, far more than belligerent power. Formerly it was a slight consideration to states, not allied with belligerents, that they waged war with one another. The neutral got his food at home, lived in great measure within himself, and waited patiently until his friends should end their quarrel. Now the pulse of Europe and America, nay even of the self-subsistent nations of the Eastern world, beats faster as the rumors of coming war travel on their swift way; stocks fall; men look for new avenues of trade; they contract their business; weak firms shake at the prospect of failure. The question may fairly be asked, in view of all this—have two powers, in the present state of the world, a right to expose the immense interests connected with capital and labor all over the world to loss—have they a right to do this, while the neutral shall have no right to do anything besides offering his friendly offices as a mediator? May not the neutral claim that if he is to be a sufferer, perhaps the principal sufferer, by the war, he ought to have some consent to its taking place? We should thus have a new kind of armed neutrality, embracing the foremost states in the world, which might or might not blossom into an international court of arbitration.

We dismiss this subject with the remark that the present usages of nations are adverse to the peace of the world both in giving to belligerents, and in giving to neutrals, greater latitude in some very important respects than they ought to be allowed to have. The unlimited power of two nations to rush into war, cost what it may to the rest of mankind, is barbarous and anti-social. The unchecked liberty which neutrals are very ready to avail themselves of to export articles contraband of war, seems to us equally barbarous and anti-social. As soon as war breaks out, the neutral eagles gather on the spot to batten upon the carcass. But more voracious than the eagles, the neutrals supply the instruments of death, keep up the hopes of the weaker party, lengthen out the conflict. To speak of this as the moralist and the humane man must regard it, would excite the ridicule of the ship-builders of Birkenhead and the gun-makers of Ilion. "Do we not follow the laws of political economy in sending abroad what we can supply at the greatest advantage, and getting in exchange what would be raised at greatest cost in our own land? If men will shoot one another, is it any matter who furnishes the

weapon?" But, apart from humanity, it is for the interest of the neutral to have wars as short and as little exhausting as possible, not to speak of the cost of such trade to the neutral merchants and adventurers who follow it. We would desire to see both these powers of mischief abridged, to have the parties in every properly international war required to get some kind of sanction from those whom they can indirectly injure, and to make it imperative on neutrals to prevent the exportation of contraband articles from their ports to either or both of the belligerents. If, besides these provisions, all private property of an innocent character, and therefore, the property of the enemy's subjects, were made exempt from capture, wars would be greatly reduced in their number and their importance. We are fully aware of the dangers of any kind of interference, besides polite offers of mediation of neutrals in the affairs of belligerents; but our aim is not to propose any definite remedy for the existing state of things, but to speak of the difficulty as of one which in the progress of society will certainly demand some method of removal.

We have had occasion to refer incidentally more than once to arbitration: we now propose to take a more deliberate view of it. Just at present, owing to the happy close of the tribunal at Geneva, a new hope has dawned for the friends of peace in this direction. Some writers have expressed themselves as if something new of its kind, the beginning of a new order of ages, had there occurred. More wise and moderate in his views is Signor Pierantoni, Professor of International and Constitutional Law at Modena, and of the latter at Naples, who at an earlier period had espoused with warmth the cause of the United States against Prof. Esperson, of Pavia.* In his "*Gli Arbitrati Internazionali*," published at Naples in 1872, and written before the tribunal at Geneva had given their final award, he passes from a brief view of the case of the Alabama and the treaty of Washington, to the more general subjects of international arbitrations (*compromessi*), the rules which affect them, the question whether exceptions to the competence of the arbitrators can be made, which he denies, and finally to the interpretation of the treaty itself. Prof. Pierantoni gives a number of examples of ancient and modern arbitrations, but his catalogue needs to be used with caution. Thus,

* The latter jurist, according to Prof. Bernard, (*British Neutrality*, p. 495,) contended, and as we think with justice, that the Queen's Proclamation furnished no good ground of complaint to the United States; but held also that an injury was committed in the affair of the Alabama.

when he says that Cyrus chose the king of the Indi as an arbiter between himself and the king of Assyria, he reports inaccurately a passage in Xenophon's historical novel, where his hero, still in subjection to Cyaxares, proposes that if the Indian king thinks that the Assyrians have been wronged, he shall be chosen as a judge in the case. Another of the instances of arbitration given by our author, is that of an embassy sent by the Athenians to Rome in the year 155 B. C., of which the philosophers Carneades and Critolaus were members. But this was nothing more, it would seem, than an ordinary supplication for relief from some burden, or help in some difficulty. Still a third instance our author draws from the recently discovered oration of Hypereides for Euxenippus. But if he had read this speech carefully he would have found that the case of the property sacred to Amphiaraus at Oropus did not involve any proceeding of arbitration. Oropus was then subject to Athenian sway, and after a division of the mountains in the district between the ten Athenian tribes, there was a question respecting the sacred property assigned to two of them. This question involved no peculiar principles. The sacred property was restored, and the two tribes which had received it by lot were saved from loss by an act of the ecclesia.*

It would be quite a service rendered to the student of civilization and of international law, if an accurate and thorough history of arbitration in ancient and modern times could be written. We find the same want of accuracy which we just now complained of in some writers who urge the success of the method of arbitration in modern times. Mediation is confounded by them with arbitration; the dates of arbitrations are sometimes given incorrectly; and the kinds of it are not properly distinguished.

The examples of arbitration in ancient times are drawn for the most part from Greek history. It may be laid down as a rule of public law between Greek states which had for any reason a close union with one another that war was not to be waged until the method of judicial decision had been tried and failed. So also—we borrow the remarks of Schömann,†—after peace had been made, questions of interpretation and of breach of peace were to be submitted to some man or state on whom the parties could agree. If this feeling—which was often disregarded—testifies to a special hu-

* Comp. Hyp. ed. Blass, p. 37.

† Gr. Alterth. II, 5. The best discussion of this subject is to be found in Prof. M. E. H. Meier's monograph, "Die Privatschiedsrichter," etc., pp. 29-47.

manity of the Greek race, it must be accounted for also by all those causes, whether physical or pertaining to primeval history, which divided up into numerous small states a race having a community of language, religion and political thought. These little states united in leagues for mutual protection, for common religious rites and festivities. The political idea was the leading one in such unions as consisted of members of the same branch of the race, or that arose in the later times; the religious idea led the way whenever separate branches of the race rather than cities formed unions in remote antiquity, and even among cities of the same branch, as the Dorians, or the Ionians of Asia Minor, the old gatherings and federations may have arisen under the influence of religion and a desire for what may be called family reunions.

The forms which arbitration took among the Greeks were the same as it must take everywhere else: they were arbitration by a judge or judges chosen by the parties; and arbitration by a standing tribunal to which the parties by the terms of their league agreed to submit the adjustment of their differences.

It would naturally be expected that the propensity of the Greeks towards political unions and the general agreement of the states in their views of right, both international and municipal, would have led them, especially if federally joined together, toward the erection of common courts for the settlement of disputes between the members of the league. Of course differences with states beyond their pale would require some other way of adjustment. It is probable that all the political unions had a court for deciding suits between citizens of the different states within the league, and those between the states themselves. But in regard to many of them our knowledge is too scanty to confirm this probability. Thus much may be said, that the same political instinct which led the Greeks into confederations would not have been satisfied without some established method of settling disputes between the members. When after fifty years truce (B. C. 421), the Corinthians urged the Argives to form a new alliance in Peloponnesus, from which both Sparta and Athens were to be excluded, the parties to it were to be independent states and such as would submit their quarrels to arbitration.* The Athenian symmarchy, formed after the Persian war, had, from the beginning, as both Grote and Schömann think, a common court at Delos. The synod of Delos, we use the language of Grote,

* Thucyd. V. 27.

"Composed of the deputies of all was the natural board of arbitration for their disputes, and a habit must have been formed of recognizing a sort of federal tribunal—to decide peaceably how far each ally had discharged its duties, both towards the confederacy collectively, and towards other allies with their individual citizens separately, as well as to enforce its decisions and punish refractory members, pursuant to the right which Sparta claimed and exercised also."

Such a synod being assumed as a reality, we can account for the fact that in the course of time, when the sea-states became more passive members of the league, and Athens acted as their protector, they so far lost their autonomy that their courts at home were confined to suits of smaller importance, while weightier matters and criminal processes were transferred to the Athenian courts. There was in a sense a consolidation of the sea-states in an Athenian empire, with Athens for the capital. How in later days the great Aetolian and Achæan unions, which light up with untimely splendor the end of Greek history, managed in regard to their internal differences, we cannot tell. The ancient historians are generally absorbed in political events, while institutions often come and go unnoticed by them. It is only a friendly inscription, or a scholiast, or a fragment, disclosing half and concealing half of what we want to know, that offers itself to us as our guide in these interior workings of ancient life.

In the obscure Acarnanian league, we find from a passage of Thucydides that the fortress of Olpæ was built to serve as a place for "a common court," that is, for cases between the different tribes of the league, or more probably between them and the neighboring Amphilocheians. If the latter be the meaning of the historian's words, we must suppose that the districts of Acarnania themselves would have had a similar institution for internal justice and peace. The Aetolians, in the earlier times, were constantly at war with their neighbors across the river Achelous, for the reason, says Strabo, that they had no arbitrators. When this part of Greece at length became a powerful confederacy, they are thought by Tittmann, on the evidence of an inscription relating to the town of Teios in Asia Minor, to have had a similar institution; but all that can fairly be gathered from the evidence is that a board called Synedri, acting with the general of the league, had cognizance of cases of piracy; that, in other words, foreign cities, authorized by special treaty, complained of Aetolian pirates before this body.* It is quite remarkable that we know still

* The passage of Thucyd. is in B. III., § 105; that of Strabo in B. X., p. 458; the inscription in Boeckh's C. I., Vol. II., No. 2350. Comp. Tittmann, *Gr. Staatsverfass.*, Brandstätter's *Gesch. Aetolien*, p. 313, and Freeman's *Hist. of Confed. Gov.*, I. 337.

less of the great Achaean league, as it respects its international board or court for settling disputes. One would think that the long experience of this people, before they began to play their most prominent part in later Greek history, must have perfected such institutions; but Prof. Schömann, and Tittmann before him, could say no more than that the Achaean league either had a special court for adjusting the difficulties of the separate states with one another, or that such cases were brought before the common assemblies.*

From these large confederations we pass over to one outside of Greece, but penetrated with a Greek political spirit, and framed with more wisdom than the Greeks possessed;—we refer to the union of the twenty Lycian towns, of which Strabo in his Geography gives us the constitution. Among the provisions which appear in Strabo's brief account, are that in the common assembly (*synedrium*) judges composing the federal courts are appointed, and that judges and magistrates are appointed from each city in proportion to the number of its votes.†

The island of Crete, with its many towns needing some common arbiter to adjust their differences; and pervaded by common Doric institutions, ought to have found it easy to form a general Union with a court or courts of arbitration. But according to Plutarch‡ they were often at variance and war with one another, until danger from an external enemy forced them to lay aside their differences for the time, and enter into a union, which went by the name of Syncretism (Union of Crete). No league among the Greeks seems to have been looser than this, and no part of the race, the Aetolians perhaps excepted, less fitted to the highest forms of political life. And their best times were the earliest. The league which received the above name is hardly worthy of mention as an attempt at confederation, and naturally contemplated foreign relations rather than internal. In the later times of Greece, after the Romans had planted their influ-

* Comp. Tittm. u. s. p. 677, Schöm. Gr. Alterth. II, 110. This is argued from a noted place in Polyb. II, 37, sub fin., where he says that by means of the Achaeans Peloponnesus was so unified as to have the same laws, weights, measures, and coins, the same magistrates, senators and *judges*, so that it differed from one city only in not being included within one surrounding wall. Comp. also Prof. Meier's treatise on the *Diaetetæ*, p. 38, noticed pp. 111, 125.

† We follow here Mr. Freeman's translation, who gives an excellent critique of the Lycian Union in his before cited work, I, 208—217. Others, as Kärcher in the Stuttgart series of translations, render this "in like manner also are the judges and magistrates of each city chosen by votes," which is unmeaning, if the municipal officers are intended.

‡ Plut. de Fratern. Amore, § 19.

ence on the island, we find mention made of a Koenodikion or common court for settling differences between the cities and between their inhabitants. A long inscription among those first published by Chishull helps us to penetrate a little further into Cretan institutions.* The marble contains a treaty or convention between the people of Priansus and of Hierapytna, two neighboring towns on the southern coast. The treaty contemplates the removal of a state of things since the fall of the Court of the Union spoken of before: the difficulties then pending between inhabitants of the two cities were to be adjusted in such a court as the two communities could agree upon, and within a definite time; as for future suits, it was agreed, according to Boeckh's interpretation, to submit them first to an arbiter (*prodicus*), and then to a mixed court, which was to have its number of judges completed by additional judges drawn from another city.

The conclusion from all we know of the usages of Greece, is that federal courts must have been as common and as natural an expression of political habits as confederations themselves. In Italy we see a similar mode of life. A race or branch of a race lives in cities as centres of a district not very large in extent, and these cities are led by similarity of language, of religion and of political life, to associate in leagues or unions where a common sense of justice and the necessity of intercourse give birth to common courts. Here public as well as private disputes are settled. In lieu of all other proofs of this, we may be allowed to give the substance of a passage from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, referring to an institution of Servius Tullius which bears a close resemblance to the Greek federal courts. The author after his fashion of imputing the philosophical reflections of his own day to times wholly different, and of deriving all Roman institutions from Greek ones, makes the king of Rome a kind of professor of political history; but still the passage is not without its value, as giving us the views of a man of research in regard to Italian federal unions and similar institutions in Greece. Servius is represented as admiring the Amphyctionic Council and its common laws for all its members which secured friendly relations between them. The Ionians and Dorians of Asia Minor also he took into view, who established places of meeting for the cities composing their respective unions, the former the shrine of Artemis at Ephesus, the latter, the

* It appears in Boeckhs' *Corpus*, Vol. II, as No. 2256, and is accompanied by a commentary of that great scholar, who, however, does not succeed in removing doubt from all places. Hoeck in his *Creta* (III. 86, et seq., 470,) has also an explanation of it.

temple of Apollo on the promontory of Triopium, where, with wives and children, they assembled at appointed times, sacrificed together, and together celebrated equestrian, gymnastic and musical games, and presented common offerings to the gods. At these festivities, if any offense had occurred between city and city, judges sat and arbitrated, besides which they consulted together concerning war and the maintenance of amity with one another. These reflections led the king to take measures in concert with the principal men of the Latin cities for setting up a union after the plan of the early Greek ones, in which members having disputes with one another should submit their cases to the other members, with power of final decision. Rome, according to the historian, was to be the head of the league, and the plan was adopted, of having a common court, a common temple built on the Aventine, and a code of federal laws collected by Servius. These laws, he adds, with the names of the confederates, were engraved in old Greek letters on a pillar of brass, which was preserved in the temple of Diana on the Aventine, and they were still to be seen there in the writer's time, that is, at the beginning of the Christian era.*

Much in this account is false or questionable. There was probably a far more ancient Latin league which had its place of meeting in the grove and near the spring of Ferentina, and in which Rome at first may have had no part. What Servius did amounted to nothing more than the formation of an alliance of Rome with the Latin cities, and the institution of sacred rites and a common sacred place at Rome such as they had had elsewhere; and the consent of the Latins—if there were any such consent—to help in founding the temple on the Aventine was no confession, as Livy interprets it, that the hegemony belonged to Rome. But Dionysius gives without doubt the true connection between a confederation and a federal court.†

From all that has been said it appears, that where adjacent cities of the same branch of the Greek race were not absorbed or domineered over by one of their number—which last was not uncommon—a league with its assemblies, common magistrate, and courts, formed a most natural series of institutions. The motive in the later history of Greece was to secure mutual protection and amicable relations. The protection sought was that against some other division of the Greek race, and not against barbarians. The result was good as far as it went, but Greece was never united, not even when Persia threatened its utter ruin. Confederation gave rise to wars on a larger scale.

* Dion. Hal., IV., 25, 26. Comp. Liv. I., 45.

† Comp. Schwegler, Röm. Gesch. I., pp. 730—732.

In the somewhat similar confederations of modern times, the same political instinct and political necessity have felt after judicial institutions in which all the states of the union should have a share and which for a certain class of questions should have a final decision. We will not stop to examine into the nature or competence of these courts, whether in the Dutch United Provinces, in Switzerland, Germany, our United States under the Confederation, or elsewhere. We content ourselves with making one or two remarks bearing on the possibility of creating such courts artificially and on their sphere of operation.

1. It appears from the history of the Greek and Italian unions, that all the cities, even though speaking the same language and having common political forms, did not unite together in other than temporary alliances. Much more were they kept apart by slight diversities of dialect and by differences of constitution. Lasting confederations between Dorians and Ionians, between Athens and Sparta, were out of the question. That nations or cities should establish courts of arbitration, they must have common views of justice, common commercial and political interests, such a sense of unity in fact as will counterbalance the tendencies to separation, which differences of nationality produce. We find the English Colonies in America from time to time appointing deputies to consult on their common interests,—the Colonies of New England alone, or these with New York, after it became English, or at length all the Colonies along the coast, united in one great movement. But there could have been no permanent union with the French-speaking Colonies lying more to the north,—language, religion, law itself, would have been obstacles in the way of such a plan, however wished for as an aid in gaining our independence.

In May, 1775, the Continental Congress in their ineffectual address to the Canadians could only ask of them some vague co-operation. Two months afterwards, according to a plan of Franklin's, every Colony of Great Britain in N. America and even Ireland, was to be invited to join the Union. (Bancroft, VII., 301, VIII., 53.) In November of the same year the Congress instructs Gen. Schuyler to invite them to send delegates to join its body (Sparks' Wash., III., 174). In May, 1778, Washington writes to Carter thus: "The accounts which you have received of the accession of Canada to the Union were premature. It is a measure much to be wished, and I believe, would not be displeasing to the majority of the people, but while Carleton remains among them... they dare not avow their sentiments," (Ibid. V., 389). In July, 1778, the Articles of Confederation were finally passed, of which

the eleventh declares that "Canada acceding to this confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into and invited to all the advantages of this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine States." But all these movements were abortive.

And so, as it seems to us, great courts of arbitration for the decision of international disputes would meet with obstacles, not in their unwieldiness and sluggishness of action only, and their readiness to fall apart—of which more in another place—but would also be prevented from forming themselves and becoming active by many causes, among which the differences already spoken of are not the least. A court within a confederation of states is not entirely an artificial creation; the confederation itself implies a general government which would not be complete without a judicial department. Such a court would probably grow up, if not contemplated at the formation of the union, at some era of political life afterward. And yet even in the formation of such unions, the common court might be a very rude and timid experiment—witness our old Confederation (Art. IV.), where, besides other imperfections, no power of enforcing the decisions of the court is conceded to Congress or to the Court itself.

2. A general court of arbitration is needed only for the settlement of political disputes. Cases in which an individual has suffered wrong from a foreign government must be left to his own, to be prosecuted or not as it shall think best. Cases in which private rights are concerned do not need such a new political machine which would be cumbrous, and the existing ways of redress in such cases are sufficient. In the ancient free states, either the articles of confederation provided for such protection of individuals, or special treaties, which must have been almost numberless, gave the citizen of one state the right of suing within the limits of another according to certain reciprocal rules, both in cases where property was concerned and where injuries were claimed to have been inflicted. A Greek thus was by treaty a privileged alien in all the cities with which his own country had formed such treaties. Suits of this sort were called *δίνειν ἀπὸ συμβόλων*, that is, conventional suits, the convention corresponding to our modern commercial treaties, but contemplating, we may be sure, the safety and exemption from injury of the foreign resident.* Besides which, the *proxenus* of the foreign state, a citizen of the state where the foreigner was domiciled, had a certain obligation to look after his interests as well as those of his native country.

* Comp. Meyer, und Schöm. Attisch, Process., p. 773, et seq.

In modern times these interests of individual foreigners are sufficiently provided for in the ordinary arrangements between governments. This is done by treaty, by resident ambassadors and consuls, and by that system of international private law which, more than any other usages of intercourse between the parts of the world, shows the progress of brotherhood, and which is likely at length to embrace all mankind.

Public political disputes and complaints of wrong alone then need international courts of arbitration. To these the eyes of humane and wide-minded men have been turned at different times for several centuries, and never more earnestly than in the more recent times, when, after half a century of something like peace, wars, though short, have been so costly and bloody. We desire to take a brief review of the leading plans for preventing or for settling public disputes, or as they may be called, the ways devised for the maintenance of perpetual peace.

First in the order of time appears the "*grand dessein*" of Henry IV. of France. It is not our province here, nor is it within our limits, to lay this project or dream, as some would call it, in its details, before our readers. It is enough to say that between the King and Sully,—probably at first in the King's mind against the judgment of the minister, who, however, afterwards entertained it with more favor and with active suggestions—the great plan was agitated. Its leading features correspond well enough with Henry's known policy, which was to humble the house of Austria, to confine the house of Spain within narrower European limits, to repress the Turks and bring about a religious peace between the three great confessions of western Christendom. Vast changes were to be made in the political map of Europe: there were to be six hereditary monarchies, five elective ones,—the German empire, Bohemia enlarged by neighboring countries, Hungary, Poland, and the States of the Church, with the addition of Apulia, Calabria, and Naples—and four republics, the Venetian, the Swiss, the Belgic, including perhaps both the Dutch and Flemish provinces, and as the fourth, the compages of little duchies in middle Italy, which were to form a confederation. Lombardy was to pass into the hands of one of the six hereditary sovereigns, the duke of Savoy, who was to be king in the north of the peninsula, and Sicily was to be an appendage of the Venetian republic. The Catholic religion and the two divisions of Protestantism were to be tolerated, but no other form of faith. In this great Christian republic the difficulties between the states were to be submitted

to a tribunal or congress, which was also to have the office of settling questions between princes and subjects, as well as that of determining the quota of aid to be furnished by the respective states in the enterprise of expelling the Turks from Europe.*

Can any one hesitate to say that such a mighty change or series of changes was next to impossible in the most favorable circumstances; that if the great confederation could have been artificially put together by forcible means, the only ones possible or contemplated, it could not have held together; and that the supreme tribunal for keeping the peace must have been either inefficient and contemptible, or the source of wars on a great scale, and of more evils than it would have prevented? The whole scheme wears the look of force done to nature, and the plan or vision of Henry IV. was only fit to amuse the imagination.

From this royal projector we pass on to give a brief *aperçu* of plans of arbitration suggested by private persons. A French writer, Emery de la Croix, thirteen years after the death of Henry IV., published anonymously his "Nouveau Cynée," advocating the creation of a perpetual congress or court having a fixed seat for their meetings. "All the princes associated in this institution were to take oath to regard as inviolable the decisions reached by the plurality of votes of this assembly, and to pursue with arms those who should offer opposition." But he trusted much to "the disgrace of contravening a decree of so notable a company."

Both this project and that of Castel de St. Pierre, may have owed their origin to plans imputed to Henry IV.† In fact, St. Pierre ascribed such a source to his "Projet de la Paix Perpetuelle," first published in 1713, and, in an *Abrégé*, in 1729. He contemplated a league of European states, which should renounce the right of war, and constitute an assembly having twenty votes in all, before which the allies should bring their differences for arbitration, and which should have a final decision if the minority of votes consisted of only

* I have followed the historian, Henri Martin (X., 491—494), and Mercier de Lacombe, in his crowned work, entitled, "Henri IV. et sa Politique," a chapter of which (Liv., V., 1) treats of the *grand dessein*. Sully's "Economies Royales," chiefly Vols. VII. and VIII., contain numerous passages in which it is spoken of. Ranke (Franz. Gesch. II., p. 106, Vol. IX., of the new edition of his works), just alludes to it, without regarding it, apparently, as much more than a vision of a great soul. See Patrice Larroque, "La Guerre," etc., 3d ed., pp. 353—355.

† See for this and the two next mentioned projects, Wheaton's History, Part 2, § 17; Part 3, § 21; Part 4, § 36. We must refer the reader to this work for greater details. Here we may add that Rousseau embraced St. Pierre's ideas.

one quarter. If a member of the league should refuse to submit to the decision, or make treaties in contravention of it, or prepare for war, the allies would be empowered to reduce such refractory member to obedience by force of arms.

Bentham's plan, conceived in 1789, but not published until many years afterwards, had some preliminary articles which were necessary to its success. They were the reduction of military establishments and the abandonment of colonial possessions. A congress or court of deputies, two from each state, had the office in this plan of "reporting its opinion," "of causing that opinion to be circulated in the dominions of each state," and after a certain time, of "putting the refractory state under the ban of Europe." He would not object to a contingent to be furnished by the several states in order to enforce the decrees of the court. But he thinks that the weight of the opinion of the tribunal, if the freedom of the press were guaranteed, would supersede the necessity of a resort to force.

Kant's suggestions in an essay entitled "*Zum ewigen frieden*," (Works, V., 414, et seq., Leipz., ed. of 1838), are remarkable in this, that no force, as far as we can see, is contemplated, and the preliminary part of the plan is much more important than the definitive. The states embracing this plan are to have an understanding that there shall be no treaty of peace which will leave questions unsettled for future wars; that the territory of no independent state shall be acquired in any way by another; that standing armies shall in time wholly cease; that no state debts shall be contracted in reference to foreign political relations; that no state shall interfere in the constitution and government of another. The definitive articles of the league were to be that every state shall have a republican government, or one in which the executive is separate from the legislative power; that a "federalism" or confederation of free states shall be the basis for the laws of nations; and that "citizenship of the world," (*weltbürgerrecht*) or the rights of an alien in foreign lands, shall be limited by the practice of hospitality towards strangers in his own country.

In Kant's plan there is little or no machinery. Perhaps he thought that if the preliminary articles of his world-treaty once received the consent of many states, everything else would follow in due time. Perhaps the whole project was rather a form of stating the direction which the causes bringing about universal peace would take.

The plans for general peace advocated in this country by the

Peace Society have down to the present time usually looked towards a codification of international law and a congress of nations. The essays of Mr. Ladd and others, written for prizes offered by friends of the American Peace Society, and published together in a volume, may be referred to as indicating the course of American thought on this subject. In 1838 the New York Peace Society presented a petition to the House of Representatives in Congress, in which they pray that the existing differences with Mexico, together with all other disputes in future with foreign states, be by invariable rule submitted to third powers; and that the Government propose to other nations to unite with itself in endeavoring to establish "an international board of arbitration," or Congress of Nations, and in preparing a regular code of international law obligatory on such nations as might afterwards adopt it. The House of Representatives could not legislate on a subject like this; they could only express a wish and pass a resolution. Even the Senate for the time being could not bind a future Senate by the passage of a vote on such a subject, unless in carrying out a treaty negotiated by the Executive and accepted by two-thirds of the Senate itself. The House referred the petition to their Committee on Foreign Affairs, one of whom, the late accomplished Hugh S. Legaré, presented a report on the subject. The leading points of the report were that reforms like the one proposed cannot by human contrivance be made to precede events; that the unanimous consent of nations to such a congress is out of the question, and the refusal of a single great power to acquiesce in it would alone be enough to render it abortive; that a code of international law, made arbitrarily, and for which the parties to it are not ripe, could do little good and would be inefficacious; and that the decrees of an international board of arbitration would be at the best nugatory, and might, in the actual relations of the great powers, easily be perverted to the worst ends. The Committee, therefore, thought such a permanent international tribunal undesirable; but they concurred with the memorialists in recommending reference to third powers of international difficulties over which our tribunals had no control. And so they were discharged from further consideration of the subject.

Mr. David Dudley Field's plan of arbitration is the best that has appeared, and in some respects the most noteworthy. He proposes in his "Outlines of an International Code" (New York, 1872), that if nations having differences with one another cannot agree in the ordinary way of diplomatic intercourse, they shall, after a certain pre-

scribed time, appoint each five members of a Joint High Commission, who shall meet together, endeavor to reconcile their principals, and within six months after their appointment report the result. If such a Commission fail to reconcile the nations appointing them, these nations shall give notice of the same, within twelve months after the appointment, to the other nations that are parties to the Code, and then a High Tribunal of Arbitration shall be appointed in the following manner: From the names of persons, four in number from each of the other parties to the Code, the contestants shall alternately reject one after another, until seven remain, which seven shall constitute the Tribunal. Then follow provisions for cases where the other parties to the Code fail to send in four names, for death, etc., which we omit. Each nation, party to the Code, binds itself to form a Joint High Commission and a Tribunal of Arbitration where the case requires such action, and to submit to the decision of such a tribunal, whenever it has failed in the method of the High Commission to settle its controversy with its adversary. If, however, any party to the Code shall begin a war, the others bind themselves to resist the offending nation by force.

We have no time to make criticisms on Mr. Field's plan of arbitration, except to say that, so far as we can discover, no provision is made for the use of force either by the party found to be injured, or by the other parties to the Code. The nation condemned by the tribunal may delay or refuse justice with impunity.

Turning from the consideration of the particular plans for international tribunals to the general inquiry, whether this form of arbitration is likely to be efficient and possessed of good working power under the best organization, we have the following remarks to make:

1. It is no good argument in favor of the feasibility of such tribunals that federal courts have been sometimes of great practical utility, and have prevented or adjusted disputes between the members of the confederation. A confederation, as we have seen, grows up naturally, because certain states have the same language, laws, religion, and in general the same civilization. On the other hand, the tribunal of arbitration is an artificial thing, instituted to prevent certain evils by nations who have no cohesion and no general national life. There is, therefore, a certain centrifugal tendency from which nations forming such congresses cannot escape.

2. A moral sanction is not enough when such tribunals have announced a decree which is displeasing either to one or to both of the contesting parties. Force must in the present state of

mankind form a part of every such plan. When nations can consent to accept decisions adverse to themselves with meekness, it is not probable that they will fall out with one another, nor, indeed, will arbitration then be necessary. But in the application of force there are great difficulties. Shall there be an army of the confederation of states composing the tribunal? This seems to be impracticable. Shall the execution of a decree be committed to certain nations, after the pattern of the military execution of the late German confederation? If such nations were remote, this would be a slow and costly work, performed grudgingly and in the fear of not being remunerated. If they were near to the party cast in the suit, they would feel animosities or partialities not favorable to the strict execution of justice. Shall there be a contingent on some equitable terms to be called for from all the allies? But these nations, if remote, or even if near and yet without special interest in the affair, would be slow in moving their contingents to the place of war. Let the experiences of the German emperors in the old empire, when they made their Italian expeditions or called for help against the Turks, bear witness to the truth of what we say.

3. The inequalities of power among the nations uniting in such a congress presents another difficulty. Suppose the small states to have votes in the congress not as equal sovereigns, but according to their population, even then, if the congress meant anything, it might easily be the scene of intrigues—each large state trying to get the control into its hands—and thus there could be no absolute confidence in the justice of the decisions.

4. Hence there would be danger of the dissolution of the court, or of a general war. Some of the members would withdraw, others might remain, but the efficiency of the institution would be most seriously impaired.

5. And this leads us to say that it is not probable that all Christian nations would enter into such a congress. Here again a difficulty arises. A state, especially a leading one, which staid outside, might fear the union of states composing the congress, and seek by negotiation or force to effect its dissolution.

Such are some of the considerations which make us afraid and suspicious of these great congresses and standing international tribunals. If we were to offer our recipe to states sick of war, it would be something like this: without a league or tribunal make a convention embracing these few articles,—that armies shall be proportionately brought down to the minimum necessary for internal

security; that all money necessary for carrying on foreign war shall be raised by means of annual taxes; that no person within the state shall take part in a war-loan made to a foreign power, without incurring severe penalties; and that no material of war shall be exported to a belligerent. We are not so sanguine as to suppose that our recipe will be adopted, but we suggest it, as Mr. Lincoln would say, for the benefit of all concerned.

But if arbitration by means of standing international courts is a lumbering and uncertain way of settling disputes, compromissory arbitration is simple, and if two nations can agree on a submission of their cases, is effectual. It is a most natural way of deciding what is just or equitable between man and man, where the choice of a way of settlement lies not between force and law, but between appeal to public courts and a private tribunal created for the occasion by the parties. It is equally natural between states except in cases where there is no impartial judge between the contestants, as Demosthenes said there was none between Athens and King Philip, when he proposed an arbitration. The history of the Greek states abounds in instances of this kind of submission.* Sometimes a dispute was referred to the oracles at Delphi; sometimes to a single man in whose wisdom and sense of justice confidence was reposed, as Perianther arbitrated between Athens and Mitylene, and Themistocles between Corinth and Corcyra. Sometimes again a third city was chosen to pronounce upon the case, and it might be that this was inserted in a treaty between the two powers. Perhaps in some of the confed-

* See for this subject especially Prof. M. E. H. Meier's monograph "On the Public and Private *Diaetataë* of Athens and the Arbitration Courts of Greece," Halle, 1846. The references at Athens of disputes to private arbiters were under far looser regulations than at Rome. Before the sentence the arbitrators might give up the case and send the parties to the public courts, or either of the parties might withdraw from the submission. A conventional penalty was not necessary. As it regards compromissory arbitration between states, Meier furnishes many examples from the best times. The Greeks had two quite noteworthy ways of settling private disputes; one by means of treaties giving the use of the courts to the foreign resident or in some other way enabling them to obtain justice, (see p. 118,) and the other the singular practice of asking judges from a friendly state, when the state making the request was suffering from bitter factions and could not trust its own courts. This reminds us of the mediæval practice in Italy of putting in the office of judge a foreign doctor of laws. Prof. Meier has gathered eight or ten instances of this kind from the inscriptions. The most striking one is that in which the people of Iasus, a fishing mart on the coast of Caria, upon application of the inhabitants of the neighboring island Calymna, sent there five of their townspeople, to settle their litigations amicably, or if not successful in this, to act as judges. The five decided more than 250 suits, most of them amicably, and ten by a formal judicial proceeding. The inscription records a vote of thanks with a crown for the judges. What a lively time they must have had on the island, although without lawyers!

erations such modes of conciliation were adopted instead of standing tribunals. In the peace between Sparta and Argos, of the year 418, B. C., it was arranged that if any quarrel should arise between two of the allied cities they should refer it to some third city (of the alliance) which they should look upon as impartial.*

The Romans perfected the rules of compromissory arbitration between man and man, and those rules have served in the main, with one important exception, for the settlement, in modern times both of disputes between individuals and of those between states. The exception is that until the time of Justinian there was no compromise or joint promise to submit to a definite arbitration, without a penalty to be paid by the party who should violate his promise. The penalty, in fact, was the only hold which the public magistrate had upon the transaction; he could hold the party who would not abide by his word to the payment. Hence the penalty would naturally come as near in amount to the alleged damage as possible. On some accounts it seems desirable that such a penalty, a sum of money put into the hands of a third party or *sequester*, should form a feature in international arbitrations, but probably the inconvenience of doing this would prevent some compromises, while in other cases, as in those where apology would be the best satisfaction, no money payment would be looked for.

As it regards the kind of arbitrations, two nations might agree to resort to them in general or in all differences out of which war might naturally arise. Their advantages over arbitration courts, are, we think, decided. The parties could agree upon a definite statement of the case and of the rules to be applied; they might limit the arbitrators to strict law, or open to them the field of equity and common sense. There would naturally be restrictions as to the place where, and to the time within which, the decision should be rendered; whether the judges should justify their sentences or not, might enter into the convention; and even unforeseen events like the illness or derangement or death of an arbitrator—which are indeed well enough provided for in modern applications of the Roman rules—might be included. Only the fraud of arbitrators, or their going outside of the case that had been referred to them, would justify one of the parties in rejecting the award. But if there should be an unrighteous refusal to comply with the sentence, at the worst, war, which might have occurred before the attempt at a settlement, would follow, whereas a refusal to submit to the sentence of a standing international court

* Thucyd. V., 79. Comp. Grote, VII., 229, Eng. ed.

might either break up the system or bring on a general war. In the vast majority of cases, the arbitration by compromise would repair a wrong: the other procedure is an untried experiment which would begin among many suspicions and fears, would be opposed or counteracted by nations wedded to past international practice, and if it proved a failure at the first, would be readily abandoned.

It must be confessed, however, that the compromissory way of reaching a just decision has not been applied, common as it has been in modern times, to many very important international questions. Generally the complaints submitted have been private claims for injuries received, questions of boundaries, and others which would have remained unsettled until a case of war had occurred, and have fallen to the decision of the sword. The diplomatic history of the United States supplies us with treaties in the settlement of some sixteen disputes with foreign powers, nearly all with Great Britain or the Southern republics of this continent. The composition of the boards of arbitration is not always the same. Sometimes the parties name one or two commissioners each, giving them power in case they cannot agree, to appoint an umpire; sometimes a sovereign is the arbiter, styled also improperly umpire, in our treaties; sometimes a tribunal is constituted, of which the members are named in part by foreign powers. No instance has fallen under our notice of references, in modern times, to experts in the law of nations, resembling the consultations, several centuries ago, of learned lawyers and of theological faculties.

A few of the older references of disputes to one or more arbiters may be noticed here, as serving to show what complaints took this direction in the times down to the eighteenth century.

In 1263, the quarrel between Henry III. of England and the barons was submitted to Louis IX. of France, and decided by him in favor of the king. The barons rejected the decision on the plea, it is said, of its having been obtained from him by undue influence.

In 1491 the rival claims of Anne of Brittany to that duchy, and of Charles VIII. of France, were submitted to twelve arbitrators on each side. But by a second arrangement of the same year they contracted marriage.

In 1655 a treaty between France and England under the Protector provided for naming three commissioners of each party to determine the amount of injuries suffered by each party from the other, and for referring the affair, where they could not agree, to the free city of Hamburg. Also the decision respecting several forts occu-

pied by the English in America and the property captured there, was to be referred to the same commissioners.

Ten years later, Frederic William of Brandenburg,—the “Great Elector”—and the States-General agreed to submit to the judgment of the Grand Council of Mechlin a question of debt in which the States-General claimed to be the creditors.

The treaty of peace in 1674 between Charles II. of England and the United Provinces provides (in art. 8) for the appointment of commissioners, equal in number for both parties, to consider a new commercial treaty. If this board cannot agree within three months the matter is to be referred to the queen of Spain (*ad arbitrium ac dispositionem*, etc.) The same treaty in another article (art. 9) refers the subject of commerce in the East Indies to commissioners, and, as before, if they cannot agree, to the Queen of Spain, who is to name eleven commissioners, a majority of whom shall determine and bind both parties within six months after they meet and within nine months after the Queen shall have accepted the arbitration.

Again, the Kings of France and Spain, in a treaty of peace, concluded just before that of Nimeguen in 1678, agree to remit certain differences touching certain places, restitution of goods in the Milanese, and amnesty, to the States-General.

In the peace of Ryswick, the treaty between Louis XIV. and William III. provides for commissioners of the parties who are to determine their rights to places in the region of Hudson's Bay, to restore to the French such as they possessed before the war, to define boundaries and to exchange lands, if judged advantageous to both parties.

So also in the contemporaneous treaty of France with Spain, made at the same place, commissioners were provided for, to consider whether certain burghs and villages on the soil of the Spanish Netherlands were or were not dependencies of places ceded to France by earlier treaties. The decision of this board was to be final if they could agree, but if not, the States-General were to arbitrate in the matter.

The same peace of Ryswick referred a case of succession between John William, Elector Palatine, and Elizabeth, Duchess of Orleans, born Princess Palatine, to the arbitration of plenipotentiaries of the Emperor Leopold and Louis XIV. As these arbiters could not agree in their award, the case went up, according to the same treaty, to the Pope, who, in 1702, by six deputies decided that 300,000 Roman scudi

should be paid by the Elector to the Duchess in full settlement of all claims.*

The resort to arbitration in the eighteenth century seems to have gone into comparative disuse. In the present century one remarkable example of this procedure is found in the final act of the Congress at Vienna (art. 69). The question was, who should be duke of that part of the Duchy of Bouillon which was not ceded to France, but was made to pertain to the realm of the king of the Netherlands. To decide this question it was provided that one arbiter should be named by each of the competitors, and one by each of the courts of Austria, Prussia and Sardinia. They were to meet as soon as circumstances would admit, and to decide within six months.

Several other cases since 1823* are spoken of by M. Charles Calvo in his very extensive work on International Law. In six out of nine examples which he gives, an American power is one of the parties. One of them is the abortive arbitration of the king of Holland on the subject of the Maine boundaries. We are glad to find that this impartial and well informed publicist speaks of this "*comme exemple d'arbitrage dont les effets furent avec raison déclinés*," as one in which the arbiter "left the question of right in suspense and confined himself to the suggestion of a basis of arrangement entirely new and hypothetical,—such a solution not having entered into the forethought of the parties." This case and some others seem to make it questionable whether a prince can make the best kind of arbiter. He acts under advice and information derived from others who are not responsible for their suggestions, and he is under an almost inevitable, although it may be unconscious, bias to split the difference.

The number of arbitrations in which the nations of North and South America have appeared as parties, since the Spanish colonies achieved their independence, seems to show that compromissory arbitration has become a habit on this side of the water, and augurs well for future peace between the states of the western world. The South American States are in some respects well fitted to repeat the Greek and German experiments of a loose confederation, and to institute standing arbitration courts. The congresses of 1826 and 1847 point, perhaps, to more frequent and regular common action hereafter. But it does not seem probable that the United States, in their widely

* All these cases may be found either in Flassan's "*Diplomatie Française*," or in Dumont under their respective years. For the last see Dumont, VIII., Part I, p. 6, and comp. H. Martin, *Hist. de Fr.*, XIV., 68, 233.

different circumstances, could feel it worth their while to have a share in such a system. We conclude, therefore, that in the future, as in the past, it will be our policy to arrange for the settlement of international difficulties as they arise.

The tribunal at Geneva was such an imposing spectacle, and the results were so important, as to give an old process a new dignity and reputation. Many persons have seemed to overrate its importance as a precedent, as if now, at last, righteousness and peace had kissed each other. To us the favor with which almost everywhere its existence and decisions were received, is an index of progress not the case itself, so much as the interest awakened, augurs well for coming time. That the decision should not meet the views of all persons in Great Britain was quite natural. The spirit of party and the lofty national feeling, might well vent themselves in complaints against Mr. Gladstone, and in denouncing the Americans. We have heard a North-Briton traveling in the United States, speak of Geneva as the place where the United States cheated his country out of fifteen millions of dollars. Did the Emperor William help us in another fraud? Were there not men at Geneva to look after British interests equal to any that we could send,—the present Lord Chancellor with his ability as a lawyer, and his high character as a man; Lord Tenterden, with his long training in diplomacy, and Professor Bernard with his candor and uprightness, his decided convictions on the side of his country, and his great learning as a publicist? It should be remembered that we lost our case in four points, and carried it only in one. We trust that in a little while these dissatisfactions will pass away. It will be felt, we are sure, that a nation is acting a truly honorable part when it consents to a trial before an impartial tribunal, and submits to its decisions, and not when it blindly maintains its own side without regard to the opinion of the world, or the laws of nations. In the end the treaty of Washington in 1871 will be a document to which England will look back with pride. Instead of being an argument against arbitration, as it might be to many now, it will be a precedent and a security for the peace of future times.

BOOKS.

THE LIFE OF JOHN MILTON IN CONNECTION WITH THE POLITICAL, ECCLESIASTICAL, AND LITERARY HISTORY OF HIS TIME. BY DAVID MASSON, LL.D., *Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh*, VOLS. I-III. LONDON: MCMILLAN & CO.

THE lovers of *Paradise Lost* have seen Milton too much on the clouds. By bringing him down to the earth, Mr. Masson has done the world an inestimable service. Notwithstanding the abuse of enemies, and glimpses of domestic and political troubles in imperfect memoirs, we have so associated the Poet with the beautiful and sublime imagery of his Epic, that he has been unconsciously invested in our minds with the grandeur and the glory of his wonderful creations. Such illusions are now and forever dispelled. John Milton will be known hereafter not only as an author, but as a man. His Biographer, inspired by enthusiasm, yet guided by judgment, has searched every available record of his family history, visited the scenes of his life, scrutinized each fragment of his works, and evidence of his opinions, and trait of his character, translated him, where necessary, from Latin into vigorous and often melodious English, shown him as a son, a student, a husband, a father, a friend, a teacher, a partisan, a pamphleteer, a poet, a christian—and all with such perseverance, and such fidelity, that we can draw a truthful and reliable picture of a genius without a superior in ancient or modern literature. Byron, with the same advantages of education, is certainly the only *Englishman* who could have ever equaled Milton in the music of his lines, and in the fire, beauty, and grandeur of his conceptions.

Nor do the impetuous faults and errors of the Poet detract from our estimate of his greatness. They only fix his place in the brotherhood of our humanity. Not the least part of Mr. Masson's work has been to reveal to us the inspiration of those marvelous pamphlets rushing over the world like mad and majestic rivers; and to comfort us with a view of the weaknesses of a nature whose endow-

ments were so transcendent. We thank him especially that he has lifted the curtain, and given us at least a glimpse of those unhappy male and female caudleisms which clouded the honeymoon of the haughty poet and a rustic bride made wretched by his own rash folly, and deserving his manly sympathy and protection.

It is a matter of regret that Mr. Masson combined with the biography of Milton a history of his time. The plan is awkward and cumbersome, and the work marred by want of unity. Invaluable as a treasury of information, it can yet never be widely popular, and therefore we fear never greatly profitable. Besides, in threading the mazes of an intricate political era, the reader is led so far away from the subject of the work that when once more found there is all the awkwardness of a second introduction. This is like placing the chief figure of the picture in the background, and crowding to the front in large proportions the subordinate personages. Mr. Masson more than his readers has felt the embarrassment of the undertaking. Yet all these palpable defects are outweighed by a single merit. Mr. Masson has, so far as he has gone, exhausted his subject. No man will ever again go over the same ground. As a reward of his enthusiastic industry, and conscientious fidelity, the Biographer will share the immortality of the Poet. We hope he will live to complete what he has so well begun, and carried forward so many patient years; and we can pardon any heaviness or clumsiness in his pages in view of the inestimable benefit he has conferred on Literature.

It is clearly seen from the third and last of Mr. Masson's volumes, that the two events which left on Milton an indelible stamp, were his first pamphlet and his strange marriage. They indeed influenced his whole life and all his works.

Nothing could have been more placid and lovely than the first thirty-two years of the Poet's career. Of respectable ancestry, the son of a wealthy Londoner of literary and musical culture, with an excellent mother, taught early by a competent tutor, thoroughly instructed at St. Paul's School, seven years a student at Cambridge, he had every opportunity of discipline and development possible or desirable. Only an extraordinary genius could have survived so much study and so much erudition. It takes a strong eagle to bear heavy burdens above the clouds into the clear sunlight of heaven.

Then came the five years of rural seclusion amid the quiet scenes of Horton, whence issued the exquisite music of the *L'Allegro*, and the *Il Penseroso*, and the exquisite images of the *Arcades*, the *Comus* and the *Lycidas*. Afterwards followed fifteen months of

continental travel, during which Milton studied the classic scenes and remains and writers of the past, courted and caressed and flattered by some of the first men of his own times.

Hitherto the life of the poet resembles a bright, smooth, musical brook. Suddenly it becomes a Niagara.

Milton had most probably intended to take orders in the Church of England. Did the rigors of Laud prevent him? and did the disappointment rankle? We cannot tell what was their inspiration, but certain it is, that while the ecclesiastical and political pamphlets of John Milton do not evince any deep and independent patristic learning; while they are often defiled by invective, personality and bitterness; while they are frequently extravagant and not seldom unjust; while passion inflames their logic, and imagination sometimes hides their argument; yet, with all their faults, for fire, for insight, for grasp, for impetuous power, for splendor of diction, and—where the premises are correct—for resistless argument, they have never been equaled by any prose, ancient or modern. Their author anticipated our own era and fought and won the battle of intellectual freedom for himself, for England, for America, for the World.

Whatever prompted Milton's marriage will perhaps forever remain a secret. Did he visit Forest Hill to collect an old debt owing since his Cambridge studentship? Or did he only want the country air? Or was he seeking an alliance with royalists, having in view his safety if the king prevailed? Or did he want a wife? Or was his courtship a bachelor's freak? Or did Mrs. Powell catch him? Or was he snared by Mary? Or did he marry to save his money? Love was out of the question. A mystery hangs over the whole transaction which not even Mr. Masson's energy and persistence can dispel. One thing is sure. Milton committed a great and sudden blunder, inconsistent with his previous history and character, and which yet gave controlling direction to his whole future. We very much fear he was composing his first pamphlet on divorce while his honeymoon ought to have been most bright and golden in the heavens. Never was there a more pitiable spectacle of human weakness than when this man of almost celestial genius hastily married a poor rustic creature one-half his age, brought her from her country home to the peopled solitudes of London, and then to relieve himself from the effects of his miserable blunder, in the very height of his honeymoon, sat in the same house with the young girl he had taken to his bosom, twisting Scripture and common sense to get rid of her, and enforcing with an eloquence touching and marvellous, doctrines

which would undermine the family, destroy nations, and overthrow Christianity itself. We believe Milton at last conquered his nature, and lived and died a pious man. Truly when giants in the madness of temptation blind themselves they should be removed far from the pillars of the world.

The contrarieties in the character of Milton are only intelligible as parts of a stern discipline to fit him for his crowning work. His life culminated in the *Paradise Lost*. He was after all a Poet. Nor study, nor learning, nor politics, nor caudleisms—not even the dull routine of Pedagogueism, nor a Secretaryship under Cromwell, nor all the cant of Puritanism could quench the divine spark in his soul. The fire burns in the mountain beneath its weight of rocks and snows. Genius transmutes and transfuses things most adverse to itself, and one part of Milton's mission was to prove its indestructibility. Blindness gave him vision. Discord gave him melody. Darkness gave him light. Christianity, sneered at as the foe to creative power, instead of impeding his flight, lent vigor to his wing. From a reign steeped in debaucheries issued the sublimest Epic of the world. Old age itself made its song glow with the fire of an immortal youth.

Paradise Lost was the essence, the harmony, the explanation and the glory of the whole career of Milton. His previous poems were bright streamlets—his pamphlets were turbid torrents—his grand Epic was the collected Cataract, overpowering in its might, and majesty, and sublimity, yet arched by rainbows and rushing amid banks of grasses and of flowers.

The grim diabolical wit of Satan in the battles of the Angels—Hell jesting in Heaven—did not prepare us for the genial humor of a passage in the *Areopagitica*. It eclipses Aristophanes, Horace and Ben Jonson, and will disgust us with the bad puns of Shakespeare. The most extreme and extravagant Churchman who reads it, ought to forgive this foe of Prelacy, and oracle of Puritanism. Even the lugubrious mediævalist who votes Protestantism the flattest failure may soften into a smile. The picture, true to human nature, suits not a single age, but all time.

“There is not any burden that some would gladlier post off to another than the charge and care of their religion. There be—who knows not that there be—of Protestants and Professors who live and die in as arrant and implicit a faith as any lay Papist of Loretto. A wealthy man addicted to his pleasure and profits, finds Religion to be a traffic so entangled, and of so many piddling accounts, that of all mysteries he cannot fail to keep a stock going on that trade. What should he do?—What *does* he therefore but resolve to give over toiling, and to find himself out some factor to whose care

and credit he may commit the whole managing of his religious affairs—some Divine of note and estimation *that* must be. To him he adheres; resigns the whole warehouse of his Religion, with all the locks and keys, into his custody, and indeed makes the very person of that man his Religion—esteems his associating with him sufficient evidence and commendatory of his own piety. So that a man may say his Religion is now no more within himself, but is become a dividual movable, and goes and comes near him according as that good man frequents the house. He entertains him, gives him gifts, feasts him, lodges him. His Religion comes home at night, prays, is liberally supt and sumptuously laid to sleep, rises, is saluted; and after the Malmsbury, or some well spiced brewage, and better breakfasted than He whose morning appetite would have gladly fed on green figs between Bethany and Jerusalem, his Religion walks abroad at eight, and leaves his kind entertainer in the shop trading all day without Religion.”

MEMOIR AND LETTERS OF SARA COLERIDGE. EDITED BY HER DAUGHTER. NEW YORK: HARPER AND BROTHERS.

THE memories, the taste, the genius of three generations of the Coleridges lend a charm to this volume. It transports us to the scenes of Grasmere, and recalls the images of Southey, and of Wordsworth. In every part, from the first line of the Preface to the last syllable of the book, are hereditary marks of culture, and of intellect, while breathing over all is the aroma of a piety at once without looseness, and without cant. It is not in feminine talk, and in masculine aspiration, but in proofs, tangible and visible, of real capacities for successful literary and professional labor that woman is to establish her claim to mental power.

In this volume evidences abound that Sara Coleridge, in grasp and vigor of mind, is seldom surpassed. She inherited in a great degree both her father's speculative faculty and poetic genius. A spiritual intuition, deep and true, led her straight to the heart of things. Her judgment, guided by charity, and strengthened by discipline, was admirable, as is seen even in the discursive criticisms of her casual and confidential letters. Through her correspondence are traces of rich and varied learning, and of the most expansive views, and the nicest discriminations, while pervading all her writings in prose and poetry are the vivacity, and sensibility, and refinement peculiar to her sex. Few Theologians could discuss so clearly Free Will, and Justification by Faith, and Regeneration in Baptism. Her views of Romanism and Ritualism were penetrating and masterly. As expressed by one of her friends—"She moved with the lightest step where she moved over the loftiest ground. Her 'feet were beautiful

on the mountain-tops' of ideal thought." Her whole character showed a masculine strength, softened by feminine sensibility—not like the grace of the ivy twining round the oak, but rather incorporated with the sturdy tree.

Nothing in this evil world so beautiful as a character like that of Sara Coleridge. We commend its study to the materialism of our age. The letter of Mr. De Vere to the daughter is an exquisite picture of the mother, and a tribute to pious genius more grateful than panegyrics in brass or marble.

THE LIBERAL EDUCATION OF WOMEN: THE DEMAND AND THE METHOD. CURRENT THOUGHTS IN AMERICA, AND ENGLAND. EDITED BY JAMES ORTON, A.M., *Professor in Vassar College*. AUTHOR OF "THE ANDES AND THE AMAZON," ETC. A. S. BARNES AND COMPANY: NEW YORK AND CHICAGO.

THIS volume is composed of extracts taken from writers in England and America, of the highest authority on all questions relating to the education of women. The compilations are fair, and judicious, and enable us to form an accurate opinion on the great subjects discussed. The book of Prof. Orton is indeed a picture of our times, and furnishes a species and extent of information nowhere else attainable. There are some points we now think established.

I. That the sexes may be educated together with mutual advantage, and without any necessary injury to morals.

This of course does not imply that they are to be promiscuously trained in all our schools and colleges. Prejudices against the intermingling of sexes will always exist in some minds and assert themselves.

II. Larger opportunities of classical culture ought certainly to be afforded to females. Just how far the course in Greek and Latin should be extended cannot now be precisely settled.

III. Facilities for women in professional training must be increased, and avenues of employment opened which have heretofore been closed.

IV. All progress in the education of women should spring rather from experiment than from theory.

And why should practical questions relating to the studies of females be embarrassed by discussions about the equalities of the sexes? It can never certainly be known whether the man is intellect-

ually superior to the woman, or the woman to the man, because they cannot possibly be placed in the same circumstances. The wife with the burdens of maternity, seeks and needs the retirement of home, where she is bound to duties demanding patience rather than enterprise, and not specially stimulating or expanding to the mind, while the husband, left free by the constitution of nature herself, is sharpening and enlarging all his faculties upon the arenas of literary, or commercial, or professional life. One carries a depressing and inevitable weight by which the other is not impeded. Under such circumstances, muscle, and courage, and power, will always belong to the man, and to the woman the gentler graces indicated by the fragility of her form, and the delicacy of her face.

Or does the girl in some solitary instances deny the instincts of her sex, and avoid marriage, and seek to make her own way in the world? Surrounded chiefly by men, how isolated, and hard, and even terrible her struggle in life? Women will usually follow their hearts, and prefer the protection and support and affection of a husband, and incline to the retirements of home; and whatever may be the provision necessary in cases of exceptional preferences for masculine pursuits, all schemes of Universal Education must be based on those relations of sex as fixed and unchangeable as our being itself.

OUTLINE OF MEN, WOMEN AND THINGS. BY MARY CLEMMER AMES.
NEW YORK: HURD & HOUGHTON.

POEMS OF FAITH, HOPE, AND LOVE. BY PHŒBE CARY. NEW
YORK: HURD & HOUGHTON.

BALLADS, LYRICS, AND HYMNS. BY ALICE CARY. NEW YORK:
HURD & HOUGHTON.

THE LAST POEMS OF ALICE AND PHŒBE CARY. NEW YORK:
HURD & HOUGHTON.

A MEMORIAL OF ALICE AND PHŒBE CARY, WITH SOME OF THEIR
LATER POEMS. BY MARY CLEMMER AMES.

THE sparkle of Mary Clemmer Ames—the admirer and biographer of Alice and Phœbe Cary—drew our more special attention to the poems of those ladies. Our examination has caused both surprise and disappointment, and suggested some serious reflections in regard to our American Literature.

Alice and Phœbe Cary were born and reared on an Ohio farm,

and had only the advantages of a common rustic education. They showed in early life poetic proclivities, and sent their girlish lines to a weekly newspaper. In a few years their verses attracted notice, and they conceived the bold scheme of moving to New York, and devoting their lives to Literature. Such a step indicated unusual nerve and daring. Their reputation increased, their works multiplied, and they were enabled very soon to purchase a commodious dwelling, and furnish it with no slight elegance. Here they were long centres of attraction to a large circle of friends and admirers, numbering several persons of distinction.

Judged by their practical success, the Poems of Alice and Phœbe Cary should evince high merit. With every feeling of gallantry towards them as women, with a tender regard for their memories and their friends, with strong prepossessions in their favor excited by their vivacious and enthusiastic biographer, we are sorry to say that in all the volumes whose titles precede this notice, we have not found one single mark of true poetic genius. On the contrary, everywhere is shown an almost utter want of insight, and sensibility, and delicacy, while often the ideas are crude, the images not rural but rustic, the measure imperfect, the rhythm halting and unmusical, with frequent instances of coarseness in the thought and in the expression. Indeed, the offenses against taste and rule are so numerous that it is impossible to record them. The only certain exception we could make to these strictures would be in the instance of a hymn by Alice Cary, and of one by Phœbe. But even here there is not that decided merit which will give a permanent place in Literature. In neither of the sisters do we find the dash and brightness of their sprightly friend and biographer, and not the least part of our astonishment is excited by her devotion to her inferiors.

We must conclude that with all our multiplication of Schools and Colleges, and with all the floods of books deluging our land, the number of those who have been educated after the models of the Greek, Latin, and English Classics must be small compared with those who have no literary standards but the passing whims, or sensationalisms of the hour. There can scarcely be a nobler work in our country than a criticism, kind and considerate, but at the same time judicious and faithful.

MIND, AND BODY. THE THEORIES OF THEIR RELATION. BY ALEXANDER BAIN, LL.D., *Professor of Logic in the University of Aberdeen*. NEW YORK: D. APPLETON AND COMPANY.

NOTHING is more certain than our ability to separate mental and physical phenomena. We can examine the body by itself, beginning with the forms and motions of the limbs, and the expressions of the face when influenced by the will, and the sensibilities; and then, moving within, we can trace the courses of the nerves in their minutest ramifications, and with a microscope observe the cells of the brain, and with our balances weigh its contents. Here we study man as a complex machine, and through our organs of sense. But on the other hand, we may, in consciousness contemplate the mind independently of the body, as a mere spiritual existence exhibiting phenomena of reason, and memory, and will, and sensibility, as different from matter as thought from weight, as recollection from extension, as fancy from figure, as passion from momentum, as volition from motion, as conscience from cohesion. We can so occupy ourselves with the spiritual, that, like Kant and Berkley, we are lost in a world of ideas; or so scrutinize the material that we will seem to ourselves only superior beasts, or animated machines. But with all our microscopic inspections, and our mental introversions, we are just as ignorant as before of the *nexus* between the mind and the body, however closely the two entities may be united, and however greatly they may affect each other. Science is as far removed as ever from the *mode* of their connection. The chasm between weight, figure, motion, divisibility, cohesion, location; and reason, memory, fancy, passion, conscience, volition, is thus far manifestly impassable. Every rash attempt to leap it is still a departure from the stern but safe canons of the Inductive Philosophy.

Of all suppositions to explain the union of Mind and Body, that of Dr. Bain seems the most monstrous and unwarrantable. He suggests a substance in which may inhere both mental and material properties. That is, while we know of nothing in this universe but matter, and mind, we are yet to hold something may exist which is neither and yet has all the attributes of both. This involves our belief in an absolutely new entity, which, if possessing the qualities of matter and mind, we may weigh, feel, smell, hear, divide, eat, digest at the very moment it is giving birth to conceptions of right and wrong, and truth and falsehood—thinking, willing, rejoicing, suffering.

Of this *tertium quid* we would say what Comte affirmed of Crea-

tion and Immortality—we are ignorant. Matter we know, mind we know; *this* we know not.

Dr. Bain seems to us as loose in his language as he is in his reasoning. What is his right to cross the line between mind and matter, and speak of “extended cognition,” and “unextended cognition?” Where wiser men have paused, he has recklessly tried to rush over the hidden, the subtle, the mysterious boundary. It is by this abuse of words the thoughtless are misled, and insensibly prepared for materialism.

Again while denying that between the Mind and the Body there is a *union* of place, he yet uses this gross form of expression.

“It is because we have something beyond the usual endowments of natural things in the possibility of storing up in three pounds’ weight of a fatty and albuminous tissue done into fine threads and corpuscles, all these complicated groupings that make our natural and acquired aptitudes, and all our knowledge.”

With all the extensive reputation of the author as a Philosopher, we have seldom seen more feebleness and looseness than in the “Mind and Body” of Dr. Bain. However Reid and Stewart may have erred in not studying the nerves and cells of the brain in connection with the laws of thought and volition, yet, in language, and culture, and careful induction, and *real* comprehensiveness, they seem like intellectual giants when compared with the Professor of Aberdeen. May Scotland soon give the world their worthy successor!

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE. ADDRESSES, ESSAYS AND COMMUNICATIONS. TRIBUNE EDITION.

The divisions of Christendom began in the Primitive Church. We gather from St. Clement, first of the Apostolic Fathers, that even in his day arose the struggle in regard to the Episcopate, never terminated, until, in the time of St. Cyprian, the rule of Bishops was acknowledged and universal. Converted Jews and Pagans with their inherited love of priest, and temple, and splendor, could not fail to trouble Christianity with differences in regard to order, and sacrament, and ritual, while the Platonic Philosophy, and the Oriental Gnosticism made their innumerable sects and parties. At last from the papal assertions of absolute supremacy resulted the mighty separation between

the Greek and the Latin Churches. Then the Reformation severed England from Rome, and gave birth to multiplied diversities in doctrine and organization. Now the world is presented with the painful spectacle of the Greek Church repudiating the Roman Church, the Roman Church repudiating the Anglican Church, the Anglican Church—itsself divided into four hostile parties—repudiating all Protestant Communion not in the apostolical succession. So far Christendom is a scene of divisions apparently hopeless and irreconcilable. Barriers like mountains stand between those professing to follow the same Divine Master.

Yet there is another aspect to the picture. Amid this diversity there is a unity. Down far beneath schisms, alienations, wars, superstitions, idolatries, persecutions, horrible with the blood and fire of ages, still live truths common to Christendom. The Universal Church can recite the Apostles' Creed. The Nicene Formulary by two disputed words separates the Greek and Latin Churches, and with many Protestant Communion raises questions of Orders and Sacraments which make it too narrow a basis of union. Yet upon the doctrines of the Creation, the Trinity, the Divinity of our Lord, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection, the Judgment, and the Eternal Kingship of the Redeemer, there is a very general agreement.

There is also a higher but invisible unity in a Common Head. The freer intercourses of modern society have developed the fact that with differences in regard to ecclesiastical government and the virtue of sacraments, there is among Christians a remarkable identity in the elements of their inner life, and even its outward expression. In the external and the secondary they diverge; in the internal and essential they approach. After all, there is a communion in the Universal Truth and Life.

Now we take it to be the office of the Evangelical Alliance to reduce differences to a minimum, and forget in the intercourse it creates whatever in Christianity is accidental, and to strengthen whatever is fundamental. It claims no legislative power. It makes no edicts. It pronounces no excommunications. It fulminates no anathemas. It declares what it deems taught by Scripture as vital truth, and invites Christians who agree with its statements to gather from all parts of the earth for the confession of the universal faith, and the promotion of the universal fellowship. Our age has seen nothing more significant or sublime.

Nor does the Evangelical Alliance seek to unloose any tie binding

to particular denominations. It treats every man's private opinions and even cherished prejudices with the most tender and profound respect, and is therefore no new Papacy. In an assembly of our neighbors we are not expected to repudiate our family name, history and peculiarities. We forfeit esteem when we are ashamed of our blood, and incur contempt by parading our domestic troubles. Upon the basis of the Alliance we do not see that any man standing on the Orthodox Faith is any less an Episcopalian, or a Presbyterian, or a Congregationalist, or a Lutheran, or a Methodist, or a Baptist; nor can we perceive why any of these denominations cannot be officially represented. And as militating against the most general participation possible, every effort to purchase a cheap popularity by violating any law, or shocking any honest prejudice of any Communion, should be treated as a breach of gentlemanly decorum. The Evangelical Alliance does not propose to promote unity by fostering faction. There is a regard for constituted authority, and even hereditary error, enjoined both by the precept and the example of our Saviour, and everything in the spirit and action of this wise Catholic Council shows that, while in sympathy with the advance of the times, it is as conservative as it is liberal and generous.

Indeed here are found the very strength, and mission and genius of the Alliance.

In this age are many men who when young and immature connect themselves with religious organizations, and from some bias of inheritance or education are at first narrow, zealous, intense sectarians. Study, travel, observation, time, enlarge their views. The shells of bigotries drop away, and they rise to a nobler Christian stature. In the rock of essential truth they see the deep-buried fossils of the past. If they think of escape to another communion they only remark the embarrassment in another form. What can they do? Remain loyally and obediently where they are until there can be *legitimate* reform through *constituted authority*. The errors of eighteen centuries cannot be uprooted in an hour. Let the Evangelical Alliance repress all denominational factiousness, and the day will come when every Protestant Communion throughout the world, without regard to any questions of ecclesiastical government, will be represented by its best piety and learning. Then, freed from the excrescences of the ages, will primitive Christianity be seen to walk forth over our world in her full celestial beauty and majesty.

The success of the great Fraternal Council in our new land was beyond the most enthusiastic expectation.

This was partly owing to the glow of surprise kindled in the delegates by the fresh scenes of our young country. An American in Europe knows what a new world opens in his breast when he sees restored his connection with the visible past of humanity. A European in America has before him suddenly the proofs of an unimagined future. Doubtless, the vivid impressions made on the foreign representatives by the burst and brightness of new things, gave inspiration to their minds and hearts and words, while the spectacle of so many men of eminence long known by fame and books, now standing and moving and speaking before their eyes, inflamed our own people with a responsive and sympathetic enthusiasm. Thus there was a constant throb of answering feeling from heart to heart which gave warmth and mellowness to the sublime occasion. The driest doctrinal appeals to the intellect were softened and hallowed by the most tender emotions.

Another cause of success is to be found in the admirable selection and distribution of topics and speeches. The world and the age were before the Committee. A mistake might be fatal to the harmony and the very existence of the Alliance. Scarcely ever was there a work requiring more extensive learning, more knowledge of men and things, more tact, delicacy and wisdom, more catholicity of heart and head; and never was a work more industriously, patiently, conscientiously and perfectly performed.

Nor can too much be awarded to the Presiding Officer of the Council. To him personally we know praise will be painful. But our age owes him a gratitude it can only repay by expressing it. His spirit pervaded every assemblage. All saw in his venerable face the visible love and wisdom moulding his actions, and breathing unconsciously into others purity, charity and repose.

The crowds attending the Alliance marked an era in our times. They were gathered by no unlawful arts. Nay! the truths to which they listened have been frequently declared antiquated superstitions, which, having originated in the childhood of our race, are only to be despised by its manhood. Our people did not think so. It was shown that the old attachment to the old truths of the old Book still lives in our country. There was no sensationalism. There was no attraction even of music. There was no pomp of ritual. Usually there was no glitter of eloquence. Many of the most popular speakers were evidently Professors of Colleges, devoid of oratorical arts and graces, and who read long essays on what are esteemed dry, doctrinal themes. But the multitude, day and night, thronged and

pressed after them, filling, crowding, overflowing, hall after hall, and church after church, and listening with the most eager and excited interest. The impressions left behind are true and pure, as they will prove deep, and abiding, and fruitful. We can scarcely imagine a spectacle more tender or more sublime, than the farewell meeting in the brilliant Academy of Music, packed, gallery upon gallery, with thousands hearing the addresses, reciting together our Lord's Prayer, and rolling with united voices their Doxology to Heaven.

That a great future is before the Evangelical Alliance cannot be questioned. Its day of doubt and darkness has passed. It will now go forward with the confidence of experience and of hope. Human nature on earth may be so weak, and blind, and discordant, that the visible and external unity of Christianity will be reserved for Heaven. Here it may be a part of the probationary test of our faith to always see unessential diversities amid substantial agreements. Still the Alliance will accomplish its certain and appointed work. It will unite Christendom more closely to its Universal Head. It will increase fellowship in love and truth and labor. It will encourage the scattered forces of the mighty army in every part of the world, and breathe courage and hope, in pushing forward, under various banners, the victories of the Common and Eternal Kingdom.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

VOL. I.

NEW YORK, MARCH, 1874.

No. II.

ARTICLE I.

THE WORKING CLASSES OF EUROPE.

THOMAS HUGHES, ESQ., M. P., Q. C.

Report of the Co-operative Congress held at Newcastle on Tyne, 1873.

Report of the Schultze Delitzsch, Advance and Credit Societies, 1871-2.

Report of the Artisans, Laborers and General Dwellings Co., 1873.

Report of the Working Men's Clubs and Institute Union, 1872-3.

SOME dozen years or more ago a ballad of considerable literary merit was popular amongst the English, on both sides of the Atlantic.—Its title was, “JOHN OF THE SMITHY.”—We have not heard or seen it quoted for many years, and probably there is no good reason why its memory should not have faded out of men's minds. But often when we are thinking on that many-sided problem known generally as “the labor question,” the lilt of the song comes into our head. It runs

“And the smith complains to the anvil's song,
Complains of the years he has toiled and pined;
For the priest and the ruler are swift to wrong,
And the mills of God are slow to grind.

“But a clear keen voice comes over the sea;
It is piercing the gloom of the waning night;
Time was, time is, and time shall be
When John o' the Smithy shall come by his right—

“And they who have forged the pitiless round
Which has pressed him hard in body and soul,
Shall perish from earth when the grist is ground
And the mighty miller shall claim his toll.”

The mills have been turning swiftly enough since that song was written, till the question is no longer whether John o' the Smithy shall get his rights, but whether he will leave any for other folk. The author we believe was an American, though the scene is supposed to be laid in the old world. But if so, and if he intended that the “clear keen voice” which was to declare deliverance, and a brighter day to the working people of Europe, was to come from the west—if he meant by “over the sea” over the Atlantic—he blundered as a seer. The principle of association, which is proving to be the Ithuriel's spear for the poor of Europe, has been of home growth. In several of its developments that principle is not likely for many generations, if ever, to find so congenial a soil in America. Trades' Unionism can never be really formidable in a country where the boundary lines of classes are so indistinct, and which has an inexhaustible supply of rich land for the discontented to fall back upon, though we quite admit, in view of the farmer's Granges in Illinois and Wisconsin, and miner's combinations in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, that the desire to fix the price at which one's own labor shall be sold is just as common in the Great West as in Europe. With respect, on the other hand, to those developments of the principle of Association of which we propose to speak in this Article, there are indications that the employers of labor in the United States are beginning to be even more alive to the power which underlies them than their brethren in England or Germany. It is not however our intention here to compare the progress of Association in Europe and America:—so far as we are aware the materials for any such comparison do not exist at present. We can only deal, and that of necessity very superficially, with some features of the great movement in the old world centres where the need was the sorest until the last few years.

The Reports, of which the titles are prefixed to this Article, indicate four of the most important directions in which, during the last quarter of a century, what Mr. Matthew Arnold would call the *Zeit Geist*, but what we would venture to designate “the Spirit of God in man,” has led, and is leading, the great masses of the European population to an era, now we trust not far distant, which, visibly realizing the noble anticipations of the English Poet Laureate, will

“Ring out the strife of rich and poor,
Ring in redress to all mankind.”

The generations preceding us, when they turned their attention to that which could promote the general welfare, were mainly occupied with political questions; with matters such as the abolition of the slave trade, of slavery, or serfdom, requiring an alteration of the existing laws; or with matters such as the right of voting in the choice of the law-makers, where admission within the constitutional pale had to be gained for classes previously excluded from it. And it cannot be said that these questions are yet so settled but that they must occupy grave attention in the present, if not in succeeding ages. Witness, e. g., the question of the due representation of minorities, and that of female votes. But the progress made in this respect has been already sufficiently great to show that some action, of a kind distinct from the action of law, is required, before this ancient “feud of rich and poor” can find the peaceful termination which we believe to be in reserve for it. Political Freedom is not unlike Free Trade. It removes a number of artificial, man-made barriers, by which the fertilizing waters of human activity have been directed into particular channels, and prevented from diffusing their benefits generally among mankind; but it leaves us to find out through what channels that diffusion can be made so as to produce the best results. Experience is now daily proving, if it may not be said to have already sufficiently proved, that the let-alone system of unimpeded individual activity, and equal individual rights, in which the reformers of past generations saw the *panacea* for human ills, is no more adequate for its purpose, than a similar system, applied to rivers and brooks, would be sufficient to secure the distribution of natural waters in the way adapted to produce the maximum growth of the plants useful to man. For this end we are bound to have well-arranged plans of drainage and irrigation. Man, as the Bible tells us, has been placed upon the earth “to order it, and to dress it,” not less in a moral than in a physical sense. The best and hardest part of his task is the ordering and dressing of the relations naturally existing among the members of his own species, in such manner as may be most conducive to the welfare of the whole body, and of every part, without sacrificing in any respect the well-being either of majorities to minorities, or of minorities to majorities; and he has, in the divine faculty of Reason, the “heir of the ages,” which looks behind and before and on all sides to discover the appropriate means for effecting its ends, the instrument fit for the vast, appointed

purpose. The more vivid perception of this truth which has dawned upon the present generation, marks it out as the approximate birth-time of what seems likely to prove an ever growing influence in the history of our race; the practical application, on a large scale, of the principle of Free Association for the purpose of employing the accumulated resources of Industry and Science in the gradual elevation of the mass of our population, by their own combined efforts, into a position of physical enjoyment, intellectual cultivation, and moral dignity.

This birth of practical effort, was preceded in Europe by an age which produced a group of remarkable writers upon the theory of social reform, among whom the names of Saint Simon, Charles Fourier, and Robert Owen, stand out as the most conspicuous leaders—all more or less, the propounders of schemes, justly called Utopian visions, embodying the bright colors of hope, and desire, rather than the sober tints of present possibilities; but yet visions, which, by filling men's imaginations with the notion of a state of general well-being, attainable through their own exertions, without any supernatural, or revolutionary transformation of their existing faculties or circumstances, have prepared the way for the practical attempt to realize that idea, which now brightens our expectations of the future. These have taken the fourfold shape indicated above; of, 1. Unions of consumers or workers to carry on distribution and production on their own account, and thus to apply, for their own benefit, the profits hitherto appropriated by those who have supplied the funds employed for these purposes, and superintended their application; 2. Unions of workers to obtain the capital required for carrying on their work, by their collective responsibility, on terms as advantageous as those hitherto monopolized by the wealthy capitalists, or societies formed by them; 3. Unions of the artisan class to obtain, by the formation of clubs, the social enjoyments and advantages which the wealthier classes have obtained through similar unions; 4. Unions of the same classes to obtain for themselves healthy dwellings in convenient sites, without paying the heavy tax with which they are now burdened in the profits absorbed by speculating builders, or the greed of landlords and middle men. We propose briefly to notice what has been effected in each of these directions.

I. Co-operative Associations, both for production and distribution, have spread themselves all over Europe; existing however in the greatest numbers, in proportion to the population, in some parts of France, and Great Britain; and in the latter country alone having,

up to the present time, been formed upon anything like a definite, progressive plan. This plan has rested on the proposition, that consumption is the ultimate regulator of production, while it is also that which the consumers have in their own hands, and has developed from it the following theses; (1) If the consumers unite in sufficiently large numbers to pay, by the profit upon the articles which they consume, for the cost of distributing them, and provide the funds needed to purchase what they want to consume, they can free themselves from the useless burden of competing establishments set up to live by attracting their custom, and from the countless dangers of fraud and adulteration, which the keenness of the competition so caused, fosters; (2) That by uniting the establishments for self-supply thus created, as they increase in numbers, through wholesale centres, formed by the capital which these establishments furnish, and conducted by managers whom they appoint in their joint interests, they can become the conduit-pipes for supplying the wants of large districts; (3) That they can thus provide a solid support to productive centres, from which these wants may be met, without needing the costly system of competitive rivalry called into operation to fulfil the same office at present. Starting from this basis, Co-operation in the United Kingdom, has grown till it has reached the stage where the distributive associations are beginning to feel themselves strong enough to sustain the productive societies, which should complete their work. The grave questions, attendant upon this phase of combined action,—how progress in improvement can be secured, if the stimulus of competition is withdrawn? how the producing limits are to be knit to the consuming stomach without being swallowed up in, or liable to separation from it?—are commencing seriously to occupy the attention of the working classes, in Lancashire, Yorkshire, the north of England, and Scotland, which are at present the chief seats of Co-operative enterprise, and wait a practical solution still in the womb of the future. Without entering, then, upon any speculations of our own on the way in which this solution can be effected, tempting though that problem be, we would briefly notice three great principles to which the success of Co-operation in Great Britain, appears to be principally due.

The *first* is the rule that all dealings shall be for cash; that the distributive societies shall neither give credit, nor contract debts, except in the shape of loans for definite periods, upon the security of their assets.

The *second* is, that the interest on the capital employed in the

business shall be limited to a moderate fixed rate, so that there shall be no speculative inducement to the formation of a class of investors with an interest in making a profit out of other men's custom; and that the profits shall be divided among the purchasers in proportion to their purchases. With this in England has been generally combined, the provision that the purchaser who is not a shareholder, shall receive only half the dividend he would be entitled to as a shareholder, so that the workman is thus led on to become a member of the Society. The *third* is, that these profits shall be divided from time to time, generally once in every three months, so that their expenditure becomes a question of serious consideration. In consequence they were not exposed to be frittered away, as they certainly would have been, by a class little given before to the practice of saving, had the distributive unions among the working classes been formed upon the principle, since made popular among the richer classes in London by the Civil Service stores, of employing all profits beyond the cost of distribution in a reduction of price upon the articles distributed, while they could always be left on deposit at call in the society, receiving five per cent. interest if applied in paying up the instalments due upon the shares of the purchasers. Of the effect which the system of economics, costing the economizer nothing, has had upon the members of the distributive unions, some idea may be formed from a few anecdotes to be found in Mr. G. J. Holyoake's interesting account of the Great Equitable Pioneers' Society, at Rochdale, in a little book entitled "Self Help by the People." One member, who had lived in a cellar for thirty years, and was never out of debt, one morning astonished his milkman by displaying, with pardonable pride, a £5 note, the first he had ever possessed, and asking for change. Another, a woman, who was told by some enemy of the Store that it would break, replied, "Well, it will break with its own, if it do break, for I have only paid in one shilling, and I have £50 there now." A third, who when he joined the Society had never been out of a shopkeeper's books for forty years, in nine years afterwards had paid as contributions £2 18s. od., had drawn out £17 10s. 7d., and had still £5 left. A fourth, whose debt to his shopkeeper during twenty-five years had averaged from 40s. to 50s., and his expenditure 10s. a week, had paid into the Society £2 10s. od., drawn out £6 17s. 5d., and had £8 os. 3d. remaining, as the result of nine years' dealings. A fifth had paid in 15s., and in the course of two years gained £18, of which he had used £11 16s. 11d. only. A sixth, who had generally owed his shop-

keeper from 20s. to 50s., had stored up from nine years' dealings with the Society £3 1s. 10d., out of an average expenditure of 9s. a week, having paid in as contributions £1 18s. 11d., and drawn out £1 12s. 1d. A seventh, a man above sixty, told Mr. Holyoake that had it not been for the store he did not know how he could have lived without going to the workhouse. It had nearly kept him in food by the profits on the goods he had purchased for the last eleven years, during which he had received in dividends £77 2s. 6d., and had still £11 left in the Society. But it is needless to multiply instances. Those already given may suffice, to illustrate the important improvement in the actual condition of members of the working class, even those in the receipt of comparatively small earnings, from the profits upon an expenditure, by no means embracing, at the time to which these statements relate, all their outlay—for the Rochdale Pioneers did not then supply many articles now included in their stock, and had but recently begun to supply others—while they will explain the causes of the growth of Co-operative business and Capital shown by the following figures, extracted from the Report of the Conference at Newcastle, and compiled from the Government returns for the years 1866-7-8, '70, and '71.*

	1866	1867	1868	1870	1871
SOCIETIES REGISTERED AT END OF YEAR.	839	906	956	969	
Of which, had made returns to which the following figures apply.....	436	577	670	749	
Members at end of each year.....	174993	171897	208738	249113	262188
Share capital " "	1046810	1475199	1027776	2084201	2305951
Loan capital " "	118028	136784	184163	197128	215558
Goods paid for during year.....	3892766	5337262	6160406	7457741	
Goods sold during year.....	4462676	6001153	8113072	8202426	9439471
Expenses, including interest, depreciation.	235594	311258	349050	335227	388721
Liabilities, total, at end of year.....		1589245	2027747	2403902	2866318
Assets, " "	1353839	1858616	2155117	2649426	3025567
Cap. inv'd in other societies or companies.			307829	331433	407944
Net profit during year, after payment of interest on capital.....	372307	398578	425542	555435	670721
Declared due to members on purchases..			357380	467164	583290
" " non-members			12676	16523	16248
Appropriated to educational purposes....			3606	3775	5097

The year 1872, so far as its returns are known, shows a similar rate of increase; the sales of 75 of the largest societies which in 1871 were £3720349, having in 1872 reached the total of £5032787; while the number of their members had risen from 77520 to 86234; and their share capital had increased from £895627 to £1129300.†

* Those for 1869 are wanting.

† Co-op. Congress Report, page 119.

In the meantime the advance of the second stage in this organized system of self-help, the Wholesale Centres by which the distributive action of the individual societies may be concentrated, has been not less striking. In 1864 the Co-operative Wholesale Society then called the "North of England Wholesale" commenced its business at Manchester, and effected, during its first complete *half year*, sales to the amount of £45895. In the *three months* ending the 1st July, 1873, the sales were £399011 being an increase of 50 per cent. on the corresponding months for 1872; while 86 new societies had joined it during that quarter,* and this irrespective of the members of an allied society, the "Scottish Wholesale," established at Glasgow, which, in the year 1872, effected sales amounting to £262581, an increase of 61 per cent. on the previous year.†

II. It is time to turn from this picture of the combined efforts of the working classes for their social elevation in Great Britain to the form taken by the same tendency in Germany—the People's Banks, founded in that country at the suggestion, and under the supervision of Mr. Schultze Delitzsch. The present conditions of labor in Germany are very different from those prevalent in Great Britain. In place of the immense establishments, where hundreds of "hands" are employed under the control and for the pecuniary benefit of one gigantic "head," we find, for the most part, a mass of little proprietors, dispersed through a multitude of small towns or villages, working with their own hands upon their own account, with the aid of a few assistants or apprentices, and working under the disadvantage, that their limited means did not allow them to obtain either the materials required in the exercise of their industry, or the capital needed to make it productive, on terms at the command of their wealthier competitors. But what was impossible for the individual, might, thought Mr. Delitzsch, be easy for bodies of these same individuals, combining to offer the security of their collective responsibility.

Out of this idea arose the People's Banks; at first in the form of associations of persons carrying on particular trades, to buy on their joint account the materials which they respectively wanted; but soon taking the shape of institutions by which, to borrow Mr. Schultze Delitzsch's words,‡

"Capital could be created for the classes without capital, and the merely passive saving and depositing in public savings banks, give place to the active participation in a bank business established to supply the credit wants of its members; who by

* Co-operative Wholesale Society Report, July, 1873.

‡ Ibid, page 117.

† Letter to R. Kettle, Esq., Co-op. Congress Report for 1872, page 115.

fulfilling, under difficulties and deprivations, the engagements they had undertaken towards the societies, could prove their own moral worth ; while by the accumulation of small savings they succeeded in adding *power* of credit to *worthiness*."

The success of the banks appears to have been materially aided by the confidence created from the unlimited responsibility of their shareholders ; a principle to which Mr. Schultze Delitzsch, attaches an importance greater, in our judgment, than really belongs to it, but which no doubt filled a useful office in the introduction of these institutions into Germany. The true secret of their prosperity, is, we believe, to be found in their local character.

The "People's Banks" were not gigantic speculations, carried on from a distant centre, which sought to draw the business of whole provinces into the circle of its operations, but associations dealing with those of whose character and position they were generally well aware, formed of persons who possessed a local knowledge of each other's means ; and limited in their operations to advances needed for carrying on the ordinary business of the district where they arose. Hence they made few losses, and, from this circumstance, combined with the prudence shown in their conduct, very much we believe, through the watchful care of Mr. Schultze Delitzsch. He having induced the members :

"To maintain the relation of the deposited reserves and accumulated business dividends to the capital borrowed, for the purpose of strengthening their business funds, at an average even beyond that prescribed by the experience of solid banks of deposit, they have gained a strong hold on the public confidence ; so that the offer of capital has exceeded their actual wants ; and in some cases disposed them to embark in business operations which more properly belonged to the practice of larger banking concerns ; a tendency which Mr. Schultze Delitzsch states that he never failed to oppose."

Hitherto, however, no harm appears to have come to the Associations from this tendency. The facts and figures following will give an idea of the magnitude which the system, introduced in 1853, has attained, and its influence upon the growth of other forms of Co-operative Associations now springing up around it. The war of 1870 taxed their resources severely.*

"Thousands of Co-operators," says Professor Pfeiffer, "were called to join the army, were obliged to leave house and business for many months, and instead of gaining money, were forced to spend their savings ; while the productive societies could not sell any more, and orders given before were withdrawn, and payments did

* Co-op. Congress Report for 1872, page 101.

not come in; the money deposited in the banks and stores was withdrawn, and they could not even, with many members who entered the army, insist on the usual notice being given before the withdrawal of money; and this, although they wanted above all to be just to their creditors; yet in the midst of this storm the "People's Banks" held their way."

Aided, no doubt, by the rapid and decided success of the German armies, they survived the panic attending the first few weeks.

"Business," says the Professor, "which had never been entirely suspended was soon resumed to the same extent as before; the demands of the army, probably in a great measure supplying, under another form, the orders it had at first taken away; the banks and stores were able to supply with money their members in the field, and their families, and in the midst of the distractions of the war these members increased, 121 new Co-operative banks, and 112 stores having been opened, and 9 manufacturing societies established."

Institutions which could thus stand the "tug of war" must naturally be expected to thrive still more under the reviving influence of peace. Accordingly the last report of Mr. Schultze Delitzsch shows the following increase in their members, and the business done by them:

	END OF 1870.	END OF 1871.
Credit Banks	1571	2059
Trade Associations	276	404
Distributive Stores	739	827
	<hr/> 2886	<hr/> 3290

Mr. Delitzsch adds that at the date of his report the numbers have risen to nearly 3500; and from the returns received at the Central Office (which, however, were only full in all respects as to 942 associations) he gives the following estimate:

	THALERS.	£ STERLING.
Total business	400,000,000	60,000,000
Cash credits	380,000,000	57,000,000
Capital belonging to members	32,000,000	4,300,000
Loan capital	85,000,000	12,750,000

The total number of members he estimates in like manner at 1,200,000.

Such, in brief outline, has been the operation of the two principal forms of that ladder of systematic association for production and distribution, up which the working classes of Europe are now striving to climb out of the mire where the iron tramp of Capital, competing for profits at their cost, has trodden them down, to that happier stage of existence where this keen competition for profit shall be trans-

formed into a generous emulation for excellence ; and the producer shall shake hands in friendly union with the capitalists, in whose ranks he will be included.

The two forms of associations remaining to be noticed are, to a certain extent, anticipations of the flowers and fruits by which this stage of existence will be cheered and adorned. They are instances of the spirit of union directed, either to create common meeting places for bodily recreation or intellectual enjoyment among the working classes, or to import into their houses those appliances for promoting health and comfort which the richer classes have long since learned to consider necessities of life in their own homes.

III. "The Working Men's Club and Institute Union" has been the practical answer given in Great Britain, to a question which a few years since began to be seriously asked by those social reformers who have striven to help the working classes to help themselves, namely ; why should not the working men form on a scale suited to their means, clubs for social purposes, similar to those which we, with our larger means, are accustomed to form for ourselves ? why should they be driven to seek, in shops whose proprietors live by tempting them to drink, the only public place where they can meet under shelter to enjoy each other's society ? When the tavern was the habitual resort of British gentlemen, they, we know, were noted for habitual excess in drinking. With the introduction of club life, this habit has almost disappeared. Will not similar results follow if similar facilities for obtaining social recreation apart from the civilities of "mine host," are opened to the working classes ? And will not these centres of recreative Union, supported as they will naturally be, by the most thoughtful and best conducted men among these classes, insensibly exercise through their influence an elevating action, spreading itself among the whole body, and thus preparing the way for that higher state of social existence to which we hope to see them raise themselves ? Such appears to have been the idea out of which the institution abovementioned arose ; and though never in the receipt of large funds, it has succeeded in calling forth or encouraging among the working classes the disposition to establish them to such an extent, that there are now known to the Central Association 535 working men's clubs in the United Kingdom, estimated to number 90,000 members,* and supported mainly, in many cases entirely, either by the subscriptions of these members, or by the profits arising from their use of bagatelle or billiard-tables

* Seventy-four new clubs were formed during the last year : but on the other hand, forty-six had been closed.

or the sale of refreshments to them. It is the *self-managing* character accompanying this power of self support, as much as their social objects, which gives to these institutions in our view, their true importance. Help yourselves and God will help you, is a maxim, profoundly true, though sometimes perverted into an implied doubt of that divine help of which it really states only the beneficent condition. Hitherto the mutual help, which the working classes have been inclined to give to each other, has been confined, either to an imperfect application of the principles of life assurance to create common funds for their individual support in sickness or old age; or to the formation of leagues against their employers, for obtaining higher wages, or shorter hours of labor, by stopping the work out of which profits and wages alike are derived—that internal *gouvernement de combat*, where the individual gives himself up into the hands of selected leaders to gain strength by the surrender of liberty, of which, as of military institutions generally, the philanthropist must say, they may be a necessary preservative against worse evils, but it is an evil necessity which makes them necessary. It is the great sign of hopefulness in the present age, that the vast army of those who live by manual labor, who have hitherto combined only to avert general injury by individual sacrifice, should begin to unite for the higher end of securing individual good by general co-operative action.

IV. It is as another phase of this life-bringing principle that we have noticed the “Artisans’ and Laborers’ Dwelling Company;” because it is, we believe, the first considerable attempt by working people to meet one of the most crying wants of the present day in those overcrowded cities into which the pressure of competition continually drives the larger proportion of the population—the want of healthy and pleasant dwellings for the poorer classes. Societies for improving the dwellings of the workers have existed for the last quarter of a century in Great Britain; where the “Metropolitan Dwelling Association” set an example, followed with greater commercial success by a company founded by Sir Sydney Waterlow, at the moment when we write, Lord Mayor of London, and by other smaller associations. But these societies have been the offspring of the benevolence of the rich, not of self-supplying union among the poor. Individuals, such as the late Mr. Peabody, and the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, have made magnificent donations for the same object; but their operation has been limited to the funds thus nobly provided. They have not called forth, among the class for whom these benefits were designed, any response,

beyond that of letting themselves be benefitted. Cottages have indeed been built, in some cases, by the great Co-operative Societies of the North, for their own members; and the disposition to employ their accumulating funds in this way, appears, we are happy to say, to be growing. But this "Artisans' Dwelling Company" has brought forward a scheme for supplying dwellings, which seems to be now attracting extensive support from the classes who are to live in them, and therefore to be more competent than any of its precursors to contend with that gigantic evil which makes the back lanes and courts of our cities a standing reproach to the self-praised civilization surrounding them. The secret of this greater interest lies, we believe, in the fact that, by the new scheme, the worker can become the *owner* of his own separate dwelling, instead of merely the occupier of rooms let to him, in a block belonging to a company. The societies or individuals mentioned above have striven to bring their buildings to the artisans, and thus were compelled, by the high price of land in the great hives of modern industry, to gain in height the space which they could not afford to use in breadth, and merge the proprietor in the lessee. "The Artisans' and Laborers' Dwelling Company," on the contrary, seek to bring the artisans to the dwellings, which they construct in the neighborhood of the great hives, instead of in their interior, availing themselves of the facilities for locomotion offered by railways and street cars to transport the worker to his work. Naturally this involves some additional cost; but it is a cost compensated by the greater cheapness of his house, the diminution in doctors' bills, and the stoppage of the drain of the public house, produced by the healthier atmosphere in which he and his family live, and the absence of the ever ready temptation offered by the drink shop "round the corner" to spend in his gullet what should be spent on the backs or the brains of his children, or on the comforts of his home. Buildings for the common benefit of the dwellers in these *cités ouvrières* are part of the plan, and the time will probably come when the superior facilities of access to these common advantages, afforded by well-arranged dwellings united under one roof, may induce the classes who are to benefit by them to prefer such domestic clubs, jointly managed by their owners and occupiers, to separate houses. But, till this time arrives, the "Artisans' and Laborers' Dwelling Company" must be congratulated in having set on foot a system which the workers appear inclined to use to solve for themselves that problem of decent and healthy homes, with which the selfish interest of the wealthier classes will

not meddle, and which their benevolence has hitherto proved quite inadequate to effectually supply.

We have no space left to dwell on the prospects which are thus opening in the old countries of Europe for the poor. The time has come when the fact that they have attained their majority is too clear for argument, and the question which is being anxiously asked on all sides is how they are likely to use their power in the national households of which they have become or are fast becoming the strongest members. Those who have watched them most carefully and sympathetically will have little fear in the development of the great drama. It would be vain nevertheless to deny that there is much cause for anxiety. The evil spirits of irreligion and communism which have here and there obtained a strong hold on the class that is rising to power, are hard to cast out. But in England at any rate the perilous time has passed. It is impossible to watch the tone of the numerous congresses and other gatherings which are held in all parts of the country and not to feel that the jealousy of capital, which still exists, has no dangerous side to it. Indeed the danger is rather the other way, and in the co-operative producing societies especially, the best men have to watch carefully in order to ensure that workmen, who are not also shareholders, shall get any portion of the profits resulting from associations. In Germany where communistic doctrines had till lately, and probably still have, a far stronger hold on the artisan class than they have ever had in England, the same healthy influence is at work. One of the ablest of the Liberals in the German Parliament in writing a few weeks since to an English Co-operator stated his own firm belief that if his country be saved from a communistic revolution, as he believed it may be, it would be owing chiefly to the influence of the People's Banks and Working Associations.

The effect of the movement on religion is a deeply interesting study. A large section of the English Co-operators openly profess that their object and hope are to make trade Christian, "to apply in common life, in buying and selling, producing and consuming, the old truths which have commanded the lip service of Christendom for near 2000 years." We incline to think that their numbers and influence are on the increase; and it is difficult in any case to see how a great popular movement which takes for its motto, "self-help through fellowship in work," can fail to strengthen the religious life of a people. But without insisting on this point, we are quite content to put the case no higher than Mr. Mill has done, and to let it rest on his

words. Writing of the Co-operative Movement before it reached anything like its present development, he says,

“It is a change in society, which will combine the freedom and independence of the individual, with the moral, intellectual, and economical advantage of aggregate production ; which without violence or spoliation, or any sudden disturbance of existing habits, or expectations, will realize, at all events, in the industrial department, the best aspirations of the democratic spirit.”

It is the most beneficial ordering of industrial efforts for the universal good which it is at present possible to devise.

ARTICLE II.

THE TRANSIT OF VENUS.

PROF. J. E. HILGARD.

THE passage of the planet Venus over the sun's disc, as seen from the Earth, which will occur on the 8th of December, 1874, is an event the expectancy of which has, for some time, almost monopolized the interest of astronomers, and has called forth preparations for its due observation in every civilized country. The event is, indeed, not one accompanied by surprising phenomena that would attract the attention of the casual beholder, like those attending a solar eclipse. A round black dot, about three-eighths of an inch in diameter to the eyes of those to whom the Sun appears to have a diameter of twelve inches, moving across the disc near its northern edge in about four hours, is the appearance which would present itself to the observer viewing the Sun through a black glass. Nor can the astronomer, armed with the most powerful appliances of science, do more than accurately map the path of the planet, and note the exact time of its various positions. Viewed from different points on the Earth, however, the planet will be seen to appear on the Sun at different times, and to describe different paths; and from the differences of the paths so mapped may be deduced, by mathematical inference, the distance of the Earth from the Sun, which is our fundamental unit of measure for all celestial spaces.

To ascertain this distance with the greatest attainable degree of precision has long been considered the grandest problem of the astronomer. We have, indeed, since Kepler, known the relative distances of the bodies of our planetary system by virtue of the law discovered by Kepler and demonstrated by Newton from the general law of gravitation, that "the cubes of the mean distances are as the squares of the times of revolution;" and since the times of revolution can be observed with great exactness, the ratios of the mean distances follow with equal precision. But measuring a distance means comparing it with some magnitude familiar to our perception. It is

only when we can express the planetary distances in miles, or, as it were, measure them with the yard-stick, that we can be said to know them. The basis of any such measurement must necessarily be the magnitude and figure of the Earth, which have now been determined by geodesic operations to a degree of exactitude more than sufficient for the purpose in hand. We may state that the distance between any two points on the Earth's surface lying six thousand miles apart, ascertained in latitude and longitude, can be assigned with certainty to within the tenth part of a mile; and this uncertainty is mainly due to irregularities in the Earth's density affecting the direction of the force of gravity, to which geographical positions are necessarily referred, since by it the horizon or level of each place is determined. Lest the reader think too meanly of the achievements of modern geodesy, we will stop to tell him that the Earth's polar diameter of about eight thousand miles is certainly known to within its five hundred thousandth part, or about thirty yards. Being thus assured of a satisfactory knowledge of our terrestrial unit of measure, the Earth's semi-diameter, let us inquire what degree of precision we may expect to obtain in our astronomical unit, the distance of the Earth from the Sun, by the method of observation which forms the subject of this paper. To this end let us attempt to realize the conditions of the transit without the aid of diagrams, calling up merely our familiar reminiscences of geography, or, in default thereof, referring to a map of the world.

At a point in the northwestern part of Australia, two hundred miles inland from the coast (latitude $22\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ S., longitude $118\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ E.), when the Sun is on the meridian on the 8th of December, 1874, Venus will be seen as a small black spot on the face of the Sun about one-tenth of its diameter from the northern edge, midway on the corresponding chord. This is the middle time of the passage, and the planet is projected as if it were seen from the centre of the Earth, the Sun being in the zenith. This is what is called the conjunction of the planet. Now to an observer at Pekin, which is 62° directly north of the presumed central station, the planet, being between the Earth and the Sun, will appear projected to the southward of the position in which it is seen at the first station by about one half of its own width, the Sun being at an elevation of 28° above the southern horizon. On the other hand, an observer at the South Pole (which, if it could be reached, would be the most advantageous station for observing this transit) would see the planet projected to the northward of the first station by about the same amount, the

Sun appearing at an elevation of 23° above the northern horizon. The apparent displacement of the planet, expressed in angular measure, gives us the parallactic angle subtended by the distance between the two stations, from which, by means of the known ratio between the distance of the Earth and Venus from the Sun, the corresponding angle at the latter body, and, consequently, the distance, may be deduced.

Conditions as favorable as here presupposed, with a view to illustrating the nature of the observations, cannot, however, be obtained, since we cannot, with any hope of success, approach the South Pole nearer than Kerguelen's Land or the Auckland Islands, either of which lie only 22° south of the central phase; nor can we go far north of Pekin because the Sun would appear too low on the southern horizon to admit of accurate observations. The greatest difference in radical displacement of the planet obtainable, will be that corresponding to a difference of latitude of 84° , which will give us a parallactic angle of about forty seconds of arc. In order then to obtain this to its thousandth part, we must assure ourselves within four hundredths of a second of arc in the measure of the difference of position of the planet with reference to the Sun's center. How this is proposed to be obtained we will explain after first referring to the mode in which observations of the passage from stations separated by a considerable distance in an east and west direction, will give the desired result. The planet enters the disc of the Sun on the east side, about half way between the east and north points of the Sun. At a station on the Sandwich Islands, lying northeast of the place of central phase, the planet will appear to enter upon the disc of the Sun 11 minutes *earlier* than if seen from the Earth's center; while at Kerguelen's Land, lying to the southwest of the central station, the ingress will be *later* by more than 11 minutes, making the difference in the time of ingress nearly 23 minutes or 1,360 seconds of time. Similar relations will exist for the egress, which will take place earlier for an eastern and later for a western station. Chatham Island, east of New Zealand, and Cabul in Afghanistan, being among the accessible stations most favorably situated. These give a difference of 20 minutes or 1,200 seconds of time. In order then, to assure ourselves of this difference of time within its one thousandth part, it will be necessary to observe the times of ingress or egress within one second of time. Such a degree of precision is not attainable, as we have been taught by previous experience in the transits of Venus observed in the last century, which furnished the

nearest estimate of the Sun's distance that we yet possess. It was then found that the first contact of the planet with the Sun's edge was extremely uncertain, depending solely upon the observer's judgment of the continuity of the circular outline of the Sun. The internal contact, or the moment when the disc of the planet appeared on the Sun leaving a continuous line of light on the edge, was much better defined, but was nevertheless uncertain to the extent of many seconds, in consequence of a visual phenomenon known to astronomers as the "black drop," by which the dark outline of the planet appears drawn out into a sort of ligament before separating from the Sun's edge, when, from the continuity of the planet's circle it should already appear separated from it, permitting the cusps of light to be joined. This circumstance, varying with atmospheric conditions, with the quality and power of the telescope, and probably with the eyes of different observers, is that which most interferes with the precision of the results which otherwise might be obtained. The same phenomenon is repeated at the egress. Before the dark disc of the planet actually touches the Sun's edge, it appears drawn out towards it, and there is a difference between the apparent and real contact, which, to some observers, appears as great as five seconds. It is to this cause are due the great differences in the horizontal parallax of the Sun derived from the transits of Venus of 1761 and 1769, as computed by Encke and Stone, giving respectively ninety-five and ninety-two millions of miles as the distance of the Earth from the Sun, these results differing it will be seen by the thirtieth part of the whole distance.

It is not then by observation of the phases of ingress and egress that we may expect a precision greater than, perhaps, the three-hundredth part of the whole distance; nor would micrometer measures of the distance of the planet from the Sun's edge at noted times, yield us a greater accuracy, because the very difficulty of the coalescence of images of Sun and star which we desire to avoid, would be repeated between the Sun and micrometer wire. Fortunately, the co-operation of different sciences and arts, so remarkable in these latter days, comes to our aid to solve the difficulty. The application of photography to the astronomical telescope gives us the means of fixing the celestial phenomena, at any given instant of time, upon a photographic plate, which can be afterwards subjected to the minutest measurement at the convenience of the observer. By using at each station a telescopic photographing apparatus, by means of which a series of pictures of the Sun and planet

are taken at regular and frequent intervals, the apparent path of the planet over the Sun's disc will be portrayed with the utmost fidelity, and from these pictures the distance of the planet from the Sun's center, and its angular position at any instant of time, may be measured with great exactness; and hundreds of such observations, each better than the simple eye-observation of ingress and contact, may be obtained at each station.

This new method of measuring small angles in the heavens by photographing the object to be examined, and then making the requisite measures on the photographic plate by means of a very accurate micrometer, has been carried out with the greatest success by our countryman, Mr. Rutherford, who, in that way, has arrived at a degree of precision considerably exceeding any obtained by the ordinary modes of observation. Sun-pictures, for the purpose of recording and studying the movements of solar spots have, also, for many years past, been taken at the Kew Observatory in pursuance of the plans of Mr. Warren de la Rue, and it is well-known that in the recent solar eclipses the photographic method has been employed with great success. In photographing the Sun we have the advantage that the telescope can be stationary, the picture requiring an exposure, at the most, of a hundredth of a second of time, while in the stellar photographs taken by Mr. Rutherford, requiring an exposure of many seconds, the telescope, with its camera attachment, must be moved in exact correspondence with the apparent movement of the stars in order to secure a sufficient impression. For the purpose of obtaining an enlarged image on the photographic plate, to facilitate its measurement, the image of the Sun, after being formed in the focus of the telescope, is enlarged by a lens or camera to the desired size, the Kew Sun-pictures, or photo-heliographs, as they are called, being thus enlarged to a diameter of about four inches. This plan has been adopted for the photographic apparatus to be used by the British, German and Russian parties commissioned to observe the transit of Venus. A different plan has, however, been adopted for the American parties, with the view of avoiding some difficulties to which the former method may be thought subject. These are conceived to reside in the fact that not only all imperfections in the focal image are thus enlarged, but that the optical imperfections of the camera are superadded. To avoid this objection, it was deemed best to make the telescope so long that the image formed in its principal focus would need no further enlargement. Here another difficulty presented itself. The telescope must then be forty feet in length in

order to give an image four inches in diameter. Such a telescope, pointed at the Sun, would scarcely be manageable. Hence the plan was devised, which Professor Winlock was the first to put into practical operation. It consists in fixing the long telescope in a horizontal position, and reflecting the Sun's rays into the object-glass by means of a plane glass mirror, moved by clockwork, so as to throw the image of the Sun continually into the telescope. This need not be done with great precision since, as has already been said, the time of exposure is exceedingly small, and the mirror can at any time be adjusted. It is obvious that, in this arrangement, as much depends upon the perfect figure of the mirror as in the other upon that of the enlarging lens; but it is doubtless an advantage that different methods should be employed, so long as a sufficient number of stations are occupied to give an independent result for the Sun's distance from observations by each method alone, since such only can be considered as strictly comparable. This condition is amply fulfilled by the abundant provision made by the American Government for the observation of the important event in prospect.

A Commission has been formed to take charge of the operations, consisting of the Superintendent of the Naval Observatory, the President of the National Academy of Sciences, the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, and two of the astronomers at the Observatory. The sum of \$150,000, in three annual installments of \$50,000 each, has been appropriated by Congress, and preparations have been in progress for the past two years. Eight parties are to take the field, three in the northern hemisphere, where the meteorological conditions are supposed to be somewhat more favorable than at corresponding stations in the southern hemisphere, where the number will be five. The three northern stations will be selected in the vicinity of Pekin, Yeddo and Wladivostock, the latter being in the southeastern extremity of Russian Tartary. The southern stations will be Hobart Town, at the south end of Tasmania, some point in southern New Zealand; Chatham Island, to the eastward of New Zealand, Kerguelen's Land, and the Mauritius. The Antarctic Continent would be, geographically, the most favorable, but it is entirely inaccessible, and is, moreover, probably enveloped in fog at that season.

Each station will be supplied with four principal instruments:—the photographic telescope just described, with a five-inch object-glass, corrected for the blue or actinic rays, and forty feet focal length; a telescope of five inches aperture, and eight feet focal length, equatorially mounted, for the observation of contacts; a transit in-

strument, for the determination of time and geographical position; and an astronomical clock. The telescopes, both visual and photographic, have been ordered from the well-known firm of Alvan Clark and Sons, who have just completed and mounted at Washington the greatest refracting telescope in the world.

Although the photographic method is mainly relied on, the eye-observations of ingress and egress are not to be neglected, and it is proposed to supplement them by measuring the distances of the cusps while the planet is entering the Sun's disc and leaving it. It is also hoped, by experiments on artificial transits, imitating as nearly as possible the appearance of the actual phenomena, to learn something of the causes of error to which the method is subject, and, in some degree, to eliminate them. Great importance is attached to uniformity in the method of photographing and observing at all the stations, and it is therefore proposed that, before starting out on the expedition, all the observers shall assemble at Washington to practice together for the purpose of securing that desired end, and, by comparing their personal experiences, ascertain the most available modes of procedure.

In Great Britain preparations have been going forward on a scarcely inferior scale to those in America. The Government has provided for expeditions to six stations,—the Sandwich Islands, on the extreme east of the transit; Auckland Island, south of Tasmania, in the south; Kerguelen Island in the southwest; Rodriguez Island, near the Mauritius, in the west; Alexandria in the northwest, and Peshawur, high up on the Indus, in the north. The transit will also be observed at the Government Observatory at the Cape of Good Hope, and at Sydney and Melbourne in Australia. In addition to which, a private expedition, fitted out by Lord Lindsay, will occupy the Mauritius.

The Russians will make observations at a number of stations in Siberia, along the northern limit of the transit, while the German Government has provided for four or five corresponding stations in the south.

In France, preparations are not so well advanced, which is partly attributable to the disturbed state of public affairs, and perhaps, in part, to the well-known indisposition of the Director of the French Observatory to do work in co-operation with others. It has lately been announced, however, that a station at Suez, and one on the Marquesas Islands, have been provided for; and it is not to be

doubted that, before it is too late, France will take her accustomed place in this great scientific enterprise.

With so great a number of stations, situated so widely apart, it may be confidently hoped that the chances of the weather will permit observations to be obtained at a sufficient number to yield the result so ardently sought with the desired degree of accuracy. The duty of making these observations, in most cases self-imposed, and in every case voluntarily undertaken, is a very arduous one, involving an absence of from six months to a year from home, and other pursuits, and, in many instances, a prolonged sojourn on uninhabited islands difficult of access. Nor can any of the participating astronomers promise to themselves the reward of some special, brilliant discovery, for their labor will be merged with that of all the others in the general result. Great credit is therefore due to the scientific enterprise of those who have engaged themselves to take charge of the parties. The time for naming them will not have come until the work has been accomplished.

Another opportunity for attacking the same problem, under somewhat more favorable astronomical conditions, will be afforded in December, 1882, when another transit of Venus will take place, *visible more generally in the northern hemisphere, and in the inhabited regions of the earth. The Atlantic States of the Union will be generally quite favorably situated. It is part of the present plan to reserve the equipments now prepared for the next transit, and to give it an equally thorough observation. After that the favorable conjunction will not occur again until the year 2004, and thus for more than a century this method of measuring the Sun's distance from the Earth must remain in abeyance.

Until very recently the admitted value of that distance was ninety-five millions of miles, derived from the observations of the transits of Venus in the last century, in 1761 and 1769. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that these transits occur in pairs, eight years apart, recurring again after intervals of one hundred and five and one hundred and twenty-two years, nor to recite here the various expeditions undertaken to observe those important events. The means of precise observation, as well as those of determining with accuracy the longitude of different stations, were far inferior to those we now possess. There was no general plan agreed upon by different nations, and the results obtained by different astronomers had a wide range. It was not until Encke, in 1824, combined all the observations made at that time, that the result above mentioned was

arrived at, and commanded general assent. The astronomer expresses the Sun's distance in the form of its horizontal parallax, or the angle subtended by the Earth's semi-diameter as seen from the Sun, because it is in the form of angular measure that it enters into all his computations, and he habitually speaks of the transit of Venus as a method of determining the Sun's horizontal parallax. That obtained by Encke was $8''.6$, or, more precisely, $8''.57$, but from the nature of the observations it was abundantly evident that no dependence could be placed on the second decimal figure. The distance of ninety-five millions of miles, with apparently an uncertainty of half a million miles either way, was by far the greatest distance that had yet been assigned to our central luminary. As we have no conception of a million miles, it will be more convenient to express the distance as 24,000 terrestrial semi-diameters, which is a measure equally intelligible to all nations, while our English miles would not even have the advantage of a familiar sound to those who do not use the English tongue.

It is curious to observe how the Sun has receded from us as the means of observing small angles have become more refined. The most ancient estimate of which we have a record is that made by Aristarchus of Samos who lived about twenty centuries ago, and who very ingeniously inferred from the difference in the time of the exact quarterings of the Moon's illumination and the time of half a revolution in her orbit, that the sun's distance must be about nine teen times that of the Moon, which is about the twentieth part of its true distance. Neither Hipparchus nor Ptolemy improved much on this estimate. A distance about eighteen times too small was accepted by Tycho Brahe, whose parallax of $149'$ Kepler made use of in calculating his solar tables for 1617 and 1618. But, from a study of Tycho's observations, that great astronomer became convinced that the distance of the Sun could be no less than 3,600 of the Earth's semi-diameters corresponding to a parallax of $49'$, for adopting which he was upbraided by an intimate friend, Peter Crueger "for removing the Sun to such a huge distance," which would destroy the value of all Tycho's tables. But Kepler's ideas were not very generally received in his own day, and accordingly we find Galileo adhering to the distance of 1200 Earth's semi-diameters, just as he rejected Kepler's doctrine that the tides were caused by the attraction of the Sun and Moon. Godfrey Wendelin, a Belgian astronomer, deduced in 1647, from morning and evening observations of the Moon, the value of the solar parallax as $15'$ at the outside, or

the distance, at least, 13,700 of our units, and fixed 14,600 as the most probable value, removing the Sun to a distance four times as great as that which Kepler had assigned. This proved too much for Riccioli's digestion, who, in the *Almagestum Novum* reduced it to half that amount in 1665.

But now began the era of accurate observation, and Cassini, Flamsteed, and La Caille successively deduced values for the horizontal parallax, varying from $9\frac{1}{2}$ to $10\frac{1}{4}$ seconds, which are fair approximations to the truth. At last came the transits of Venus of the last century, which appeared to have settled the value within at least its hundredth part.

We have spoken of the transit of Venus as the most advantageous method of determining a unit of measure for the planetary spaces, but it is not the only one. That it is the most advantageous is evident from the fact that Venus is the planet nearest to the Earth and that it therefore affords us the largest parallax angle for any two points of the Earth from which it may be seen at the same time. Mars when nearest to us is nearly twice as far off, and its distance is in that proportion less easy to determine, but Mars has the advantage of being available at every opposition, or whenever the Earth is directly between the Sun and that planet, and consequently at its least distance from it, which occurs every twenty-five months. Suppose the planet at that time to pass very near a small fixed star, which will never fail to happen, so thickly are the small stars sown in the heavens. It will appear more to the northward in reference to it from an observatory in the southern hemisphere, and more to the southward at an observatory in the northern hemisphere. This difference, accurately measured, will be the parallax angle from which the distance of the planet may be inferred, the distance between the two observatories forming the base of the triangle. We know already that when any one of the interplanetary distances is ascertained, we can infer all the rest from the observed times of revolution. Venus is not available for that form of observation because, when nearest to the Earth, it is nearly in line with the Sun, and the small stars are invisible, while the planet itself shows only a narrow crescent to us, its dark phase being turned toward the Earth. When furthest away from the Sun, at which times it appears to us as the brilliant morning or evening star, scarcely one half of its disc is illuminated, presenting an object quite unfit for precise observation. It is only then at the rare intervals of its passing over the Sun, that Venus can be used; but on those occasions we have the immense

advantage of viewing the actual coincidence of the planet and the Sun, using, as it were, the sight-line of the whole distance from the Earth to Venus, while in the measure of the apparent angle between Mars and a star of reference, we have only the directive power of a telescope which is incomparably less than that of the long range of Venus seen upon the Sun. In this circumstance resides the great superiority of the determination by the event we are now looking forward to, over all other methods of parallaxic measurement.

It may be well-imagined, however, that astronomers have not failed to make the best of the opportunities afforded them by Mars; and the cumulative evidence of such observations have been to show that Encke's result of ninety-five millions of miles is somewhat too large, and that the Earth is not probably more than ninety-two millions of miles from the Sun. Although this Mars method is relatively much inferior to the transits of Venus, yet the powerful means at the command of modern astronomers have enabled them to make such use of it, as to throw serious doubts upon the accuracy of the admitted results, which were obtained by much inferior instrumental means. Nor is the new evidence confined to observations of Mars alone. There are other methods, not as direct as those of the parallaxic measurement, but, nevertheless, absolutely cogent in their theoretic induction. Our Moon, although not an independent member of the planetary system, and therefore not offering those relations of distance and time of revolution expressed in Kepler's third law, is yet affected in its motions in a manner depending upon the ratio of its distance from the Earth and from the Sun; for it is evident that, when between the Earth and the Sun, it will be more attracted by the latter than when at the opposite point of its orbit around the Earth. From the observed effect of these accelerations and retardations, the ratio of the two distances may be computed by means of the law of gravitation. In this way Hanson has deduced from the rich fund of the Greenwich Observations, a parallax of $8'.91$ corresponding to a distance of ninety-one million six hundred thousand miles. This result of course involves a knowledge of the Moon's distance from the Earth, which, however, is well-ascertained by parallaxic measurement, the angle at the Moon being nearly a degree and readily measured within its five-thousandth part.

Another indirect method, which yields nearly the same result, has been employed by Le Verrier and Newcomb, but as the accuracy of the result is wholly dependent on the Moon's mass, which itself can be determined only by the measurement of magnitudes as small as

the solar parallax itself, not much credit is to be attached to it. In fact, whether this mode be employed for determining the Moon's mass, or the solar parallax, will depend on which of the two quantities is the more accurately determined element.

Still another method has lately been employed, differing wholly in character from any that have before been thought of, and which seems so remote at first sight as to invite our incredulity. It consists in deducing the diameter of the Earth's orbit by comparing the time required for light to traverse that distance with the velocity of light as ascertained by mechanical apparatus. We obtain the former datum by observing that the occultations of Jupiter's satellites occur relatively earlier when that planet is nearest to us, than they do when it is furthest removed, the Earth being at these times in opposite parts of its orbit. Upon the assumption of Encke's estimate of the Sun's distance, the velocity of 192,000 miles in one second of time has been assigned to the transmission of light in space, from the data so obtained. Now it will be seen that if we could measure the velocity of light independently, we might conversely deduce the diameter of the Earth's orbit. To measure a velocity so enormous might, indeed, appear a hopeless undertaking, yet it has been accomplished in two substantially different modes by the eminent French physicists, Fizeau and Foucault. It would be out of place to attempt to describe here the apparatus employed in these delicate experiments. Suffice it to say that the results of both methods agree closely in assigning a velocity of 185,300 miles per second. The distance of the Sun from the Earth, deduced from this value, is ninety-one and a half millions of miles, agreeing again with the lessened distance found by means of Mars or the Moon, and confirming the suspicion that the value deduced from the former transit of Venus had overshot the mark. It is true that the distance deduced from the velocity of light is subject to the doubt whether that velocity is the same in our atmosphere, in which the observations are made, as in the interplanetary space between the Earth and Jupiter. If such a difference exist, however, it is probably not of a magnitude comparable to the uncertainties we are now discussing. Warned thus of the possibility of an error in Encke's result, the observations upon which it was based have latterly again been submitted to the most searching scrutiny, and behold! in the fiery furnace of modern criticism they have been made to yield a result closely agreeing with the values indicated by the other methods just described. Such a *posteriori* manipulation cannot, indeed, to any candid mind convey other

evidence than that the observations are compatible with either value, and that their uncertainty is at least as great as the difference. We may well content ourselves with looking forward to the yield of the great enterprises so munificently undertaken in the interest of science by the leading nations of the world, and it is pleasant to reflect that purely scientific knowledge has come to be considered, in these days, as having such a value in itself as to render it quite unnecessary to answer the question of the utilitarian as to what useful end the results may subserve. No nation could now claim to be in the foremost rank of civilization that would refuse to bear its part in researches of an interest to all mankind.

We may be permitted to name in this connection the enlightened statesmen who took the most active part in inducing the American Government to make the liberal grant for the prosecution of this object, Mr. James A. Garfield, of the House of Representatives, and Mr. Frederick A. Sawyer, of the Senate of the United States.

ARTICLE III.

UPPER SCHOOLS.

JAMES MCCOSH, D. D., LL. D.

WE all have heard of—some of us have been personally acquainted with—the oblivious man who built a house of two stories, each large and commodious, but who was somewhat mortified to find at the close of his work that he had neglected to put a stairway between. We could name some very wise countries which have been guilty of a like neglect in the erection of a more important structure. They have excellent elementary schools, and colleges of eminence, but they have no generally diffused means of enabling promising youths to rise from the one to the other. A set of Upper Schools, reaching every district of the country, practically open to all classes, rich and poor, and under highly educated teachers, is the grand excellence of the systems of education in Prussia, Austria and Holland, and is the crying desideratum in England, Scotland, Ireland, and the United States.

So far as ELEMENTARY or PRIMARY Schools are concerned the United States rank as high as any country in the world. Other nations have been looking to them, and have profited by the example which they have set in earnestly seeking to furnish a good education to every child in their wide dominions. All Americans feel that if their republican institutions are to continue and to prosper, they must have an education as universal as the suffrage. But in gratifying their national sin of self-adulation they must not allow themselves to forget that other nations are making rapid progress, and if the States are to keep before them, or even to keep up to them, they must be anxiously looking round for suggestions, and ready to adopt improvements from all quarters. In one respect the educational system in the States is behind that of several nations of Europe, and, unless they awake to their usual energy, will soon be behind those of Canada, Australia, and even Hindostan. They are without that organized system of superintendence by highly educated Inspectors,

set apart for the special work of visiting and examining schools, which is in thorough operation in England, Scotland, Germany, Austria, Holland, and other lands. The author of this Article is so old as to remember the time when the systematized inspection was introduced into Great Britain, and he noticed the immediate effect produced on the character of the teaching. We may sketch the Irish system of inspection, which is the most thoroughly organized we have fallen in with in any country. First there is a Board of Education in Dublin, with two high class School Inspectors, a Protestant and a Catholic, ready to visit any school in which a difficulty arises. There is a Head Inspector in every county, a man of scholarly attainments, and paid at a higher rate than the professors in American Colleges; and there are trained Sub-Inspectors in every district, receiving upwards of a thousand dollars a year, besides a limited sum for traveling expenses. It is the business of these Sub-Inspectors to visit every school in their district at least once in the half year, if possible, once in the quarter; and in doing so they see that the scholars are properly organized into classes, they examine every class and every pupil, take down on their books the designation of every class and every pupil, mark the precise stage at which every class and every pupil is, and leave, in a book kept in the school for the benefit of the teacher and local managers, and open to inspection by all, their estimate of the school, particularly mentioning both the excellences and defects. When a defect is pointed out in the organization, or in any particular department, such as arithmetic or grammar, the teacher and local manager are bound to see it removed. If this is not done by the time of the next visit, if the class in any study is as far behind as it was, the case is reported to the Dublin Board, which issues peremptory orders, which are sure to be attended to, as otherwise the salary will be withdrawn. If any dispute arises, which seldom happens, there is an appeal open to the County Superintendent or the Board itself. Besides these visits of formal examination the Inspector may look in upon the school at any time he is passing, to see that proper order and prescribed hours are kept. There is not in Ireland any such thing as we have seen in America—a school opened half an hour behind the time. This inspection is far from being obnoxious to the teachers—is never disliked by good teachers. They are enabled thereby to get valuable hints by which they profit. They are encouraged by the favorable notices taken of them. Their work is felt to be less of a drudgery when they find it appreciated; and excellent young teachers have a means of letting their

excellence be known, and are put in the way of promotion. Parents and the community generally all know and acknowledge the benefit derived from this superintendence, in the stimulus given to the teacher, and the improved efficiency and accuracy of the instruction he imparts. We have something of the same kind in the States in the local superintendents, and especially in the superintendents of education in certain cities. We believe that these officers have done much good. We are not recommending the abolition of their office or the dismissal of any. The best of them might be chosen as inspectors, and the inspectors might organize the work of all of them, so as to make it thoroughly efficient, and reach every class and every scholar in the school. It is evident that local superintendents not separated from business avocations have not the power and the means of elevating the education of a district to the same extent as educated men trained for the purpose, above district prejudice and prepossession, acquainted with the improved methods of teaching all over the world, and ready to introduce them into the most remote country regions. Some of these ends are gained by the papers and discussions in the Teachers' Institutes, but they will never reach every school till they are carried thither by the personal experience of an inspector. We know that many of the most enlightened educationists all over America are beginning to feel the want. We find a very strong expression on this subject by the State Superintendent, Mr. Newton Bateman, in the Report from the State of Illinois, 1871-2:

"Sooner or later, and the sooner the better, there must and will be some effectual means provided to secure *competent and qualified* county school inspectors. Around the fact that in some counties the office is held by persons notoriously unfit for the position, and incapable of performing its duties, cluster nearly all of those objections to the office which have in them a color of reason and force." "It is believed that this great evil *can* be reached, and that it ought to be as speedily as possible. The interests involved are too weighty, the results too far-reaching, to be needlessly sacrificed." "It is a solecism in our school system that while no teacher can be employed or paid in any school of the State, under any circumstances whatever, without due examination and licensure, no conditions or qualifications of any kind or degree are required of the man who conducts the examination and issues, or refuses to issue, the licensure."

We could point out some other defects in the elementary education of this country, such as the neglect, in too many schools, of music and drawing, so fitted to interest young children, and in the want in many places of graded schools, and an organized system for encourag-

ing promising pupils to rise to higher branches; but we despair of seeing these improvements carried till the influence of an educated body of inspectors is felt in every district and in every school. If we had a body of enlightened inspectors visiting every country school, and interested in the boys, they would feel a pride, and lead the teachers to feel a pride, in sending up youths to the secondary schools, and in the end to the colleges. This brings us to our proper subject,

UPPER SCHOOLS.—We may give a brief sketch of the more famous systems. I begin with

The Gymnasien and Real Schule of Germany.—The author of this Article visited these schools some years ago, and can speak from personal observation. He received from the Minister of Public Instruction authority to visit any school in Prussia. This was published in the newspapers, and wherever he went the professors waited upon him and offered every facility for inspection. He visited a sufficient number of schools, both in the large cities, such as Berlin and Halle, and in the smaller towns, to be able to judge of the system. The German State educational systems are distinguished for the thoroughness of their organization. There is an arranged unity and a skillful gradation in them from the lowest school up to the highest university—such as Berlin, with its two hundred instructors, professors extraordinary and ordinary, and docents. The boy enters when about six years of age, and as education is compulsory, or (to use Mr. Northrop's more expedient phrase) *obligatory*, all are receiving instruction by that age, and you do not see in Prussia those idle ragged Arabs who are constantly pressing themselves on our notice in the great cities of Britain and America. By nine or ten the boy is ready for the Gymnasien or Real Schule. These two kinds of schools differ from each other, in that the one gives the more prominent place to classics, and the other to science with its practical applications. We believe it to be a disadvantage to children to be obliged to decide between those courses at so early an age, when neither they nor their parents can tell what are their talents, or even their tastes. Besides the Gymnasien and the Real Schule there is all over Germany the Bürger Schule, intended to give a good education to artisans, and in the Höhere Bürger Schule instruction is given in the high and refining branches. These three kinds of institutions are generally diffused: in every large city you will find, not one, but it may be two, three or more of them; there is one in every town of considerable population, and in every important centre of population, so that they

are accessible without very much inconvenience to every child. Each of these may have half a dozen professors, commonly erudite men—more so than many holding chairs in the American Colleges. We are happy to be able to produce the statistics of German secondary schools, prepared with care by the Bureau of Education in this country, and kindly forwarded by General Eaton through Mr. Warren:—

STATISTICS OF GERMAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS—1871-1872.

(From official sources.)

1. *Gymnasie* (Classical Colleges). (Population of German Empire, see note.)

Number of gymnasia	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	564
Number of students	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	108,694
Number of professors	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6,951
Number of graduates	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,906

["Graduates" meaning here only those who have entered the university.]

Number of volumes in libraries (237 libraries reported) . . . 1,661,875

One person in 377 of the whole population of Germany has a gymnasium education.

One gymnasium to 32,805 of the population.

Average number of students to each professor . . . 15

Average number of graduates from each gymnasium . . . 5

Average number of volumes in each library (237 reported) . . . 7,012

2. *Real Schools* (Non-Classical Colleges.)

Number of Real Schools	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	481
Number of Students	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	87,570
Number of professors	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4,756
Number of graduates	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,238

["Graduates" meaning here only those who have entered some higher Technical school.]

Number of volumes in libraries (168 reported) . . . 264,476

One person in every 468 of the whole population of Germany has a Real School education.

One Real School to every 85,360 of the population.

Average number of students to each professor . . . 13

Average number of graduates from each Real School . . . 8

Average number of volumes in each library (168 reported) . . . 1,574

3. *Grand Total of Male Colleges* (Gymnasias and Real Schools) in German Empire.

Number of colleges	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,045
Number of students	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	196,264
Number of professors	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	11,707
Number of graduates	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4,144

(604 colleges reported.)

N. B.—Population of Germany, 41,058,196.

VOL I.—12.

Number of volumes in libraries (405 reported)	1,926,333
One male person in every 209 of the whole population of Germany has a secondary (college) education.	
One college to every 39,290 of the population.	
Average number of students to each professor	16
Average number of graduates from each college (604 colleges reported)	7
Average number of volumes in each library (405 libraries reported)	4,756

This shows how ample the provision in Germany for the advanced education of youths. That there should be upward of 1000 such schools, or as they would be called in this country, colleges, in the German Empire, that instruction should be given in them by nearly 12,000 learned teachers, that there should be nearly 200,000 youth, attending them, shows a state of things unequalled in any other country or age.

The full course of study in a gymnasium runs over nine years. There are in all six classes, the three lower occupying a year each, the three upper two years each. Let us look at what the student has done at the end of five years, that is when he has gone through the three annual courses and the first biennial, and may be fourteen or fifteen years of age. Besides religion, (taught too often by infidel teachers) he has been taught the German language, Geography and Arithmetic, Latin Grammar with selections from Cæsar and Ovid, Greek Grammar with selections from Xenophon, French Grammar and Composition, elements of Geometry with lessons in Botany. Mineralogy and Anthropology, and German, Greek and Roman History. The youth would not be fit to enter Freshman in America, but he has learned branches of which our Freshmen are ignorant. Four years after, at the end of the nine years' course, he is fully as good a scholar, he is commonly a more accurate scholar, than if he had passed through the freshman and sophomore classes in the best American colleges.

The system pursued at the Gymnasien and Real Schule is slow but systematic. A youth is not allowed to tumble in at any place, as he may do in a British and American school, and perhaps prepare himself for college by the study of classics for a single year. He must begin at the beginning and cannot pass over a class *per saltum*. We have sometimes felt that while there is more of drill exercise in the German schools, there is less of life and independent study than in the best American and British schools. At about the age of eighteen, the youth leaves the gymnasium and he may apply for certain public positions, as in the post-office and the revenue. These

offices cannot be obtained by those who have not gone through the course. In this manner Germany fosters learning in a way unknown in this country, and has secured a well-educated and generally a high-minded and trustworthy body of public servants. Or, the youth may now—not sooner or by any other method—pass on to a university, and then for the first time he is allowed independence of thought and study, and is often tempted to abuse it by the lectures of the professors, each of whom is ambitious to display originality, and thus attract pupils. The strict discipline which guarded him so effectually in his earlier years is now relaxed, and numbers give themselves up to beer-drinking, and sword duels, returning to systematic study only after two or three years of idleness, and this from fear of the final examination. During the college course there are no recitations, or periodical examinations. At the close there is a very rigid examination, not by the instructors, but by a competent commission—it is surely to be desired that the examination for degrees in the American colleges, should as in the British and German colleges, be handed over to examiners who have not taught the candidates. Those who pass the examination can go on to the higher professions such as the bar or the church. By this organized system of instruction, and by the government departments co-operating, and requiring on the part of those who apply for public offices lower or higher, that they have passed through a course at a secondary school or university, Germany has secured a large body of educated citizens. There never was so well educated a body of men in any army as that which Bismarck and Moltke took with them into France in the late war; and every one grants that this intelligence helped to make them triumphant.

The Endowed Schools of England. The character of these is well known. The funds have come from old endowments, the value of which has greatly increased from the rise in the price of property. They are almost all connected with the Established Church of England and are associated directly, more frequently indirectly, with the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. They are attended by the sons of the nobility, or the wealthier under-classes who wish to get their sons into good society. The classics form the basis and the main body of the teaching which is imparted by learned men trained at the great English Universities. The classical teaching at these schools has certainly been the means of training the great body of the eminent statesmen and orators which England has produced. A first class English school, if it does not impart much general

knowledge, contrives, by its open air exercise and the manliness of its school life, to prepare youth for acting their part in the world; and the high studies have sharpened the intellect of many and produced a refinement among a select few, such as you will find with difficulty in any other country. Of late royal commissioners have carefully inquired into the state of these schools, and exposed their enormous defects, especially in the neglect of modern languages, science and English composition, and these branches are now being introduced, though rather in a grudging manner, into a number of the schools. Attempts have been made of late years, with partial success to establish in various places Middle Class Schools—a very objectionable phrase as it seems to exclude the children of the poor, who are in fact excluded by the high fees exacted. Scattered throughout England we have also a number of schools started on the teacher's own adventure. But in respect of the number of secondary schools, and the utter want of a provision for giving a high class education to the children of the poor, there is no advanced country in the world so deficient as England.

Irish Upper Schools. Much the same may be said of Ireland. It has two excellent universities, Dublin, and the Queen's with its three Queen's Colleges. Its secondary education consists of a number of Royal and Diocesan schools which have much the same excellences and defects as the endowed schools of England, and are the feeders of Dublin College, leaving the Queen's Colleges without suitable preparatory schools. Besides there are a few excellent academies in such places as Belfast, Londonderry and Coleraine, supported by associations interested in education.

Parochial and Burgh Schools of Scotland. In respect of Upper Schools Scotland differs widely from both England and Ireland. The educational system of Scotland was projected by John Knox—whose character, so long maligned, has been successfully defended by McCrie and Froude—who proclaimed that there should be an elementary school, open to all, in every parish, a grammar school, with Latin and Greek, in every burgh town, and a university in each of the four leading cities. What he recommended he was enabled to execute by the unequalled energy of his character. The Parochial Schools of Scotland constitute the first example of an education provided for the whole of the people. It is the peculiar excellence of the Scottish system that the parish schoolmasters are acquainted with Latin and elementary mathematics, and many of them know Greek, while some of them are very superior scholars, especially in

Aberdeenshire, where their salaries are augmented by the Dick Bequest. The consequence is that in Scotland every boy has within a short distance of him a teacher fitted to instruct him in the higher branches. A considerable number of the students in the four universities have come up directly from the parish schools. In every chartered town there is a burgh school, with a number of teachers: a teacher of English, with assistants; a teacher of Classics; a teacher of Penmanship and Mercantile branches; a teacher of Arithmetic, Mathematics, and Science; often a teacher of French and German; and a teacher of Drawing. Each boy may take what branches he pleases: may take classics without the mercantile branches, or the mathematical and scientific course without the ancient languages. There is often a difficulty in arranging the hours to suit the tastes of the pupils; but the Board of Teachers contrives somehow or other to meet the wants of all. There is a well-arranged course for those who are preparing for college. The scholarship is not so high at these burgh schools as in the German Gymnasien, but it is as well fitted to prepare youth for the business of life.

We might dwell on the educational systems of other European countries, but our space does not admit. The Austrian system is modeled on the Prussian, and is very little behind it. The grand hope of Austria lies in its admirable schools. Much the same organization is found in Holland. In France the schools may have been to some extent benefited, but to some extent they have been repressed, by their dependence on the university.

Secondary Instruction in the United States. We have before us the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1872, and in it there is a table in regard to secondary institutions. The statistics are as good as the Bureau is in circumstances to supply; but they are acknowledged to be very imperfect. The report says that it is impossible to include the course of study pursued in these institutions, and declares that it cannot yet answer the question so often asked, "What ought they to do?" In one table the total number of Academies is 811; of Instructors, male and female, 4,501; of Students, male and female, 98,929. The number of pupils at first sight seems considerably large, but when we examine the record we find a result by no means flattering:

BRANCHES PURSUED.	
English	33,624
Classics	8,517
Modern Languages	7,277

DESTINATION OF PUPILS.

To enter college	3,444
To enter scientific colleges	992
Who have entered colleges last academic year	856
Who have entered scientific schools last year	316
Total who have entered colleges, and scientific colleges and scientific schools	5,772

It will be perceived that of the 98,929 pupils at the academies, 33,624 are classed as pursuing English; and we suspect that many of them are receiving no higher an education than is to be had at the best common schools. We have a record of only 8,517, males and females, learning the classical languages, that is, the languages that open to us the ancient world, with its literature and its history, and in particular the New Testament, which, not to speak of its Divine character, has had a greater influence on modern thought than all other books. It will be remembered that in Germany the whole of the 108,690 students in the Gymnasien are learning Latin and Greek, and that the 87,000 pupils in the Real Schule are learning Latin. It should be noticed farther that we have a return of only 3,444 preparing for college; of only 856 who have entered college during the previous year; and only 5,772 who have been sent to college by these institutions since their organization.

The Government Census gives a somewhat different report from that issued by the Bureau of Education. This discrepancy does not imply any error, or even any negligence on the part of the Census Commissioners or the Commissioner of Education. It merely manifests how imperfect the returns have been, or rather it shows how imperfect the organization of these schools is, and how difficult it is in regard to many of them to say whether they are primary or secondary, or half way between, or a mixture of the two. The Census gives 1,518 academies, or 707 more than have been reported to the Bureau, and makes the attendance 129,406, whereas the Bureau has heard of only 98,929. It is calculated that there are in America 2,455,000 persons, male and female, from the ages of 15 to 17 inclusive; and we have no evidence of more than 129,406 attending academies; and of these between a half and a third seem to be simply studying English, and a number of these, we fear, not taking the higher departments of English.

A considerable number of the institutions designated academies are boarding-schools. Let it be observed of them that they are not available to any but to the rich, who can afford to pay \$400, \$500, or \$600 a year for each of their children. Many of these establishments

are doing immeasurable good, are imparting a high intellectual education, with an excellent training, moral and religious. But they differ very much as to the instruction and the care taken of the morals of the pupils. Not a few of those who are at the head of these establishments have no higher ambition than to earn a livelihood for the present, and in the course of a few years to lay up a competency which may make them independent. I know of some that deserve to have done for them what Dickens did for Do-the-Boys Hall. At the private boarding-schools the principal is under no official inspection, and he is tempted to send home flattering and false reports to the parents, who are often too busy to make any searching inquiries. In too many cases the teacher feels that he can not send home a wicked boy who is corrupting half the school, but who belongs to an influential family, whose patronage is not to be thrown away. At a very large number of the institutions the teachers do not aim, or profess to aim, at producing high scholarship; they feel that they have accomplished all that they intend when they have prepared their pupils for the business of this world.

So far as we can judge from the statistics furnished by the Bureau, only a small proportion of the students entering the colleges, classical and scientific, are sent by the academies. We learn from one of the tables that there are 19,260 students in the collegiate courses, and when we compare this with the number of pupils at academies preparing to enter colleges, only 3,444, and when we consider that the academies can report only 5,772 as having been prepared by them for college, we see they are not the principal feeders of the colleges. The question arises, where have the great body of the 19,260 students been trained? The answer is, in a very varied way—a number in a nondescript way. A considerable number are, in fact, self-educated, having only had irregular lessons from a minister of religion interested in them; by a tutor picked up for the occasion, or a school-teacher at his unemployed hours. This shows how difficult it is in all States out of New England—where they have numerous academies and high schools—to have young men prepared to enter college, and how difficult it is for our colleges to raise their standard of entrance without casting off able, deserving, and promising young men.

We have not been able to prepare such careful statistics as we expected as to high schools. Massachusetts here takes the lead. Her old Colonial law of 1647 required every town of one hundred families to support a high school, whose teacher should be "able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university. This

enactment laid the foundation of the greatness of the old Bay State. It was for a time somewhat in abeyance, but of late years vigorous attempts have been made to have it put in thorough operation. It is reported that during the past year 179 high schools have been maintained in 165 cities and towns. Only three towns required by law failed to maintain a high school. Many of these schools are not what might be expected from the name ; still, even in the poorest of them, greater advantages are presented than could be offered by the other schools in the same town ; and in many of the large cities and towns an education is afforded, without expense to the pupil, more extensive and complete than can be acquired in many colleges. Their influence, when they are wisely and liberally supported, is incalculable. From them our colleges receive their largest and often best supplies. From the high school at Woburn, a town having a population of less than 9,000, twenty graduated last June, five of whom were going to college. Including these five there were twenty-eight members of the school studying with reference to a collegiate education. Nine others, who were fitted at this school, were at that time in different colleges." Massachusetts owes much to her common schools, much to her universities, but it owes quite as much to her academies and high schools. These have seized the brightest youths in the elementary schools, and sent them on to the colleges, which have flourished in consequence. There are high schools sustained by State enactments in other New England States, and hence that portion of our country has been able to maintain in efficiency so many colleges.

We cannot find evidence of the other States of the Union being inclined to establish high schools. There are wide regions of America which have good colleges, but not, so far as we can discover, a single high school or academy worthy of the name, and the colleges are holding by a low standard of scholarship, and altogether in a languishing condition. It appears, however, that many of the cities are exerting themselves to establish high schools. We are able to present the statistics of the high schools in 326 cities, the aggregate population of which amounts to more than eight millions.

	In towns above.	Towns above.	Towns under.	Total.
High Schools	168	89	98	355
Teachers	902	226	203	1,331
Pupils	22,970	5,975	5,036	83,982

It would be impossible for the acutest schoolman, skilled in defini-

tion, to construct a definition which will exactly characterize the branches taught in these schools. Latin and elementary science are taught in most of them, and in a number Greek to those who wish it. Some of them do little for colleges. We have seen it stated that the Cincinnati High School and the Chicago High School, each with an attendance between 400 and 600, send on an average from four to seven students to collegiate institutions. We find, however, that in the high schools there are reported 2,510 pupils preparing for college, and 687 for scientific schools. A number of boys begin their higher instruction in the high school, and then go on to some preparatory school to make them ready for college. The friends of education in America should devote all their energies, in their several States and cities, to have the number of these schools increased, and higher instruction imparted in them.

From this survey we may gather several important lessons as to secondary instruction in the United States.

1. The statistics we have of academies and high schools are very imperfect. The Bureau of Education ought to be encouraged in their efforts to keep the whole subject of secondary instruction before the public.

2. The secondary schools are not organized as in some other countries. This, no doubt, is an advantage, viewed under some aspects. It would be wrong to discourage private enterprise, and we find, in fact, that some of the best academies of the country are entirely managed by the teacher or a small body of trustees. Still much benefit would arise from having the public academies and high schools under some sort of organization; voluntary on the part of those which are supported by private endowment, and with a public inspection on the part of those which are under cities or States. This would give a unity with diversity to the teaching, and tend to elevate the inferior to the standard of the superior.

3. While a high order of instruction is given in some of the academies and high schools, in many the branches taught are far too limited, and the standard aimed at in them is much too low. The very discussion of the subject may help to remedy the evil, and may terminate in a more thorough organization. Though we are not in possession of full statistics as to upper schools, we have evidence that in respect of numbers they are not equal to the wants of the community. Wide regions, even in some of our most advanced States, are without a high school to give higher instruction to the middle and lower classes, and without an academy for the wealthy.

Parents write us from various places that they are not within hundreds of miles of any school fitted to prepare their sons for college, or give them any higher instruction than is to be had at the common schools.

4. The consequence of all this is, that there is a vast amount of talent lost to the country, in bright boys fitted to shine in the higher walks of life, in literature, in science, in statesmanship, and in the church, who are obliged to devote themselves to occupations which could be as well filled by inferior minds. We hold that the secondary school is the main means of calling forth talent in every country. It seizes the most promising boys at the primary schools, and sends them on to the college, or into the higher professions, where they have the means of distinguishing themselves and benefiting their country.

The question arises, what are we to do? We answer that we are first to seek to lead the friends of education to see that there is a want, and then the American public will find some way of meeting it. Two ways are open :

Private Endowments, provided by wealthy and generous individuals or by public-spirited associations. Much may be done in this way. But in order to do this there must be a new feeling created, pains must be taken by the press, and by persons of influence such as ministers of religion, to convince benevolent men that they can accomplish far more good by establishing a thoroughly equipped academy, giving instruction in varied departments of ancient and modern learning, than by setting up in the Eastern and Middle States a new college to weaken the other colleges, and bring down their standard of scholarship in the competition for students. It would be far more to the credit of a liberal man to have his name associated with academies such as Exeter or Andover, than to be handed down to posterity as the founder of some weakling college ever ready to die, called Smith's College, or Jones' Scientific Institute, or Robinson University. If such a spirit could be created and fostered, we believe that it might accomplish the work. But we despair of seeing such an inclination produced for many years, in this country, and meanwhile a whole generation will pass away, without the want being supplied. Besides, all such efforts would be sporadic, and in certain places we should have a plethora of such institutions, and an injurious competition—each denomination setting up its school; while other and wide districts would be left destitute. We must therefore combine another method with this :

State and City Endowments. Many cities are already alive to

this method of elevating the rising generation. We are aware that there may be difficulties in persuading the States to establish such schools, but if the known friends of education will do their duty and press the need on public notice, we believe that there are States which could be induced to begin the new work. We know that religious difficulties may arise, but these same difficulties meet us in elementary schools, and the friends of religion must be prepared to meet them in the one case as they have done in the other.

At this point we venture to raise the question, what is to be done with the millions (some say ninety millions, others maintain that this is an exaggeration) of unappropriated land at the disposal of the General Government. An attempt was made last session of Congress to devote the whole or the half of the sum to be realized by the sale of these lands to what were called Agricultural Schools. The schools which expected to receive a share of the funds were employed for months in preparing and promoting their measure. Members of the Senate and of the House were anxious to be able to go back to their constituents with the assurance that they could bring down with them half a million of money or \$50,000 a year. Friends of education were glad to get the sum allocated to a good end, were it only to prevent it from being wasted in political jobbing. But there were the advocates of higher education, who when they learned that such a measure was quietly passing the House and Senate, set themselves courageously against the allocation of so large a sum of money to so narrow and sectional a purpose. They argued that so far as these schools were simply agricultural ones, they were not accomplishing so great a good as to entitle them to this large endowment. We could show that in no country in the world has agriculture been essentially promoted by agricultural schools. In Scotland where the farming is so excellent, it is promoted by Farmers' Associations with Magazines and Lectures, and not by special colleges. In Germany there are only six agricultural colleges, and we can testify from personal visitation that some of them are very feeble institutions. If a youth is bent on being a scientific farmer let him go to an institution for general science, with a chair of agriculture attached, and let him learn the art on the farm. We hold very resolutely that before so many millions be lavished on them, there should be a special inquiry into what these agricultural schools are, and what they are doing, with the number of *bona fide* agricultural pupils, and specially as to the number of those trained at so

large an expense who have thought it worth their while to turn to farming.

But then it was urged that many of the schools to be endowed are more than mere agricultural schools—they are schools of science, schools of technology. But this only raises other and perhaps more formidable objections. First, some of these schools have produced very few agricultural students; we do not know that Sheffield Scientific School has produced one. At the Teachers' Association at Elmira the head of a college beyond the Mississippi was declaring that the institution claiming the endowment was a flourishing one; but when asked to condescend on particulars, he showed he was a thoroughly honest man by allowing that the number of agricultural pupils was only two! But secondly, and more particularly, by allowing grants to certain scientific institutions and not to others, there is introduced a principle of partiality and therefore of positive injustice. It was dexterously provided that the allocations were to be reserved for those institutions which were so lucky as to *grab* a previous grant in 1862. We are prepared to show that the allocations of 1862 were not always made to the best institutions in the States, and that an additional grant to them would be an additional injustice. It is surely best for the country and for education to put all our competing scientific schools on the same footing. The excellences of Cornell University have been widely proclaimed and are well-known: and we find its president claiming that it graduated in agriculture two students and a half in June last!! and I ask why it should receive half a million (after having got a large sum before) while the other colleges in New York State, not so well-known, but striving to give as high an education, get nothing? The Senate of New York State decided that question last spring when it was brought before them by a vote of twenty-nine to one. Why should the Agricultural School at Amherst get so large a sum, and Amherst College, and other able colleges of Massachusetts, have no encouragement? We know that the Sheffield School is doing much good—though certainly not in the way of training agricultural pupils; but why should it get all and the other institutions of Connecticut be left to struggle without State aid? The College at New Brunswick is a good one, under the control of members of the Dutch Church, but why should it get so many thousands a year when its neighbor at Princeton connected with the Presbyterian Church receives nothing? Princeton we happen to know asks and wishes nothing, but claims a fair field and no favor, which it cannot have if its rivals are subsidized. When the

Government pampers one such institution in a State it does as much as within it lies, to weaken all kindred institutions, and is thus indirectly but powerfully hindering the cause which it professes to benefit. We are not foes to agricultural colleges, but we do not look on them as entitled to receive the last gift of land which the Government has to bestow.

We hold that the sum at the disposal of the Government should be allotted fairly, not to denominational colleges, and just as little to those which are as sectarian as any, since they exclude religion, but to institutions open to all, and giving instruction in branches in which not mere sections of the people, such as farmers, or engineers, or mariners (if these, why not carpenters or masons also?), but all classes of the people may receive profit. Another principle will, we hope, be attended to. We hold, with all the enlightened educationists of the world, that when public grants are voted for educational purposes, above what is given to elementary schools, they should be given to encourage the highest and not the lowest branches. There is profound wisdom in the recommendation of Mr. J. S. Mill :

“ If we were asked for what end above all others endowed universities exist, or ought to exist, we should answer—To keep alive philosophy. This, too, is the ground on which, of late years, our own national endowments have chiefly been defended. To educate common minds for the common business of life, a public provision may be useful, but it is not indispensable : nor are there wanting arguments, not conclusive, yet of considerable strength, to show that it is undesirable. Whatever individual competition does at all, it commonly does best. All things in which the public are adequate judges of excellence, are best supplied where the stimulus of individual interest is the most active ; and that is where pay is in proportion to exertion : not where pay is made sure in the first instance, and the only security for exertion is the superintendence of Government ; far less where, as in the English universities, even that security has been successfully excluded. But there is an education of which it cannot be pretended that the public are competent judges ; the education by which great minds are formed. To rear up minds with aspirations and faculties above the herd, capable of leading on their countrymen to greater achievements in virtue, intelligence, and social well-being ; to do this, and likewise so to educate the leisured classes of the community generally, that they may participate as far as possible in the qualities of these superior spirits, and be prepared to appreciate them, and follow in their steps—these are purposes requiring institutions of education placed above dependence on the immediate pleasure of that very multitude whom they are designed to elevate. These are the ends for which endowed universities are desirable ; they are those which endowed universities profess to aim at ; and greater is their disgrace, if, having undertaken this task, and claiming credit for fulfilling it, they leave it unfulfilled.”

We do not propose that any portion of the money derived from the unappropriated lands should be allotted to colleges. We cannot

aid all, and to select a few would be injurious. In regard to elementary education the Northern, the Middle, and the Western States are able and willing to do their duty. We venture to propose that in these the unappropriated lands be devoted to the encouragement of secondary instruction. Let each State get its share, and the money be handed over to it under certain rigid rules and restrictions to prevent the abuse of the public money. In particular, in order to secure that upper schools be endowed only where needed, we suggest that the funds be granted only when a district, or it may be a combination of two or more districts, has raised a certain portion, say one-half, of the necessary funds. By this proviso the money will be doubled, and may be made the means of stimulating the creation of high schools all over America. These schools would aid colleges far more powerfully than a direct grant to them; as in fact the grand difficulty which our colleges have to contend with arises from the paucity of schools fitted to prepare young men for them with their rising standard of scholarship. But we plead for these upper schools not merely as a means of feeding colleges, but as fitted to give a high education in varied branches, literary and scientific, to a far greater number of young men who do not intend to go to any higher institutions.*

These high schools, like the elementary schools, should be open to all children, the poor as well as the rich. They should be set up, like the German Gymnasien, in convenient localities, so that all the population may have access to them. They should embrace every useful branch suited to young men and women under sixteen or eighteen years of age, English Composition, English Language, History, Classics, Modern Languages, and Elementary Science. The best scholars in our primary schools would be drafted up to these

* Since writing the above we notice that Mr. Hoar has introduced a Bill into Congress, allotting the sum to be realized by the sale of the unappropriated lands to common school education in the various States—each State receiving according to the measure of the destitution of education within its bounds. We like this measure in so far as it will send a large sum to promote common education in the Southern States. Otherwise we have no partiality for it. Why should the lands in the West go to provide common schools in the Eastern and Middle States which ought to provide such schools for themselves? Better surely devote the last gift which the General Government may have to give, to raise up something which will not otherwise be supplied, and to meet a want felt in all the States. We confess to a deep fear that the money thus given to the States will be jobbed and wasted unless there be some self-acting check. The check that we propose is one often used in Europe—it is to require the States asking for a grant, to raise an equal sum. This will secure that the aid will be asked only where needed and that the distribution will be carefully looked after.

higher schools, and thus the young talent of the country would be turned to account, while the teachers in the common schools would be encouraged and elevated by the advancement of their pupils.

This for the Northern, Middle, and Western States. The plan might be modified for the Southern States, if they wish it. There is a want there, as every one knows, both of common schools and of high schools; and this both for the white and colored population. It is of no use denying this. Nor are we called to enter into the dispute as to whether the blame lies with the republican or democratic parties, with the whites or with the blacks. We proceed on the fact which will be acknowledged by all candid minds, that there is a lack of efficient schools over wide regions of the South. It is clear to us that unless steps are taken, and this immediately, to educate both classes, that the South cannot prosper, except in a few favorably situated cities, and that universal suffrage will turn out a universal evil, embittered by a war of races such as they have in Ireland, each race throwing the blame on the other. Now it has occurred to us that these unappropriated lands might be used so as to confer a great benefit on the South. In all kindness we propose that one-half the money allotted to Southern States should go, if the people wish it, to aid and encourage them in establishing common schools, and the other half reserved, as in the Northern States, for imparting a higher instruction to all who desire it.

We cannot close our Article without saying something about the highest educational institutions in the country—the colleges. We are prepared to testify from a pretty large acquaintance with both sides of the Atlantic, that to the great body of students the American colleges impart as high, and certainly as useful, an education as any European university: as Oxford or Cambridge; as Edinburgh and the Scottish colleges; as Dublin and the Queen's Colleges in Ireland; as Berlin and the great German universities, in all of which there are fully as many idle students, and fully as many graduating with a miserably defective scholarship, as in the American colleges. But it is quite as true that in the higher colleges of Europe they produce a select few, at most one-tenth of the whole, who have attained a riper scholarship, or a riper culture, or who leave college with a more fixed determination to do original work, literary or scientific. The grand question for the friends of American colleges to consider at present is, How may we retain all the excellences we have gained and add to them the special culture of the great European universities?

So far as we have noticed, the answer of the most enlightened educationalists in this country is: Elevate the standard of examination for entrance, raise the average age of entrants, and thus, it is said, you will secure a higher scholarship. But the question arises, Are we not in this way running the risk of losing some of the advantages of the American colleges, which have sent forth a greater number of well-educated young men, at a comparatively early age, into the professions and useful walks, than any other colleges except the Scotch? We do believe that in most of our colleges there should be a higher entrance examination. We maintain farther, and as more important, that the colleges should be made, by public opinion brought to bear upon them, to carry out their own professed standard. Surely there is pretension, in fact iniquity, involved in a college advertising a high standard in its catalogue in order to gain a character, and then paying no attention to it. Such a college should be made to feel that it is losing all character. But there is a limit to be set to this elevation of standard, especially in States in which there are few upper schools. We do not believe that it would be for the good of education so to raise the standard as to make it impossible or difficult to enter college till the candidate is eighteen or twenty years of age. For observe the necessary consequence: Young men would not be ready to begin even to learn their professions till they are twenty-two or twenty-four. Is this country ready to stand this? Is New York ready for it? Is Chicago ready for it? We believe such cities are ready to decide, and to proclaim aloud, "If such be your requirements we will not send our sons to you." Are parents, are pupils ready for it anywhere? Can young men afford to spend all this time before beginning even to learn the occupations by which they are to earn their sustenance? The average years of man's life upon earth are said to be between thirty and forty; is it right to spend twenty-two or twenty-four of these in preparation for learning, and then three or four years more in learning the business of life? Dr. Barnard thinks he has proven that the number of young men who go to our colleges, in proportion to the population, is diminishing. Is there not a risk of a greater diminution? But it is said that a boy is better at an academy till the age of eighteen or twenty than at a college. We dispute this. If our schools were what they should be, and were constrained so to be by public opinion, they might have a healthy young man ready for college by sixteen or seventeen; and one who has been all his previous life at a school, with its drill, needs about this time a change; and when he enters college, with its greater free-

dom, he has a new life imparted; and when he joins the junior class at the age of eighteen or nineteen, he has a still higher life evoked as he takes up the studies which require independent thought; and at the age of twenty or twenty-one, he is ready to set out to learn his profession ere his habits have become too stiff to master what is to be his occupation for life. We are sure that our merchants, our lawyers, our theological teachers, will tell you that they would rather have a pliable youth of twenty to instruct than a confirmed man of twenty-five, with his ways all settled.

How, then, it is asked, do you propose to gain the end you reckon so important? Observe what is the end: it is to have a few higher minds. We say a *few*, for we hold it to be impossible to make all students great scholars, great mathematicians, great metaphysicians. No college—certainly not Oxford, or Cambridge, or Berlin—has succeeded in this. Let us keep what we have got, and which is so good. Let us encourage the preparatory schools to send to our Freshman classes young men of the age of sixteen or seventeen. Let us give them there the four years wholesome instruction of the American colleges to make them all fair general scholars. In the Junior and in the Senior classes let us give them a choice of studies always along with obligatory studies. By this time the students themselves know, and their instructors know, who are fitted to be superior scholars. Let the ten per cent. or so, who have the taste and the talent go on to higher studies, to special studies—as no man in these times can be a universal scholar. Let him give himself for a time to philology, to philosophy, to social science, or original research in one or other of the various departments of physical science. Let encouragement be given to this by fellowships earned by competition, and held only by such as give evidence that they are devoting themselves to the special studies in which they stood the examination. We affirm confidently, that on such a system, you will in a few years add all the excellences of the European to those of the American colleges, and produce a select body of scholars fit to match the first wranglers of Cambridge, the double first of Oxford, or the doctors of philosophy and the doctors of science of the other European universities.

A host of important questions are here started, and press themselves on our attention, in regard to the teaching in our colleges. In the old method every student was required to go through the same course, in which were Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, from the first year to the last, and long before the end not a few felt that they were getting into depths in which they hopelessly sank among obscure

classical authors and perplexing analytical mathematics, and were tempted to resort to copying at the sessional examinations. New departments of learning put in their claims to a place in the college curriculum. The applicants turned out to be so numerous that they could not all be admitted without an exclusion of old studies. So there came to be a conflict for a time between the old and the new branches, and in some colleges the new were added while the old were retained, which laid a terrible pressure on the brain of the ardent student, and in the case of the great body ended in a superficial acquaintance with both the old and the new. The contest has ended in many colleges in a power of selection being allowed. We are prepared to defend this liberty as gratifying tastes which ought to be gratified, and securing scholarship in the branches for which the student has a taste. It is often a great relief to a student after he has gone through the discipline of the Freshman and Sophomore classes, to be allowed to go off the beaten tracks into paths chosen by himself. But this privilege should be kept within very stringent limits. First, students should not be allowed to make a choice till they are able to judge for themselves, which they cannot well be till they have mastered the fundamental branches of Greek, Latin, Mathematics and English, and this is beyond their power until the close of the Sophomore year. There is a tendency in some colleges, which wish to acquire a name for liberality, to allow the choice to be made too soon, and the student enters on a course of study, simply allured by the easy nature of the subject, or by a popular professor, or quite as commonly one who lets him off easily at the closing examination; and he has to regret his folly and blame his college all his life after, as he finds he has omitted solid to pursue showy studies. Then, secondly, certain fundamental branches should be required of all the students—all students, for example, ought to be obliged to study mental as well as physical science. It is only thus we can secure comprehensive knowledge and thorough mental discipline. In some colleges there is an intellectual dissipation allowed, the effects of which may not be seen at once, but which must exercise a fatal influence on the rising generation.

Another question has been started by the last report of the President of Harvard College, who inquires whether obligatory attendance upon "recitations, lectures, and religious exercises" might not be dispensed with in the case of at least the members of the Senior Class. Every one sees that if this is allowed to the Senior Class, it will soon be demanded by the Junior Class, and when granted to

them it must be allowed to the Sophomores, and in the end must become the rule of the college. This step is commended as being in accordance with the methods of the best European colleges. We are prepared to dispute this statement. In all the good colleges in Great Britain and Ireland the tendency of late years has been towards a weekly or even daily supervision of studies. In Germany, many of the most enlightened educators are ready to declare to Americans and to Britons that they feel the want of a power of exacting recitations to keep the younger students from idleness accompanied with beer-drinking and sword-duels. The question is: Is it right or expedient to allow students of sixteen or eighteen to go to college recitations or not as they choose? We may suppose that till they enter college they have been in a kind home or boarding-school, where they have been under salutary restraints. When first freed from these there is always a risk of their abusing their liberty. When they go into a lawyer's or a merchant's office the restraints are so far continued—they are required to be at their work certain hours each day. Should there not be like rules imposed on students as to their attendance at college exercises? Every body knows that many young men enter college without any appreciation of study; and the college should seek to give them a taste for learning, and this can best be done by requiring them to come into daily contact with kind and judicious instructors. It is only thus that temptations to idleness, not to say dissipation, can be counteracted in places where hundreds of young men of all sorts of dispositions and predilections are congregated. The attendance need not be *felt* to be compulsory any more than the attendance of a young man at a business office. It is a thing expected of him, and to which he willingly conforms, provided doubts are not put into his head by those "given to change." Our thinking students will rather rejoice that they are not left to circumstances and momentary impulses, but are required to attend to hours and periodically pressing duties. Of this we are sure, that wise and careful parents and guardians will be anxious to find colleges furnishing some security that their young men do not absent themselves for days, perhaps weeks, from college exercises, without any provision being made to check or even to notice it, or let parents know it. It is essentially a question for parents to settle. But the friends of education in general require to look to it. For another evil will inevitably follow. The instructors will content themselves, as they do in most institutions in which the attendance at recitations is not required, with giving lectures (many wish to be

troubled with nothing more), and will care little whether their pupils, with whom they have no intercommunion of thought, receive benefit or not. It is by a constant catechizing, after the manner of Socrates (and a greater than Socrates), that young men's powers are to be called into exercise, and knowledge implanted in their minds—as seeds are in the soil by ploughing and harrowing. At present it is not known whether the President of Harvard means to execute his plan. But it is not the less to be watched, lest some step be taken which cannot be retraced.

We have left ourselves too little space to discuss the most important, and yet the most difficult subject of all, the religion to be taught in the upper schools and colleges. Where the pupils live with parents or guardians there is no difficulty: those placed over them can see to their religious instruction; and the institution may secure that there be prayer for the Divine Blessing, and some catholic Bible teaching. But it is different where young men have been systematically separated from their guardians, and live by themselves, or in rooms in which there is no special care taken of them. In such institutions there is often a difficulty in knowing how to act. We here come to the subject which perplexes those who advocate state-endowed colleges. If religion is left out, there is an omission of the highest educating agency, and many parents will not send their boys, at the critical age, to places where their highest interest is neglected. If religion is made a mere sham, if an attempt is made to mix all colors, the result is a neutral hue, which has attractions to nobody, which has no influence for good, and may have an influence for evil by hypocritically professing to furnish what it has not to give. In all such cases the churches of Christ have a duty to discharge which they have not yet realized. They must do, what the Sunday-schools have done in regard to the elementary schools; they must supply the evident need, by securing in every college-town pastors fitted to give religious instruction to the students, and see that every youth comes up with a letter to one of the pastors. Without this, we shall have a body of ungodly young men issuing from our state-endowed colleges, more especially as in such colleges there is commonly a great prominence given to physical science by men inclined to materialism, and whose influence is not counteracted by any efficient or acceptable teaching in mental or moral science. If religious instruction be left out in such places, or what is more likely, given only in name, the consequences must be disastrous, and those who countenance these colleges must bear the responsibility.

Even in colleges which are denominational, there is a delicacy if not a difficulty in imparting religious lessons. On one point no difficulty occurs in colleges managed by evangelical bodies. It is understood that the instruction, while scriptural, should not be sectarian. Such is the independence, or if you will, the perverseness of youth, that denominational teaching, while it might gratify certain narrow spirits would rather have a tendency to turn away our finer minds from all religion. But there are scarcely any colleges in America, in which the teaching is in any proper sense sectarian. Still there is a difficulty in securing among a promiscuous body of young men, that religion have its proper place. We could easily give a recipe for making the great body of the brightest students in a college, doubters, infidels, or scoffers. It would not be by appointing skeptics as teachers—though this would of course have a bad influence—but it would be by bringing in a dull set of men as professors, chosen, not because of their learning, or their eminence in the departments they have to teach, but because they are orthodox ministers of religion, who may have failed as pastors, or are fit only to be popular preachers. Let these men in addition be narrow and censorious, let them be forever denouncing Pantheism, Materialism, Darwinism, and all sorts of heresies of which they know little, and we venture to predict that in a few years they will make the better half of the college doubters, or open skeptics. We know colleges both in the old world and the new, where zealous patrons have secured this end as effectively as if they had been in the pay of the enemy. Religion should be taught in our colleges by the ablest men in them, whose hearts as well as heads are in their work, who are full, not only of tolerance but of tenderness toward the difficulties of young men, and who draw them by argument, by truth and by love, instead of driving them away by threats and denunciations, which of all weapons are least likely to have any power with spirited and independent youths.

ARTICLE IV.

THE PRACTICAL WORK OF PAINTING.

PHILIP GILBERT HAMERTON.

THERE is no subject relating to art about which you will find less information in the writings of biographers and critics than the practical work of the artist. The biographer will be careful to tell you all he can about how his subject talked, or was silent, how he walked, ate, rode on horseback, kept house, entertained his friends, got married, quarreled or did not quarrel with his wife, visited princes and great people, saved money or spent it, and the rest; but if amongst all these details you try to find out how the painter painted, a matter, to say the least, quite as interesting when it concerns a man who became famous by painting as all those other matters which we have just enumerated, it is likely that you will have to seek for the information with great care, and find a scrap of it at last, if you find it at all, in some out of the way foot-note, or quoted letter. And of all the mass of writing about art, of an ambitiously critical kind, which during the last fifteen years has been brought out by different publishers, only an infinitesimally small portion relates to the practical art of painting, or to the practical work of any other fine art. Now it may seem rather a hard and dogmatic assertion, with which to begin a series of papers addressed to a cultivated public, yet it is nevertheless a most certain truth, one of the very few things about fine art which can be called certainties at all, that without a thorough knowledge of technical processes, art-criticism can never be reliable. The reason for this we hope to make evident without detaining the reader by long or wearisome arguments.

Human effort in every direction has fair claims to what may be called an intelligent indulgence, just as it ought to come up to an intelligent demand upon it. We ought not to ask from the workman more than the nature of his tools and materials will enable him to perform for us. And, on the other hand, we ought not to accord an exaggerated approval to qualities which the nature of the materials

or the instrument make almost matters of course to any skillful executant who chooses to employ them. To be truly just, a critic ought always to know, and never even temporarily to forget, the exact nature of the manual work that has been done, and the order of its processes. Armed with this knowledge, and kept by it continually on his guard against technical surprises, he will be always ready to acknowledge a serious accomplishment when he meets with it, and yet at the same time remain steadily insensible to the allurements of mere trickery. Nor is it the tendency of such knowledge as this, unless in its first beginnings, to make us think so much of the technical that we are likely to forget the intellectual or spiritual side of art. When the technical business is half understood it attracts attention; when it is thoroughly understood, we pass very easily beyond it to considerations of a higher kind. It is true that amongst professional artists technical considerations will always have great weight in deciding the admission of pictures into the public exhibitions; and a thorough workman will always feel himself on the side of thoroughness in work, and opposed to unskilled performance of all kinds, however elevated in spiritual conception or intellectual scheming. But there is little fear of general criticism becoming so technical as the criticism of artists; and if it understood workmanship better it would still be likely to estimate the knowledge of nature, and the gift of imagination, quite at their full value, and even to forgive some faults in workmanship for the sake of them.

The history of oil-painting, like the history of almost everything that has been invented and improved upon by human beings, exhibits first a condition of absolute faith in certain principles, and afterwards a looser hold of them, leading to a final state in which the primitive principles are either wholly abandoned, or else accepted with so many reserves that their authority may at any moment be set aside. Those principles of execution which were dearest to Van Eyck, which must have seemed to him most necessary to excellence of workmanship, are either entirely neglected in the best and strongest painting of the present day, or else obeyed capriciously and occasionally, without his faithful care. So it has been with the principles of Rubens, great as he was in art, and capable, as it might have seemed to a contemporary, of fixing its methods forever. Artists of the present day know what were the rules he gave to his pupils, and yet they set them aside deliberately, doing things which he never did, and even expressly condemned. Reynolds, again, has been looked up to for the last hundred years as a high authority,

eminent in theory, eminent in practice also, and Reynolds expressed some very decided opinions and gave an example in his own practice, both opinions and example being set aside by the present generation as if the experience of Reynolds could not in any way concern it. Of later authorities, who have claimed authority, it is enough to mention Ingres. He also had certain technical views, but they have not been generally adopted.

The modern practice of painting is in a state of simple anarchy. The experience of the past is all but useless to the present, not because it is inapplicable to our needs, but because our love of experiment, and our incurable restlessness, have carried us outside of it, into paths of our own choosing. Every warning that has come down to us from the lips of the illustrious dead has been disregarded, not from carelessness but from curiosity. In the dissatisfaction with what we are able to achieve, in the contempt for our own performance which most of it so richly deserves, we have sought rather to discover than to recover, to invent rather than to learn. It is believed that the true art of oil-painting is a lost art, and that the painters of the present day invent a great number of new methods, each of which may serve to express the talent of the individual artist who uses it, yet can never be perfect work. It was not mere restlessness however, nor indolence nor incapacity, which led the schools of contemporary Europe into so many untried and diverging paths. The greatest source of injury in our time to painting as a technical craft, has been our passionate interest in nature, which has led so many artists of the present day to attempt what had never been attempted by the most perfect workmen in past times. A generation which undertakes to paint glaciers and icebergs is sure to find itself confronted by problems that were never solved by any old Venetian. Neither Titian nor Giorgione ever attempted anything of the kind. And if you are puzzled about getting the light and color of a crimson sunset; it is not of the least use to go to Claude for any information on that point, for although he painted warm sunsets very successfully he avoided the crimson flames. Modern painters went to the old masters to see how they had conquered this or that province of natural truth or beauty, and found that they had not conquered but avoided them. The moderns were thus left face to face with nature, and were led to the invention of special methods for special purposes. Hence modern painting is far indeed from anything like the simplicity of purpose which was a characteristic of the elder schools; a few modern artists have been driven, by the force of

reaction, towards simplicity, but the modern schools generally, during the last forty years, have sought the most novel and various methods, that they might do what had never been done before. The custom of exhibiting pictures, and the taste of the public that frequent the exhibitions, have created a demand for certain special qualities in painting, and a corresponding depreciation of other qualities, so that every artist who wished to attract attention found himself compelled to follow the prevailing fashion.

"We now enjoy pictures," says Mr. W. B. Scott, "exactly in proportion to their excellent execution in texture and color, derived, not so much from Italian or Spanish practice as from Flemish; and any man (or school, as, for instance the great modern German school now passing away) who paints in the Roman manner, and values design and drawing before color and the technical charm of surface, is lost. The other day we met a Scottish friend of very remarkable ability and assured position, who had spent the winter in Rome—now that he could enjoy it, as he said,—and we found that he had not even entered the Sistine and Raphael's apartments in the Vatican. On inquiring the reason, he replied: 'I don't care for that kind of painting; it is of no use now-a-days: the best picture in Rome is the portrait of the Pope by Velasquez!' this was expressing exactly the prudential point of view; criticism was cut off."

It is the attempt to rival nature rather than remain satisfied with a confessed interpretation by inferior means, and the striving for texture and color, which have led modern painting into its present empirical condition. The future may call our own age, with much accuracy, the age of experiments.

Let us now consider what were the ideas and aims of John Van Eyck when he became a painter of pictures. Let us watch him at work in his room at Bruges, and see what were the qualities he tried for, and by what means he endeavored to compass their attainment. He had been a distinguished painter on glass, to begin with, and had by that means put pictures into windows before he put them on opaque panels. He was, therefore, particularly familiar with the effect of translucence upon colors, and the comparative opacity of the new art must have appeared to him, in some measure, a defect in it, for at that time no man living knew the value of opacity in pigments. This being the state of his mind—and we know quite positively from his work, and from the work of his successors, that it must have been so—Van Eyck tried his best to give his oil-painting (or rather his varnish painting, for like many artists of the present day he mixed his colors with varnish), as much of the quality of translucence as might be compatible with its nature. A picture painted on an oak

panel cannot have this quality to the same degree as one painted on a pane of glass, because oak is not transparent as glass is, and therefore no light can come from behind the panel as light comes from behind the glass. Yet notwithstanding this defect a moderate translucence may be reached, for light may come if not through the panel at least through the film of paint which the artist has laid upon the panel. The white ground upon which the picture is painted continually gives off light; not as a lamp does, not as the sun does, but quite accurately and exactly as the moon does. The page of this Review which you hold in your hand, supposing you to be reading by daylight, gives off light enough to illumine (dimly) a whole room, merely by its reflection of solar rays; and if, on a very dark night, you could carry this page about with you exactly such as it is in full sunshine, it would be a serviceable lantern, doing, in fact, the duty of a moon in miniature. This may be illustrated by reference to another art. If you print a proof of an etching on Japanese paper, and simply lay the proof down on an oak or mahogany table, it will look very dull, and however good the etching might be, an uninitiated person would be disappointed with it, and think it was a failure; but so soon as you lay the proof on a white mounting-board it instantly becomes luminous, because the light from the white board behind it shines through the semi-transparent Japanese paper, and this is one of the principal reasons why artists like such proofs. Now, to pursue this illustration a little farther with reference to the art of John Van Eyck, we may observe that, first with reference to glass-painting, the Japanese paper answers to the glass-window, the printing-ink to the drawing and painting upon the window, and the white board behind the Japanese paper exactly fulfils the function of the daylight outside the church walls, which shines through the painted window and makes it luminous; and although Van Eyck could not get, in his new varnish painting, the brilliant translucence of a glass window, he could equal and even far surpass that of a Japanese proof on a white mount. To achieve this all that was necessary was to paint on a brilliantly white ground, and avail himself of the transparency, or semi-transparency, of his pigments, always taking care to let the light shine through them in the exact proportion fixed by the degree of translucence he was aiming at. His idea of light in a picture was that it should come from *behind* the colors and not directly from their surface, and his execution was founded entirely upon this idea, as the reader will now perceive in following the details of his process.

Although Van Eyck was really a great artist, it is natural that in the utter isolation he worked in, and in the total, or nearly total, absence of previous experience, he should have had the most primitive notions about execution. One of the most marked characteristics of primitive ideas in such matters is a nervous apprehension of losing the thread of one's discourse, and a want of reliance on the power of recovering it if lost. The primitive artist is always very careful about his outline, and anxious to preserve it, not feeling sure of getting the form right again without its guidance. The primitive idea of painting is to make a drawing and color it; a very carefully and beautifully colored drawing being, at first, the utmost ambition of the artist. It was inevitable that Van Eyck should begin with this conception of the art, and therefore we find that on the white ground of his panel, made exquisitely smooth before he began to work upon it, he drew his subject first in the most accurate outline, and did not alter any form afterwards. It is necessary especially to remember that the ground was white, and that it was not absorbent, this being quite positively ascertained. Absorbent grounds have been sometimes employed by later artists, but Van Eyck preferred that the pigments should simply adhere to the surface of his white panel without sinking into it and staining it.

The white ground in Van Eyck's system of painting being regarded as the source of light, it was necessary, in order that it might continue to give light, that it should not be too much blocked up by the subsequent coloring. The reader is, no doubt, acquainted with those transparencies in biscuit-ware that are manufactured, we believe, principally in Germany, and produce the effect, when hung in a window, of a drawing in chiaroscuro. This effect is caused entirely by differences of thickness in the plate, which is so moulded as to be excessively thin in the highest lights and very thick in the extreme darks. The same principle was observed to some extent by the earliest Flemish painters in their oil-pictures. They painted their lights very thinly, so that the light from the white ground might tell, but they were not so anxious to paint their shadows thinly, because it was not so necessary that these should be luminous. The system of water-color painting that Turner approved (he disapproved the practice of the present day) was also based upon this principle. The paper is faintly stained in the lights, so faintly that in Turner's most perfect water-colors it looks as if some spirit had breathed upon it with tinted breath, immaterial as a perfume; but in the darks he did not fear to use color with more body and opacity.

It was this anxious care to avail themselves of the luminousness of their white grounds that made the early Flemish artists so particular about the preservation of their outlines, and so exact in the settlement of all that was to be done before the commencement of the actual work of painting. They made sketches and studies, and cartoons, so as to determine the position of every detail, and the painting of the picture was nothing more than the clean and orderly setting forth of what already existed, like a manuscript beautifully transcribed from a rough draft.

The reader will pardon us from dwelling upon these characteristics of early Flemish art. We do so because in the maturity of that school its processes were an exact reversal of the practice just described, and unless we clearly understood the early methods it would be impossible for us to perceive in what consisted the marks of greater maturity in Rubens. We may add, farther, in this place, the observation that the most accomplished modern work is as far from these primitive processes as two arts, or two varieties of one art, possibly can be when they use precisely the same materials; and that the object of what we are now writing is to follow the gradual changes of method which have led from the painting of Van Eyck to that of Decamps. The technical conception of the art of painting has undergone a complete revolution, or to speak quite accurately, three distinct revolutions with many minor experiments and changes.

It is easy to remember that the first conception of oil-painting was that of *light coming through the colors*, and that *the white ground of the picture was regarded as the source of light*. The reader will also have little difficulty in remembering that the early Flemish artists, with this object in view, fixed the position of everything by a careful drawing at first, that they might avoid repainting, which would have obscured the internal light, and also (this is the most important point) that the lightest parts of the picture were very thinly painted. All this will be recalled at once if we fix the early period in the memory as *the time when lights were thinly painted*.

When the outlines had been carefully drawn everywhere, the early painters often, but not invariably, added a general priming, that is a coat of thin color warm and transparent, sometimes pale flesh-color, sometimes brown or gray, the object of which was simply to bear out the middle tints afterwards. This did not block up the white ground, which remained visible and luminous through it. When the light priming was quite dry the shadows were inserted first, and these were always painted in transparent colors, mixed

with a somewhat thick oleo-resinous vehicle.* For the first painting of the shadows, brown alone appears to have been used, so that the work at this stage was a careful study in chiaroscuro but nothing more, a proof of the extreme caution with which the early artists proceeded. Late artists drew upon their oil priming, and did not begin with Van Eyck's elaborate outlines on the white ground. Sir Charles Eastlake believed that a thinner vehicle (oil or varnish) was used for the lights than for the shadows since the lights are always the less prominent of the two. He tells us also that portions were finished at a time, the ground being left untouched elsewhere, and this suggests the observation that the early practice was based entirely upon the principle of analysis. Drawing was done separately from shading, and shading from color, while the parts of the work were finished separately. This is working on the *divide et impera* principle, which in the fine arts implies at the same time prudence and inexperience. It undoubtedly clears the way to success, removing the obstacles one by one, but it is success of a certain peculiar and limited kind. A man of genius, working always upon that principle, might ultimately paint like John Van Eyck, but he would never paint like Delacroix, or Constable, or Turner.

If we now proceed to inquire why later artists have not remained faithful to the practice of the Van Eycks, we find the answer to be, that they were not so anxious to *preserve* certain qualities because they perceived that it was possible to *recover* them at a later stage of the work, and that recovery did not demand so much care and anxiety as preservation. Thus instead of the original white ground, which, in more senses than one, was the basis of early Flemish painting, the later painters had their cloths prepared with a "dusky priming," as Eastlake calls it, and he tells us that in De Mayerne's time there was an "Imprimem Wallon" residing in London who prepared canvases for painters with a tint composed of white lead, black, red ochre, and a little umber. The Dutch masters often used a ground of this kind. Rubens, however, kept to the white ground, and so did Teniers.

But the practice of Rubens showed an increasing confidence in the power of recovery. Although he did not employ a dusky priming, he relied on the white ground as little for his lights as if it had been red or brown. The technical distinction between the art of Van

* These are Sir Charles Eastlake's own words. For what relates to Flemish methods I am of course indebted to his precious volume of "Materials." It is greatly to be regretted that he did not carry the work down to the practice of contemporary English artists.

Eyck and that of Rubens is easy to determine, and may be expressed in a single sentence. We have asked the reader to remember early Flemish art as that of *the time when lights were thinly painted*, the reason being that the early artists thought always of the ground as the source of light. And now let us ask him to fix this one great technical characteristic of Rubens and his followers, that *their lights were thickly painted*, and that they looked no longer to the ground as the source of light. It is also necessary to bear in mind, but this with reference to an examination of other schools which is yet to come, that the lights in the work of Rubens are thickly painted, especially by contrast with the shadows, which were painted very thinly indeed. This consideration is of consequence, for if both lights and shadows had been painted thickly, if there had been, say, an inch thick of solid pigment on both of them, then the lights would never have appeared loaded, any more than they do in some smooth marble mosaic. Rubens considered that the lights stood in no need of transparence, that opacity was not a defect in them, and that they had a better effect when light appeared to fall *upon* them and meet substantial resistance, than when it appeared to come through them as in a painted window. In these views Rubens was unquestionably right, and his theory has been confirmed by all subsequent experience. Van Eyck had sought transparence in the lights and in the shadows, and in the lights even more than in the shadows. Rubens sought solidity in the lights and the utmost possible transparence in the shadows. It is easy, therefore, to determine how far his practice was founded on that of the early masters, and how far independent of it. There remained in his work enough of the old practice to make it still necessary for him to determine his drawing before he began to paint, for as he kept his shadows transparent he could not, according to his theory (he was a theorist in art, and an absolute one), obliterate a shadow by covering it with opaque color in order to prepare it for repainting. So far then, in the necessity for predetermining every form, he was a painter of the old school; but his practice with regard to the lights permitted a degree of power and liberty far superior to the timid reserve of the early masters.

"Begin by painting your shadows thinly," he used to say to his pupils; "be careful not to let white insinuate itself into them; it is the poison of a picture, except in the lights: if white be once allowed to dull the perfect transparency and golden warmth of your shadows, your coloring will no longer be glowing, but heavy and gray. The case is different in regard to the lights; in them the colors may be

loaded as much as may be thought requisite. They have substance : it is necessary, however, to keep them pure. This is effected by laying each tint in its place, and the various tints next to each other, so that, by a slight blending with the brush, they may be softened by passing one into the other without stirring them much. Afterwards you may return to this preparation, and give to it those decided touches which are always the distinctive marks of great masters."

The opportunity for these decided touches is given by the use of opaque color in sufficient quantity to permit what is called loading. When oil painting is bound down to a very thin application of pigment, these decided touches are scarcely possible, and if the canvas were large they would not be possible at all.

Descamp says that in the work of Rubens everything at first had the appearance of a glaze only, and that there was hardly any substance in his shadows. His enemies used to say that his pictures would not last, because they were not painted with sufficient solidity, being nothing more than a tinted varnish, "calculated to last no longer than the painter." We know how wrong these detractors were in their estimate of the durability of that kind of painting, but the simple fact that they made it the pretext of sinister predictions is enough to prove that the work of Rubens was thin enough to attract some attention to its thinness.

The strong objection felt by Rubens against white in shadows is of great importance as a piece of technical evidence. It shows that although he had emancipated himself from the old Flemish tradition, with regard to the lights, he still believed it to be necessary to keep the shadows transparent from the first. It can be easily demonstrated that there was a fallacy in this great artist's reasoning about white in shadows. He used white grounds, therefore there was white, the white of the ground, under every shadow that he painted. It may be presumed that he did not consider the white of the ground a poison beneath his shadows, since if he had thought it injurious he would have taken the precaution to paint upon dark grounds. We may even argue that Rubens used white grounds exclusively for their effect in shadows; that is, to keep the shadows transparent by shining through the thin coloring he used in them, and not at all for lights, as the earlier painters did, since an artist who loads his lights will naturally be indifferent to the color of the ground beneath them. The reader now perceives the fallacious nature of the prejudice against white, there being no difference between using a white ground in shadow, and painting it with white at a subsequent stage of the process, if only such painting be covered by a transparent glaze. We

shall see later in these studies that artists not less eminent than Rubens have admitted white very freely into their shadows, and did not consider it poisonous at all, only taking the precaution to combat its objectionable opacity by subsequent glazes, more or less rich and deep, by which they obtained any degree of transparence that they needed. Rubens objected to black also, probably because the grays, produced by a mixture of white and black, are in oil-painting chilly and disagreeable to the eye. His objection to white would no doubt include such a color as Naples yellow, which has nearly all the qualities of white. The experience of other artists has proved, however, that not only white, but also black and other colors, which would be objectionable if left to themselves, may be so modified by subsequent glazings, as to be employed in shadows even by the finest colorists.

Like all eminently successful artists, Rubens had great confidence in his own methods, and it is related that when the younger Teniers, who had painted on the same principles, began to paint his shadows more thickly in deference to the opinion of people who fancied it necessary to their durability, and found the quality of his work deteriorated by his change of his system, Rubens urged him to return to his former manner. It is evident from this, as well as from the practice of Rubens himself, and his observations to his scholars, that in his opinion there was great safety in the three rules which were the basis of his method: 1. Keep the shadows thin. 2. Exclude opaque colors from the shadows. 3. Use opaque colors thickly in the lights.

Eastlake observes that Rubens could not, and did not, dispense with white in light reflections, and I may add to this that his rule was more applicable to the painting of figures, which are generally seen near, and to other foreground objects, than to effects of distance, such as landscape-painters have to deal with. Whenever much atmosphere intervenes, although air is in the ordinary sense very transparent, still, in the artistic sense, a certain degree of opacity exists. I am led here, almost inevitably, to make one of those statements which offend and irritate the uninformed, and yet every educated artist will recognize the truth of it at once. A piece of solid slate or granite in the foreground has more of the quality, in shadow, that painters call transparence, than water has in the distance, and you may represent the shaded parts of slate or granite with considerable force and accuracy by means of transparent colors only; whereas you will need the opacity of white to give truth to your distant sea; and

so with your mountain shadows ; without a certain degree of opacity they would lack distance, and the more they are remote and pale the more do you need white in them, or some light pigment having the body and opacity of white.

The technical method of Rubens was directed to the attainment of one quality in its perfection—vivacity—and he acquired it by the decided, undisturbed, systematic application of opaque color in his lights, and by resisting the temptation to torment his tints when they had been once laid. He was especially careful not to mix his colors laterally beyond the lightest and most temperate blending, and he left all those touches decisively which he called “the distinctive marks of great masters.” Rembrandt, who also aimed at vivacity of manner, especially in some of his works, had his own way of attaining it, which differed slightly from that of Rubens. His especial care was “not to mix the superadded pigment with what was underneath it, except in final operations, when, to conceal the art, the brush was allowed here and there to plough deeply.*” Mansaert says that Rembrandt rarely blended his colors, laying one on the other without mixing them. But the best evidence of Rembrandt’s care about vivacity as a quality to be consciously plotted for (as Keats would have said) is the expressed opinion of Hoogstraten, a pupil of Rembrandt, who was saturated with his teaching.

“It is above all desirable,” says Hoogstraten, “that you should accustom yourself to a lively mode of handling, so as to smartly express the different planes or surfaces (of the object represented), giving the drawing due emphasis, and the coloring, when it admits of it, a playful freedom, without ever proceeding to polishing or blending, for this annihilates feeling, supplying nothing in its stead but a sleepy constraint, through which the legitimate breaking of the colors is sacrificed. It is better to aim at softness with a well-nourished brush, and, as Jordaens used to express it, ‘gaily lay on the colors,’ caring little for the even surface produced by blending ; for, paint as thickly as you please, smoothness will, by subsequent operations, creep in of itself.”

Rembrandt used varnish in painting, and so did Rubens. This was ascertained by Mérimée and Reynolds, and the probability of it, considering the descent of these masters from the early Flemish painters, is quite strong enough to lead conjecture in that direction ; the evidence, however, is positive. This is interesting, because there are many artists who reject varnish, using linseed oil only, and consider themselves peculiarly virtuous for this rejection, like people who deny themselves some vicious or semi-vicious indulgence. The

* Sir Charles Eastlake’s “Materials,” p. 502.

simple truth is that although varnish-painting is never spoken of under that title, but is always called oil-painting, like that which is really done in oil, and in oil only, these two branches of art are quite as distinct as some other branches which have been kept well separated in the public mind. I have not space in the present essay to go properly into the important subject of what artists call "vehicles" and "mediums," but it is necessary to note in passing, before leaving the Flemish school, that such an apparently simple matter as the admission of varnish during the actual work of painting, as a medium to mix colors with, is quite sufficient to change the whole manner of a school. No one paints in varnish exactly as he would paint in oil; the vehicle invites him to certain dexterities which are possible and agreeable in it, but totally impossible in oil, whilst, on the other hand, simple oil painting conducts to qualities belonging to itself, and which an artist would scarcely try for in thickly-drying varnish. We may observe that an artist who works much in transparent color, as all the Flemish masters did, would naturally take to the use of varnish if once he had made the experiment, and the experiment was in fact made quite at the beginning by Van Eyck. On the other hand, a painter who worked in opaque color chiefly, and tried for its peculiar qualities, would be much more likely to thin his paste* with oil, and when oil was not fluid enough for his purpose, with turpentine, or some very fluid oil, such as that of lavender. Varnish, or a thick medium in which varnish is the most important ingredient, is useful in glazing, not so much for the glossiness of its surface (the word glazing is not used by artists because it shines like glass but because it has the transparence of glass), as for its property of keeping its place well, in other words, of not running down the canvas, or running disagreeably into the minute channels made by the bristles of a strong brush in solid color, that has to be glazed afterwards. You can glaze, in varnish, with a mixture in which there is a great deal of vehicle and very little color, and your glaze will stand where you want it as long as the canvas lasts, but you cannot, in oil, apply a glaze which is at the same time thick in substance and charged with a very small quantity of pigment. There are *ridges* of transparent color in the works of painters who use varnish, which you can never find in the works of men who confined themselves exclusively to oil. The use of varnish has other consequences that affect

* I use the English word instead of the French *pâte* or the Italian *impasto*. A paste in oil painting means an opaque color, mixed with only just so much oil as is absolutely necessary to make it applicable with the brush.

the practice of an artist. It dries rapidly, and in quite a peculiar way, leaving, when half-dry, an adhesive surface which strongly *invites* the painter to a peculiar treatment in subsequent work upon it, and just as strongly forbids him to do what he would have been likely to do had his vehicle been oil alone. You cannot rub or scrape such a varnish-surface without spoiling it, but it will catch the lightest touching with the brush in the most effective and brilliant way if you are clever enough to do it quite decidedly. Varnish, therefore, (and every medium in which it is an ingredient) continually operates upon the mind of the artist who uses it in certain fixed directions. It is likely to encourage him in the use of transparent color, and to lead him towards a decisive touch at the conclusion of the work. It is quite as *legitimate* a vehicle as oil, but is nearly as different in its consequences as oil is from water. This is not the place to go quite thoroughly into the relation between varnish-painting and oil-painting, because I shall have to do so later in speaking of the experiments and controversies of the English, but the reader will do well, for the present, to take note of the fact that the Flemish school owed some of its most important characteristics to the use of varnish. A peculiar recommendation of that vehicle is its utility in sketching, and we know that Rubens made rapid synthetic color sketches of his subjects before painting them on a large scale. He drew his figures with black lead, then applied an oleo-resinous priming, after which he retraced the outline with a hair pencil and color mixed with varnish. It is these retracings of the outline which convinced Mérimée that there was varnish in the vehicle Rubens used, for without it the lines would not have remained as they have done, in ridges, while at the same time, "their continuity proves that the pencil flowed freely on the surface of the panel." Sir Charles Eastlake confirms this, saying that Mérimée is quite correct in concluding that the appearance in question indicates the presence of a resin, for the brown outlines, if drawn with oil alone would not have remained sharp. Any one who likes to try the experiment will at once perceive that it is impossible, in oil, to draw lines on a vertical surface so that they shall not run, if the color is thin enough to flow freely from the brush and there is enough of it to produce a ridge.

Here for the present, we suspend these inquiries, merely observing that the pleasure of looking at pictures is always greatly enhanced when we are able to follow the processes, often so simple in themselves, by which great artists have obtained effects so wonderful.

And I would earnestly entreat every reader of mine who cares about art as an intellectual study, whether he labors in it practically or not, never to rest satisfied until he knows both what the great men aimed at, and what means they took to accomplish their high purposes. Nothing in the study of the human mind can be more fascinating to any one who understands what great work is, and the incomparable marvellousness of it, than the pleasure of watching (as he who knows their processes easily may do by the help of the imagination) such magicians as Rubens and Rembrandt actually using those materials which were to become the lasting expression of their magnificent intellects, and the guarded treasure of humanity.

ARTICLE V.

OUR NATIONAL CURRENCY.

AMASA WALKER, LL.D.

THE present monetary system of the United States is unique, differing widely not only from that which preceded it, but it is believed from any that has ever been adopted in any other part of the world.

It is complex, consisting of several different issues of very diverse character.

Formed during a state of war and under peculiar and most trying circumstances, it can be fully understood only by referring to the history and condition of the currency existing prior to the year 1863. Up to that time, each state incorporated as many banks as it saw fit, and under such regulations as it pleased to impose.

Altogether there were on the first of January, 1861, sixteen hundred and one banks, organized under the laws of thirty-eight state and territorial governments; and although there was a general similarity in the character of these institutions, there was yet, much diversity in the legal provisions under which they acted, and in the quality of the currency which they issued. They were, however, without exception, *mixed currency* banks; that is, they issued notes for circulation, in excess of the specie held for redemption. Taking the banks of the United States on the whole, their currency usually consisted of four parts mere credits, and one part specie; one dollar only in five being held in coin for the redemption of their issues.

The states generally allowed banks to issue notes without reference to the amount of specie in their vaults. The only exceptions were the States of Louisiana, which required a reserve of thirty-three per cent. upon circulation and deposits; and Massachusetts, which, after 1858, required a reserve of fifteen per cent. No other case is recollected where any definite proportion between specie and immediate liabilities was established by law.

As a result of this want of legal restraint, the proportion of specie

held by the different banks, varied greatly in the different states, and in different banks within the same state.

The proportion of specie to circulation and deposits in 1860 was,

In Louisiana	. . . . .	38.6 per cent.
" Indiana	. . . . .	22.2 "
" New York	. . . . .	15.6 "
" Connecticut	. . . . .	7.5 "
" Vermont	. . . . .	4.2 "
" Illinois	. . . . .	2.3 "

the average throughout the United States was 19.1 per cent.

It was with a currency having a basis so very inadequate, that the country was obliged to enter upon its great struggle for national existence ; and it is not therefore, surprising, that within six months from the attack upon Fort Sumter, both the banks and government declared their inability to maintain specie payments.

And here it may be remarked that there was nothing peculiar in the position of the banks at the commencement of the civil war. The general production was large in 1860, the balance of trade favorable, and money plenty. The effects of the great revulsion of 1857 had passed away, and the finances of the country were in as safe a condition as they ever can be under a mixed currency.

The political disturbances, which arose in the Southern States when it was known that Mr. Lincoln was elected President, gave such a shock to the credit of the banks that they generally suspended. The greater part, however, resumed after a few months, so that the returns for January 1, 1862, showed 1492 of these institutions in existence against 1661 on 1st of January, 1861.

Such was the character and condition of the currency when, on the assembling of Congress in December, 1862, Mr. Chase, then Secretary of the Treasury, brought forward, for the second time, his project for establishing a new system of banks under the authority of the General Government.

The necessities of the National Treasury were so pressing that Congress, soon after the commencement of hostilities, had authorized the issue of 50 million dollars of Treasury notes, adapted to circulation, and the amount had already been increased to 350 millions.

The circulation of the banks on the 1st of January, 1863, according to the Financial Report of that year, was 238 millions, making, with the Treasury notes, nearly 600 millions of currency. As a natural consequence of such enormous expansion, the gold premium,

which began to rise when the banks and government suspended specie payments on the 31st of December, 1861, had advanced to 75 per cent. in February, 1863, and the national credit was rapidly declining.

It was at this inauspicious moment, the darkest period of the war, when disaster had attended the loyal forces everywhere, when the hospitals at Washington were filled with the wounded and the dying, and the Federal troops, unpaid for several months, were lying under shelter tents in the depth of winter, that Mr. Chase brought forward his plan for a National Banking System.

THE NATIONAL BANK LAW.

Its chief features were the following:

First—It contemplated the formation of banks to have an aggregate circulation of \$300,000,000. This, by subsequent enactment, was extended to \$354,000,000.

Second—Each association was to have the liberty of investing so much of its capital as it pleased in national bonds, and by depositing the same with the Treasurer of the United States as security for redemption, might receive circulating notes, prepared by and at the expense of the government for "ninety per cent. of their current value, but not exceeding their par values."

These notes were to be of different denominations, from one to one thousand dollars, but only a sixth part of less than five dollars, the government guaranteeing their redemption in case of the failure of the bank.

Third—The notes issued were to be receivable at par in all parts of the United States for taxes, excise, public lands, and all other government dues, except duties on imports; and also for all salaries and other debts owing by the United States, except interest upon the public debt.

Fourth—A limited reserve was to be held by each bank to insure the redemption of its notes in "lawful money," by which term was meant the Treasury notes (greenbacks) or specie; and each association might select a bank in one of sixteen cities named in the act, at which it must redeem its circulation when presented for that purpose.

And *last*—It was provided that "Congress may at any time amend, alter, or repeal this act."

Of the wisdom or propriety of creating a National Banking System of the kind described, under such circumstances as existed

when the measure was adopted, it is not our intention to speak; but it may be pertinent to state the following facts:

(a) That the country then had the \$350,000,000 of greenbacks already issued, a currency generally acceptable to the people.

(b) That this currency might have been extended at the pleasure of the government just as far as the public interests seemed to require.

(c) That upon all of this circulation the nation would make a clear gain of six per cent. per annum as compared with the plan of allowing currency to be issued by banks for their own profit.

(d) That Congress had the unquestionable right, as it had the power, to forbid all other issues of "bills of credit" but its own, and that the necessities of the nation were such that it needed all the assistance that could be afforded by the most extended use of its own credit, as currency or otherwise.

(e) That since the state banks had already invested the larger part of their capital in United States bonds, there was no occasion (as some persons intimated) to make concessions to them to secure their loyalty.

(f) That the creation of such banking institutions, with power to issue 300 millions of credit notes in competition with the national treasury, largely expanded an already too abundant currency, and greatly raised the price of the commodities and services which the government was obliged to purchase in immense quantities for its prosecution of the war, thereby largely increasing the current national expenditures and the final indebtedness of the country.

Such were the general facts in regard to the condition of monetary affairs, when the new system was introduced. It was unfortunate that the law by which it was inaugurated, was enacted at a moment when the attention of the government was so much engrossed by passing events, that no time was allowed for that calm deliberation and discussion in Congress which the importance of the Act demanded. All was then confusion and alarm, so that even in the House of Representatives, a measure involving such numerous and intricate details, was carried without debate, the previous question being called for almost as soon as the bill was introduced.

The Act was passed February 3d 1863, but the state banks then existing hesitated to accept national charters, fearing the consequences of being brought under congressional legislation; so that in October of that year only 66 banks had availed themselves of the privilege. In one year from that date the number had been increased to 508.

In March 1865, an Act was passed imposing a tax of ten per cent. upon the circulation of all state banks. This compelled them to give up their issues, or come under the laws of Congress. They chose the latter alternative, and the number of national banks by the last part of 1865 had increased to 1513, and has since been enlarged to 1976, not including some fifty that have gone into liquidation.

That the National Banking System has been an eminent success, if large and constant profits be taken as the criterion, appears from statistics in the last Report of the Comptroller of the Currency. The average semi-annual dividends upon capital from 1869 to 1873, inclusive, have been 5.11 per cent. or 10.22 per cent. per annum. The banks have accumulated a "surplus," since their organization, of \$120,314,499; and their undivided profits amount to \$54,515,135 making in all, \$174,829,630 yet to be divided upon their original capital—equal to 35.6 per cent.; and this after paying all taxes and other expenses. Probably few, if any of the departments of trade or manufactures could show as favorable results. Indeed, up to the month of September last, the career of these banks was, in general, not only prosperous, but to the mass of the trading community, quite satisfactory. There were not wanting, however, those who regarded the situation as in the highest degree perilous. They had observed the extreme pressure in the fall of 1871, when Mr. Boutwell granted an additional issue of five millions in greenbacks as a temporary relief. They had seen a still more severe stringency in the fall of 1872; and hence, were prepared to expect a dangerous crisis in 1873. The crisis came as an inevitable consequence of the immense expansion of credits, and the almost unlimited conversion of circulating into fixed capital, especially through the speculative building of railroads.

The government had in notes and fractional, a credit circulation of nearly 400 millions; and the banks a currency circulation and deposits, of nearly 1000 millions, no small part of which had been loaned in various forms to corporations engaged in promoting objects other than those connected with the trade and industry of the country.

The unexpected failure of one of the most extensive banking-houses in the country, gave a severe shock to *credit*; the currency being so greatly composed of that element, the explosion was instantaneous, and the effects in the highest degree disastrous. Every branch of trade and industry was at once paralyzed, commerce and

manufactures for the moment almost destroyed, thousands of workmen in all sections of the country thrown out of employment, and the laboring classes generally exposed to much distress and suffering.

To the great body of the people the general suspension was a matter of surprise, and, as the banks refused to pay their deposits in greenbacks, or even in their own notes, both were hoarded as fast as possible. Nothing could be more natural than such a result, if we consider that the payment of deposits is not guaranteed by the government, while that of the circulating notes is. There being therefore, no security for the depositor, he draws out his funds in bank notes, or greenbacks if he can, and retains what he has in possession. Under such circumstances, therefore, deposits form even a more explosive element than under a mixed currency.

Many persons, especially those in mercantile business, had come to regard the present the most reliable currency ever known, and to imagine from the experience of seven or eight years, that there could be no panic under such a monetary system; and therefore that its continuance and extension were quite desirable. The events of the past few months have probably dissipated that illusion.

It is now seen, and felt too, that a panic of the severest character is not only possible under the Currency System of the United States, but likely to take place whenever credits are widely expanded, and any untoward event gives a shock to public confidence.

It has also been observed that while mixed currency banks, when obliged to suspend specie payments, at once enlarged their discounts, and made money plenty, under the present system in a similar catastrophe the circulating medium rapidly disappears, to the great disadvantage of trade and business. Moreover, it has been shown that the rates of interest have been far more onerous under the present than any previously existing currency, notwithstanding that the paper circulation has been far greater than ever before known.

These facts, now patent to all, have greatly changed the opinions of those, who, prior to the late panic, had come to the conclusion that an irredeemable currency was favorable to the trading classes, however adversely it might affect other interests.

But the evils resulting from our National Banking System, although they could not have been entirely prevented, have been greatly intensified by the imperfection of the Act under which it was established. This we shall now endeavor to show.

The most important omission in the Act establishing the National Banks, was that it made no provision for a Central Clearing House,

or office of redemption, where the notes of all the banks might be redeemed when presented. This was noticed when the bill constituting the banks was under consideration; so that the omission was not accidental. The necessity of establishing a Central Bank of Redemption, or General Clearing House, has since been often urged, officially, and otherwise.

The Comptroller, in his Report of 1867, said :

“It is important to establish, as early as practicable, a system of Redemptions which shall be comprehensive and thorough. The circulating notes of the National Banks are well secured by a pledge of United States bonds. Their ultimate redemption is established beyond question. It only remains to make them convertible. This can only be done by making them redeemable at a common centre.”

Until that is done, the banks cannot be controlled, whoever may be called Comptroller. With such an institution the public would have a protection not now enjoyed. Nothing but the indifference of Congress prevents the establishment of such a central office. What causes this indifference, and consequent neglect, it is not difficult to conjecture—the banks as a body do not desire it, although the best managed banks do.

A second palpable error in the legislation of Congress in regard to these banks, was in not requiring a more adequate reserve as the basis of their operations. The Act of 1864 provides that “every association in the sixteen redemption cities specified, shall have on hand in lawful money” (that is in greenbacks or specie) “at least twenty-five per cent. of the aggregate amount of its circulation and deposit, and all other banks a reserve of fifteen per cent.”

But in the case of banks in the redemption cities, to wit, St. Louis, Louisville, Detroit, Milwaukee, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston, Albany, New York, San Francisco, and Washington City, it was provided that they might hold one-half of this lawful money reserve in cash deposits; that is, in bank balances in the city of New York; while all other banks were permitted to keep nine of their fifteen per cent. reserve in these same balances: so that practically the former were required to hold but twelve-and-a-half per cent. in lawful money, and the latter but six.

Under the operation of this law, we have by the Report of the Comptroller of the Currency, September 12, 1873, the following results:

The immediate liabilities of the 1,976 National Banks now are, for

Circulation	\$339,081,799
Deposits of all kinds	638,612,451
Total	<u>\$977,694,250</u>

They held at the same time

Legal Tenders	\$92,347,663
Specie	19,868,469
United States Certificates of Deposit	20,610,000
Total	<u>\$132,826,132</u>

Equal to 13.6 per cent. upon immediate liabilities.

Such was the actual strength of the entire system of National Banks one week prior to their general suspension.

Besides this amount of reliable reserve, the banks, taken together, held the following: (See page 66 Compt's. Rep't.)

Due from redeeming agents, that is, bank balances	\$93,584,000
Clearing-house Certificates	175,000
	<u>\$93,759,000</u>

Equal to 9.7 per cent., and making the total reserve 13.6 plus 9.7 = 23.3 per cent.

Such were the facts in regard to the currency as a whole; but its most dangerous element was found in the relation of the redemption to the non-redemption banks. The latter had of

Immediate liabilities	\$532,971,917
Specie, Legal Tenders and United States Certificates	<u>46,601,414</u>

Equal to 8.7 per cent.

These figures show strikingly the dependence of the 1,747 banks upon their redemption agents, the city banks, in case of any severe pressure for funds, since for 91.3 per cent. of all they owed, they must, so far as their own resources were concerned, rely upon their deposits in the redemption cities. In how far could these redeeming agents, or banks, be relied upon to respond to the calls of the other 1,747 banks?

Recurring to the Comptroller's Report, we find the whole amount of their

Liabilities to be protected	\$474,721,060
Specie, Legal Tenders, Clearing House Certificates, and United States Certificates	<u>86,399,716</u>

Equal to 18.2 per cent.

In addition to this these banks held bank balances to the amount of \$30,074,965—
Equal to 6.3 per cent.

Upon this sum, then, of \$86,399,716, rested not only all the liabilities of these redeeming banks, but 91.3 per cent. of the liabilities of all the other banks of the nation; for all over this amount reliance was placed upon mere bank balances. Since these form so large a part of the resources of the banks, it seems proper to inquire how far they give strength to the general system.

Suppose A. owes B. a certain sum, and both owe C. a like sum; is C.'s security any better in consequence of the indebtedness of A. to B.? What A. can demand of B. certainly reduces B.'s ability to pay C. as much as it increases A.'s ability to pay C. Hence it is clear that the ability of both taken together is no greater because one owes the other; yet is not this precisely the case with these banks?

The object of a reserve is evidently to give strength and reliability to the banking system generally, in order to meet all unusual demands upon it. Can these balances, by whatever name they may be called, have any such effect?

Suppose the country banks make a run upon the redemption banks, is the whole system any more safe than if no such balances existed? On the other hand, must it not be true, that the larger these balances are, the greater will be the disturbance to the money-market occasioned by a demand for the payment of them?

Instead of giving strength to the system, these balances are an element of weakness, the most explosive element, in fact, as has been abundantly shown in the late disastrous panic.

That a demand of this character might arrive, ought to have been anticipated, since such a panic has often occurred under the mixed currency system of the United States. All intelligent men must have known, did know this; why, then, were these balances permitted, at all, as a part of bank resources? why, especially, were they permitted to form the greater part of those resources which were to give stability to the entire Banking System?

But even had these so-called resources consisted of actual available means, of coin and legal tender notes, were they sufficient in amount, to afford such security as a great commercial nation ought to possess, to give assurance under all conditions of trade, of a reliable medium of exchange, and standard of value?

But the hazards necessarily attending such an extended system of credit currency are still farther increased by the fact, that the chief strain is brought to bear upon the banks of the great commercial centre of the Union. New York city is the natural focus towards

which the financial movements of the nation converge, and where all final balances are adjusted. It is here, above all other places, that the currency should possess the greatest strength and power of resistance to any momentary pressure which may be brought to bear upon it.

What is the fact in regard to these metropolitan institutions? Are they so much stronger in their financial position than those banks whose deposits they hold, that they may be safely relied upon in times of alarm and distress?

Referring to the Comptroller's Report already mentioned, we find that the indebtedness of the banks of the city of New York on the nineteenth of September last was \$201,074,700., their reserves of specie, legal tenders, and United States certificates of deposit were \$46,864,341, equal to but 23.3 per cent of their immediate liabilities!

Such were the resources of the city banks wherewith to meet, not only their own liabilities and the wants of their customers, but to pay on demand the immense deposits that had been made by the country banks.

The experience of the last half century has shown that the moment the banks of the City of New York suspend, the whole currency suffers a collapse. Everything, therefore, depends upon the stability of these Central Institutions; if these be equal to the emergency all is well; if not, the entire fabric falls to the ground. How defective, then, must be that monetary system which makes such a catastrophe not only possible, but almost certain to occur from the very nature of its organization and the character of its operations! How desirable that greater safeguards should be thrown around the Banking System, by providing more adequate resources than have ever been hitherto secured by National or State legislation!

To this it may, and doubtless will, be objected, that such restrictions upon the National Banks as should compel them to keep larger reserves, would make them less liberal in their operations, and less profitable to stockholders.

Here we meet the question, yet to be decided by the action of Congress, viz., whether the banks exist for the benefit of the nation, or the nation exists for the benefit of the banks? Whether all legislation in regard to monetary affairs should be such as to promote the interests of every class of men, or of a particular class only? Upon the decision of these questions must depend the character of all enactments in relation to Banking Institutions.

From past legislation, both State and National, it would seem to

have been assumed that banking must be made as profitable as possible, whatever the results to the public; that paper money issued by banking corporations is so far indispensable to the trade, industry, and general prosperity of the country, that its circulation must be assured at whatever hazard, cost, or inconvenience.

Hence legislation has hitherto, and in a remarkable degree, disregarded the safety and prosperity of trade, in its anxiety to impose as little restriction as possible upon the issue of paper money.

To show how very hazardous have been the operations of the New York City banks it is only necessary to refer to the very able Report of the Clearing House in the City of New York, recently published, from which it appears that for ten weeks prior to the 6th of September last, the average deposits of the sixty banks connected with that institution were \$232,228,000. These were suddenly reduced to \$143,170,000; making a total reduction of \$89,000,000, drawn out during a few weeks of the panic. Some of these banks had been far more reckless in their movements than others, and would have failed outright, bringing ruin, not only upon themselves, but upon all connected with them, had not the more prudent banks come to their rescue by making common cause, the strong with the weak, to avert a universal catastrophe.

The recent suspension of the banks, is quite analagous in all its features to that which took place in October 1857. The New York City banks then succumbed, because not able to meet the drafts upon their deposits, made by the country banks. To the want of adequate resources, the absence of Clearing-house regulations and the unlawful payment of interest upon deposits, may a large part of the evils attending the operations of the National Banks doubtless be traced. But were all these improvements made, they would still fail to give that entire security to the public, which ought to be attained for the safety of trade and the protection of industry.

In view of the foregoing facts, may not the question be entertained with great propriety, whether it be possible so to regulate the operations of Banking Institutions issuing a paper currency, be it a mixed currency of specie and paper, like that of the former state banks, or consisting of bank-notes redeemable in the credit issues of the government like the present, as to render them reliable for the business transactions of the country.

That this never has been done is certain. The history of British banking affords the most abundant and irrefragable proof that its operations have never been so regulated and its issues so controlled

as to prevent frequent and violent revulsions greatly prejudicial to public interests. At short intervals, from 1794 to the present day, the Bank of England has suspended specie payments, throwing the entire nation into paroxysms of distress, and vast numbers of merchants and manufacturers into bankruptcy. Hundreds of joint-stock banks utterly failed in 1825, and since the passage of Sir Robert Peel's act in 1844, the British government has thrice found it necessary to suspend its operations and allow the Bank of England to issue its notes, *ad libitum*, which being lawful tender, have served to relieve the pressure, and restore confidence. These facts so important in their bearings, have often arrested the attention of Parliament; commissioners have been appointed by which the most elaborate investigations have been made, and the results published in extensive folios, but all has been in vain; the end has never been reached, and what is more disheartening, no approximation to such a result is yet apparent. There is good reason for this. The thing has not been done because an impossibility. Mr. Cobden in his testimony before the Parliamentary Commission in 1840 (see Report on Bank Issues, page 31), gave it as his opinion, that "the regulation of bank issues was quite impossible." And this view of the matter is certainly confirmed by the entire past history of banking in Great Britain, as well as the United States.

Why it is impracticable to regulate a mixed currency is obvious, if we take into consideration the fact that when banks are permitted to issue a greater amount of notes than they hold of specie, such issues inflate prices; that inflation invariably leads to large speculative operations, which causes an immense and unnatural amount of indebtedness, for the discharge of which, the existing currency, large as it may be, becomes insufficient. Hence a great demand upon the banks, which having circulation and deposits to provide for, to an amount four or five times greater than their specie, or lawful money, commence the withdrawal of their notes as fast as possible. Panic follows.

But while all this is true, it may yet be said, that the efforts to secure safety to a paper circulation have not been wholly without result.

Even Sir Robert Peel's act, although it has failed to prevent panics, has doubtless contributed to make them far less disastrous than they would otherwise have been; because it has placed an absolute limitation upon the amount of merely credit currency the

Bank of England can issue. For all over a given amount (fifteen millions sterling), the bank must hold an equal amount of bullion.

But while the evils of a mixed currency may in some degree be lessened by efforts at restriction and regulation, they cannot be wholly removed. Once grant permission to issue notes for circulation as money, to an amount three, four or five times as great as the specie held for their redemption, and you have placed the destinies of the public in the hands of the banks, since such notes expel the specie that would otherwise remain in the country, and the people have no other means of making their exchanges or paying their debts.

Hence banks may suspend specie payments, and the public still accept their promises as freely as ever, for the sufficient reason that they have no alternative. The banks violate the law and forfeit their charters; yet they have often done so in this country and in England with impunity, because the necessities which the banks themselves have created override all constitutional and legal enactments.

This important fact should be remembered; and here we are compelled to notice that popular, but most pernicious error, which confounds banking with the issuing of a paper currency.

BANKING AND MANUFACTURING CURRENCY.

No single error in regard to monetary affairs is more potent for evil than that which confounds Banking with the manufacture and issue of a paper circulation. In popular estimation these are commonly regarded as identical, or at least as properly and necessarily united in the same institution. In truth, however, such a connection is neither necessary nor proper. Banking, in its legitimate and proper uses, is the business of establishing a fund for loan, receiving deposits, negotiating bills of exchange, making collections, paying checks, etc.; and as these operations involve much hazard, the policy of uniting with them the issues of promises to pay money, which are to be used themselves as the currency of the country, is in the highest degree objectionable.

Banking is essentially the borrowing and loaning of capital. Funds not wanted for immediate investment are deposited with the banker, who contracts to pay a given rate of interest. These he loans to his customers at a higher rate of interest than he pays, the difference constituting his profit.

This is legitimate banking, and such operations constitute by far

the greater part of all banking in Europe. This function is there performed by private individuals, or by joint-stock companies, who issue no circulating notes; it is more profitable than our mixed currency banking, and is a business with which government has no occasion to interfere.

The issue of notes for circulation, so far as these exceed the coin held for their redemption, is the substitution of credit for value in the general monetary circulation, and is quite another affair. Such notes introduce an unnecessary and most dangerous element into the circulating medium, since the credit, which usually forms a large part of such a currency, is always liable to be withdrawn suddenly, and is to a large extent certain to be so withdrawn whenever there is a severe pressure for money. In such a case circulating notes must be taken in as fast as possible, and not put out again until the unusual demand has ceased.

This, of course, deprives the public of that circulation upon which they had depended for means wherewith to discharge their obligations, and at a time, too, when money is most needed.

In this view of the subject the great impropriety of permitting banks of discount to manufacture the circulating medium is quite apparent. Of this the monetary history of the United States for the last three-quarters of a century affords ample confirmation. Panic after panic among business men; suspension after suspension of the banks of the country has been the legitimate result of that policy which established institutions of so dangerous a character.

The exceeding impolicy of connecting a system of *Free Banking* with such a currency, especially at the present moment, is evident from a mere statement of the case, for it would indefinitely increase a circulation already redundant, and entail additional mischief upon the trade and industry of the country.

To free banking of a proper character there can be no reasonable objection. It should no more be interfered with by government than cotton-spinning, or any ordinary branch of industry; but to the free manufacture of currency, or paper to pass as money and to become the standard of value for all monetary transactions, there are most insuperable objections.

And here it may be fitting to remark that government has but two proper duties to perform in relation to currency.

1. To coin the precious metals deposited in the mint by its citizens for that purpose.

2. To receive those coins and issue certificates for them in sums best

adapted for use as a circulating medium, holding the coin for the redemption of the certificates, as is now done to a limited extent by the Treasury of the United States. Beyond this, all intermeddling, of every name and nature, is sheer usurpation ; an unjustifiable interference with the business interests of a people, which should never be permitted, and never will be, when the public understand their true interests.

The terrible revulsion through which the country has just passed is a fearful commentary upon the unwisdom of uniting the incompatible functions of creating a paper currency and the loaning of existent funds. The present is not the first admonition the country has had on this subject, nor the second, nor the third. There has been a constant succession of these disturbances in the money market, and they must continue, growing more and more severe in the future, so long as the present or any similar monetary system is continued.

Our national currency has already been spoken of as complex in its character, and no description of it would be complete, which did not recognize the fact, that it consists of five different and distinct issues authorized by the National Government ;

I. Gold coins, used at present but for two purposes only, the payment of customs' duties, and the payment of interest upon the national debt. This is the only strictly constitutional currency, and may not improperly be called the government currency, since only required at present for transactions with the National Treasury. Silver coins are a legal tender to the extent of five dollars only.

II. Legal tender notes issued by the National Treasury, known popularly, as "greenbacks," limited by law to \$400,000,000, of denominations of one to one thousand dollars.

In the same category may be placed the forty or fifty million dollars of fractional currency, in sums from ten to fifty cents.

III. National Bank Notes, issued by nearly 2000 banks, located in all the states and territories of the Union.

IV. Coin-Bank Notes. By the act of Congress of July 12th, 1870, the Comptroller of the Currency was authorized to issue to

"any National Banking Association depositing the bonds of the government bearing interest payable in gold, circulating notes of different denominations of not less than five dollars, to an amount not exceeding eighty per cent. of the par value of the bonds deposited ; which notes shall bear upon their face the promise to pay them in the gold coin of the United States."

Associations may be formed, under this act, without any limita-

tion, except that no one bank shall have a greater circulation than one million dollars. These are known as "Coin-Banks."

FREE BANKING, then, so far as this description of banks is concerned, is already fully established, since they may be formed anywhere, and to any extent. They are required to keep "at least twenty-five per cent. in coin" upon their issues; that is, they must have on hand at least one dollar in specie for every four dollars of paper in circulation. This makes them, in all important respects, the same in character as the mixed currency banks formerly existing under the State Governments, except that the final redemption of their circulation is guaranteed by the National Government. The deposits of these associations, like those of the National Banks, are at the risk of depositors.

Up to the date of the Comptroller's last Report, but three of these institutions were in operation; and these all in the city of San Francisco, having an aggregate capital of \$2,800,000; circulation, \$1,400,000; deposits, \$3,100,000; total liabilities, \$4,500,000; with a reserve of \$760,000, or about 17 cents on the dollar.

How far this description of mixed currency banks may be extended it is impossible to foresee. It is being enlarged in California; but is not likely to be introduced into other states at present. Should it be greatly extended, however, it would undoubtedly form a dangerous element in our present complicated monetary system. Such banks would be certain to expand the currency at one time, and of necessity to contract it at another, producing all the disastrous effects inseparable from mixed currency banking.

The immediate result in California is the expulsion of a part of the gold coin which would otherwise circulate there, thus rendering more unstable the basis upon which its business must be conducted; and, if extended so as to constitute the general circulation, would subject that state to the same revulsions that so often occur in countries having a mixed currency, and from which California, by reason of its purely specie circulation, has hitherto been entirely exempt.

The only apology for the introduction of such a currency was the desirableness of a more convenient medium of exchange. This the bankers of California might have furnished, by supplying themselves with the gold notes of the National Treasury.

Had they done so, no other currency would have been called for, and the state would have been insured against any disturbance from the character of its currency.

V. Gold notes, furnished by the government to any extent to all

who are disposed to deposit coin for that purpose with the Treasurer of the United States in denominations from twenty dollars upwards. These notes are *receipts for gold* (as all notes should be) and are held for the benefit of the depositor and the public. They form an admirable circulating medium, constituting, as they do, a currency inflexible as a standard of value, and reliable as a medium of exchange, combining the convenience of paper, with the security of coin ; a currency that must from its perfect adaption to the wants of both internal and external commerce, sooner or later be adopted throughout the civilized world. Forty million dollars of these notes have been at one time in use, but the amount has varied with the wants of business men and bankers.

As the issue of these gold notes may be indefinitely extended, it is obvious that the entire paper circulation might be made to consist of this description of currency, and all strictly monetary panics be forever prevented.

With such a currency, the most extended and profitable banking might be conducted without those violent revulsions which are inseparable from a currency composed to a large extent of the element of credit.

These are not mere random assertions, they rest upon principles that commend themselves to the approval of all reflecting minds.

EVIL EFFECTS OF A LOCAL CURRENCY.

The evil effects resulting from the use of a currency of less value than that of commerce, are ordinarily so concealed from popular view that they can be discovered and appreciated only by a careful examination of the influences which it indirectly exerts upon different departments of trade and industry.

The current estimate of value, in other words, the price of each commodity, in a given community, will depend, other things being equal, upon the quantity of money in use or circulation. If real money, that is, coin, or gold notes in the hands of the people, be in excess when compared with the existing quantity of marketable commodities, prices will rise ; the merchandise of other countries will flow in and the surplus money will be gradually drawn off to pay for these importations until the equilibrium is restored.

If, on the other hand, the currency of a country be different from that of commerce, it will remain wholly local in its circulation, and will not be at all affected by the operations of international traffic.

If redundant—that is, greater in quantity than it would be if consisting of the precious metals, as is commonly the case—local prices will be above general prices throughout the world, and consequently the products of other lands will find a better market in such country than in those where coin, or a currency at par with coin, is used, and will flow into it in abundance. Exports will be diminished and imports increased. This, of course, must be exceedingly prejudicial to the nation having the poorer or less valuable currency. Other peoples with whom it has commercial intercourse will be benefited by it, and to a corresponding extent must the nation using it be injured. Domestic products of all kinds will be enhanced in cost, but such as are produced in excess of home consumption, and must be exported, will not be raised in price, correspondingly, if at all; and hence we find that the agricultural staples of the United States are now as low in price as they were before the war, say in 1861, while other home productions in general are advanced by 50 to 75 per cent. In proof of this the following table is given, showing the prices of a few leading articles :

	Jan. 1, 1861.	Jan. 1, 1873.
Mess Pork	\$16 00	\$14 00
Mess Beef	9 00	8 00
Lard	10	8
Flour, Western Superior	5 50	5 75
Wheat, Western	1 45	1 48
Corn, mixed	72	66
Aggregate	<hr/> \$32 77	<hr/> \$29 97

From this it will be seen that the prices of these staples not only were no higher, but, on an average, actually lower than in 1861, notwithstanding that prices in general were so greatly advanced. The effect of this upon the farmer is obvious. If his products bring him no more, while all his expenditures are largely increased, it is certain that he must suffer to the extent of the difference between the value of what he sells and the cost of what he buys. Agriculture in the United States is now, by universal testimony, much depressed. As this is the chief industry of the nation, the fact is one of great significance. Yet this state of things must continue until the currency of the country is brought to par with gold, so that the agriculturist can buy and sell by the same standard, which at present he cannot do.

The final result must be, through a long and tedious, but certain process, that labor will be driven from agriculture into other depart-

ments of the nation's industry. These being already supplied, the general average of wages must be brought down, by excessive competition to that point, where labor can be as profitably applied in agriculture as in other employments. The decline thus occasioned will indicate the loss the general industry of the country suffers from the use of a currency less valuable than that in general use throughout the world. The entire nation will be impoverished by whatever reduction of wages takes place from this cause.

American labor has, in agriculture, a great advantage over labor in other countries, in that land here is so abundant and cheap, that a greater amount of value can be produced with the same use of capital than anywhere else. Therefore it is an object of great national importance that no burdens should be imposed upon this branch of industry.

Yet the government does impose such a burden when it compels the farmer to use a medium of exchange by which the cost of his products is increased without corresponding advance in their price.

Turning to manufactures we find that the injury inflicted upon them by raising the cost of production at home, and thus making competition with foreign labor more difficult, is second only in magnitude to that suffered by the agriculture of the country.

As the manufacturer buys and sells by the same standard, and is not compelled to export his commodities for a market, he does not find himself in the same dilemma as the farmer. He can get a profit upon his merchandise in the home market, unless prevented by foreign competition. This the government has guarded against, in a great measure, by what are called protective duties; but he is still unable to send his goods abroad advantageously, as he could otherwise do, because in other markets, he meets the same commodities produced under a comparatively sound measure of value, and consequently at less cost.

To take an instance from an important domestic manufacture Prior to the war, the export of American cottons was extending from year to year, so that in 1860 it had reached eleven millions of dollars; but for the year 1872, the amount was little over two millions; a difference caused wholly by the state of the currency. And the same is true generally of all domestic fabrics, except those of which the country enjoys a natural monopoly.

One of the largest manufacturers of cotton-goods in New England has just furnished the writer the following statement :

‘Our foreign shipment before the war was of great value. We sold our tea-merchants in great quantities; but the trade is now lost to us. American shipping loses the outward freight of our goods; teas, silks, etc., are now purchased and paid for in coin, or its equivalent, and brought to us in British bottoms. The trade we once had has gone to England. Her manufacturers imitate our styles and labels, and their exports the last year were 250,000 bales against 4000 bales sent from this country.

“This is owing to the increased cost of our fabrics. Labor, we find by the most careful investigation, costs us 56 per cent. more than in 1860, and our supplies outside of cotton, such as leather, iron, steel, oil, coal, cord, clothing, etc., cost us also on an average, 56 per cent. higher. When we build a new mill in the most economical manner possible, it will cost us 50 per cent. more; that is, at the lowest, \$25 per spindle against \$17 in 1860, and many mills cost at the present time \$35 per spindle.”

All this is but the certain consequence of a greatly inflated currency.

In the natural development of manufacturing industry, undisturbed by legislative interference, there would be a constant, but gradual decline of prices, in consequence of new inventions of labor-saving machines, and new discoveries in conducting the various processes of production, and hence the price of manufactured commodities would be constantly declining as compared with the cost of labor. This is a most desirable result, since it does not lessen the profits of the manufacturer, while it increases the compensation of the laborer when realized in those products which he must consume.

A false and depreciated currency has the effect to counteract this beneficent tendency.

Again, the government, by authorizing the issue of paper money, reduces the value, the exchange power, of its precious metals, and thus does injustice to its Mining Interests.

Every dollar of paper money whenever or by whomsoever issued, unless a specie dollar is held for its redemption, displaces gold or silver coin, and in so far reduces the demand for the precious metals, and of consequence, in so far diminishes their value. This is a universal fact, though not obvious to the casual observer.

In this connection it may be appropriate to notice the opinion often expressed that the discoveries in California and Australia have so largely increased the quantity of the precious metals, as greatly to reduce their value as shown by the general rise in prices that has since taken place. A considerable natural rise is admitted, but it is only partly due to the increased production of gold and silver; since simultaneously with this increase, there has been an immense enlargement of the paper circulation. In the United States

it has risen from 131 millions in 1850, to 700 millions in 1873, an increase of over 300 per cent. In Great Britain there has been no increase, but in France, Germany, and other nations of continental Europe, the enlargement of paper issues has been great; as also in India and South America. This increase has doubtless been equal to that of the gold and silver coinage of the world in the meantime; and if so, the decline in value of gold, or, in other words, the advance in general prices, whatever it be, is attributable, to the extent of at least one half, to the substitution of paper for specie, or credit for value, in the monetary circulation of the world.

To this enumeration of the disadvantages resulting from a superabundant currency, must be added its effects upon the Commercial Marine of the nation. A single fact will show how greatly our shipping has declined since 1860. The American tonnage that entered the ports of the United States in 1860, was in excess of that of the foreign by 3,577,370 tons. In 1869 the excess of foreign tonnage over American, was 1,924,090 tons.

American ship-building, it is well known, has also greatly declined since the war, and the cause of it is not difficult to discover. Five-eighths of the cost of a steam-ship is the price of labor. Skilled labor, like that required in ship-yards, has advanced sixty per cent. This is the chief reason; other embarrassments have been occasioned by the intermeddling of the government with the trade and industry of the country. But the enhanced cost of every thing produced at home, occasioned by a false measure of value, does, more than all other causes, prevent the growth and prosperity of our navigation interests; and will continue to do so, in spite of all the subsidies that Congress may vote.

To sum up the disadvantages of using a depreciated and fluctuating currency, it may be said, that it involves the entire business interests of the nation in uncertainty, and increases manifold the risks of trade. Men do not know when to buy, or make, or sell, since no one can predict with confidence what will be the condition of affairs a few weeks or months ahead. A striking illustration has been presented within a short period. How many persons were, during 1873, ruined, without any fault of their own, by entering upon engagements in the months of July and August, which in September and October, owing to a sudden revulsion in the money-market, it was impossible to fulfil?

If such are in truth the evil effects of our present monetary system, and their removal is clearly within the province and power of

Congress, there would seem to be no good reason why the proper remedies should not be at once applied. There is indeed but one obstacle, and that is found, not in the halls of legislation, but in the public sentiment of the country. The masses of the people do not comprehend the situation; they do not know what their real wants are. Upon most important topics connected with the currency their views are fatally false. The things they desire are, in many respects, quite adverse to what their true interests demand. Some of their erroneous views and opinions are of the gravest character, and while entertained by the majority of voters must effectually prevent such legislation on the part of Congress as can alone remove the evils a defective currency imposes upon the country; for the average member of Congress, in all common matters, unless influenced by paramount personal considerations, may be relied upon to act in accordance with the actual views of his constituents, however at variance with his own. Hence the insuperable obstacle which erroneous opinions interpose to the enactment of wise and just laws. Upon no subject do these remarks apply with more force than the currency, because upon no other is there so much of misapprehension and error. To some of these false ideas we propose now to give attention.

AN "ELASTIC CURRENCY."

One of the most popular fallacies is that the currency of the nation should be "elastic," by which is meant that it should be so constituted as to be capable of expansion and contraction at the will of the National Treasury, or of the National Banks.

The necessity of this is urged mainly upon the ground that a much greater amount of currency is actually needed at one time than another; and therefore the banks, or the government, or both, should be invested with the power to increase their issues whenever an emergency requires it. This is the popular idea of an elastic currency, and it has been fully endorsed by Congress in its Resolution of the 10th of December, 1865, which declares that "the paper circulation of the country should be flexible, increasing and decreasing according to the requirements of legitimate business."

The Secretary of the Treasury, in his Report of November 20th, 1872, said in recommending a reduction of bank taxation, that it "should not be grudgingly made if the result shall be to give elasticity to the currency." To this idea the President has also given a recent endorsement.

Thus the notion of flexibility in the currency, or "elasticity," as it is generally called, has received high official sanction; and is doubtless very commonly, though not universally, accepted as correct, in business circles.

By flexibility or elasticity (for the words in this connection are commonly used as synonymous) is meant, as we have said, that the currency should be so constituted that it can be expanded or contracted at the pleasure of those to whom its management is entrusted. It is assumed that this is especially required when the time comes to "move the crops."

As this last assumption is the chief reason given why the currency should be made elastic, we propose to inquire whether, in fact, any such necessity exists; whether the country would be benefited were the Treasury or the Banks allowed to increase the actual volume of the currency at one time, and contract it at another.

In order to do this intelligently, it is obviously necessary to consider the natural exchanges required by the varied products and wants of the different sections of the Union. For example, foreign commodities and domestic manufactures are supplied by the cities of the seaboard. To those cities merchants from all parts of the country resort for the purchase of their periodical supplies. These purchases are mostly made on time, and amount in the aggregate to hundreds of millions of dollars annually.

On the other hand, to take the State of Illinois as an illustration, there is an immense agricultural product to be transferred to the Atlantic cities for consumption or export.

The merchants of Chicago purchase, we will suppose for purposes of illustration, 100 million dollars worth of eastern merchandise in the spring, payable in six months. At, or near the expiration of that time, the produce-dealers of the East repair to Chicago to make their annual purchases. How are these mutual obligations to be discharged? Must greenbacks be actually transferred from one section of the country to the other? Not at all. Checks of the Eastern upon the Western banks are all that is needed, and these the former can furnish in abundance; because they have already discounted the notes of the Western merchants given for Eastern purchases, and are glad to get them home again.

With these checks or drafts, the Eastern dealers may repair to Chicago and other points and make their investments with great facility.

If the West has purchased as much at the East (whether for immediate consumption or for investment in improvements) as the latter wishes of Western products, the entire transaction between the two sections will be adjusted without the transfer of a dollar. And such in its natural course of trade will generally be the result, since the demand of every section will be equal to its means of purchasing.

In the main, exchanges, throughout the world are made by bills drawn upon values forwarded from one place to another. The balance paid in money is estimated at only one twenty-fifth of the whole body of exchanges. Such being the case, the extra amount legitimately required for "moving the crops" must be small.

That there is some increased demand for funds when the crops are to be brought forward we know, but from whence does it arise? From speculative dealers mostly, who if they can obtain large sums can forestall the market, and hold for an advance. It is to accommodate *these*, that money in large amounts is needed in connection with "the crops," which in fact move themselves to the seaboard, as certainly as the merchandise of the East moves to the West.

To a certain extent it is convenient and desirable that banks and bankers shall furnish additional facilities when the crops are to be brought forward; and this they will always be able to, if they have managed their affairs properly.

During the summer months, it is well known, there is a natural accumulation of funds, that is, of their own notes, in the banks, and if not loaned out to speculators, there will be a plenty wherewith to meet the demands of legitimate trade. But if banks and bankers are so regardless of the wants of business men, as to place their resources in the hands of stock-jobbers, the general public must take the consequences. This has often, may we not say generally? been the case for several years past; and of course, there has often been a severe pressure in the latter part of the year.

Private bankers have certainly the right to use their funds as they please, but have public institutions, authorized by government to issue their own notes as money, a right to place themselves in a position which inflicts great damage on the business of the country?

It is to meet the artificial demand described, that a periodical clamor is raised for an elastic currency. It is in truth, to hold, not to move the crops; to monopolize rather than to distribute them that its loudest demands are made for currency. It was in com-

pliance with such a demand, that in the fall of 1872 an issue was made by the National Treasury of five millions. What was the result? Was the measure beneficial? Did not the final withdrawal cause more distress than the issue had relieved? It is said that this extraordinary act on the part of the Treasury, raised the price of speculative stocks alone to a far greater extent than the amount issued, so that in fact money was made no more plenty in consequence of it, but quite the reverse.

Our present currency is wholly an arbitrary one. Its quantity is fixed by the government.

Did it possess absolute value in itself, it would increase or diminish as the wants of the country require. When in excess, gold would be exported; when deficient it would return until the vacuum was filled. That is just the elasticity a currency should possess.

If an additional amount of paper is to be issued at one time, and withdrawn at another, who is to determine when and how much is to be put in circulation, or withdrawn? The Secretary of the Treasury? The Comptroller of the Currency? Omniscient indeed that person must be, who can decide with assurance, questions like these. How independent he should be, how wise, how impartial, how honest! Who would dare trust any living man with such a fearful authority?

Yet if the policy of arbitrary expansion and contraction is to be adopted, some one must be invested with the authority to carry it out; and whoever he might be, it is certain the fortunes of thousands of his fellow-citizens would be placed in his hands; for he could at his discretion, for the time being, influence the markets of the country in whatever direction he pleased. Would a wise government trust such power in the hands of any official? If not, how can such a measure find advocates?

But the whole idea of the necessity or propriety of an elastic currency in the popular use of the term is a mistake. Nothing can be more important to the pecuniary interest of a people, than that its monetary standard should be placed beyond the influence of any man or set of men whatever.

Banking Institutions may and should expand their *loans* and extend their *credits*, so far as consistent with safety, in those seasons of the year, when the demands of trade are most pressing; but the *money* or currency, in which they deal should be perfectly stable, and to be so, must be in itself inflexible, incapable of arbitrary expansion

or contraction, so that it can only be increased or diminished by the undisturbed operations of the laws of value.

The only truly elastic currency is one composed wholly of coin, or of coin and gold notes.

It seems to be generally taken for granted that the currency of a country must be increased in proportion to the increase of population and trade; yet the facts of history do not sustain such a conclusion. On the contrary, it appears that a country may double its population, and quadruple its productions, its exports and imports, and yet require little or no addition to its monetary circulation. Great Britain affords a case in point. The entire paper circulation of all the banks of the United Kingdom is no larger now than from 1820 to 1825; yet the population has nearly doubled, meanwhile, and the commerce, the exports, and imports, have increased from 100 millions sterling to 487 millions.

The note circulation of all the banks in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, has been, in the aggregate, on an average for the last fifty years, only about 37 millions sterling or 185 million dollars. From 1844 to 1853, ten years inclusive, it was 36 millions. For the following fifteen years, 1854 to 1868, inclusive, 38 millions. Nor has the circulation of the United Kingdom varied since in any essential degree, so far as can be ascertained. This uniformity in the volume of paper currency for a period of half a century is certainly remarkable, when we consider the rapid advance in wealth during that period, and the vast increase of British commerce.

There is, however, nothing inexplicable in all this, when we take into consideration the very great changes that have taken place in the circumstances under which the business of the world is transacted, as compared with fifty years ago, and the wonderful inventions that have been adopted for utilizing money, and facilitating its movements.

The power or force of money is determined by two factors, its quantity, and its rapidity of use, or circulation. It is obvious that 100 dollars, made use of ten times in a day, effects as large amount of exchanges as 1000 used but once in the same time. This being so, anything which causes a more expeditious use of money in the operations of exchange, in so far removes the necessity for an increase of its quantity; and hence, if production be enlarged only in proportion to the increased rapidity of circulation, exchanges may be indefinitely extended without any addition to the circulating medium.

A little reflection, it is believed, will lead to the conclusion that the rapidity of transportation by sea and land has been increased as fast, at least, as that of production. Space has been almost annihilated by the power of steam, and quite so, for all practical purposes, by the electric telegraph, by whose agency millions are transferred from continent to continent in a moment of time.

In addition to the more rapid circulation secured within the last half century, many effective contrivances have been introduced for dispensing with the actual use of money. Checks make it practicable to effect innumerable payments daily without the removal of any coin or notes from the banks upon which they are drawn.

The culminating step in this process consists in an arrangement by which the balance between the banks themselves, that is, their mutual indebtedness, may be discharged without the intervention of money. This has been effectually accomplished by means of the Clearing House. To such an institution, now formed in all the chief marts of trade, each bank sends its checks upon other banks paid in by its customers, where they are adjusted by being made offsets, one against the other, with the use of but a very small fraction of actual coin or bank notes.

As an illustration in point, Sir John Lubbock gave, in a paper read before the Statistical Society, in June, 1865, an analysis of 19 millions sterling paid into his banking house in a few days, as follows :

Checks and bills	. . . . .	£18,395,000, or 97 per cent.	
Bank of England notes	. . . . .	408,000	} 3 per cent.
Country notes	. . . . .	79,000	
Coin	. . . . .	118,000	

From which statement it appears that only three per cent. were paid in the form of money, i. e., notes and coin together, of which a little more than one-half of one per cent. was in coin.

From such a fact it may be seen what an efficient agency the modern Clearing House is for dispensing with the use, and thus increasing the efficiency, of money.

In addition to all this, Savings Banks are now established in almost every civilized community, and contribute largely to the activity of money. Little accumulations once hoarded against occasion for personal use, are now placed immediately in bank, whence they are again put in circulation by being loaned to the public.

These conditions combine to show why it is that the British

people are able to transact their business with a paper circulation no larger than it was fifty years ago, notwithstanding their vastly increased commerce, and prove most conclusively that the commonly received opinion that the currency of a country must of necessity be increased *pari passu*, with the increase of its trade, is wholly incorrect. They show one thing more, viz., the wisdom of the British Government in providing a currency so much more valuable than that of the countries with which it is connected by commerce, and by which it secures great advantages to British industry.

The large increase of population in the United States is often given as a reason why the present circulation should not be regarded as redundant. To show how erroneous is this opinion, the following table has been constructed, commencing with 1834, because anterior to that period we have no reliable data.

Table showing the Proportion of Population to Circulation, from 1834 to 1870.

YEARS.	POPULATION.	CIRCULATION.	AGGREGATE INCREASE.	PER CENT. INCREASE.	CIRCULATION PER CAPITA.
1834	14,000,000	94,000,000			
1840	17,000,000	107,000,000	13,000,000	13.8	\$6 71
1850	23,000,000	131,000,000	24,000,000	22.4	5 67
1860	31,000,000	207,000,000	76,000,000	57.3	6 67
1870	38,000,000	656,000,000	449,000,000	314.9	17 34

From this statement we find the average circulation per capita was 273 per cent. greater in 1870 than the average from 1834 to 1860.

The large increase of national wealth within the last two decades is often mentioned as a justification for the present volume of currency. To test the correctness of this assumption the following table is submitted.

	1850	1860	1870
Wealth	7,000 millions.	16,000 millions.	30,000 millions.
Circulation . . .	131 "	207 "	656 "

Increase of wealth from 1850 to 1860	128 per cent.
Increase of circulation from 1850 to 1860	58 "
Increase of wealth from 1860 to 1870	87.5 "
Increase of circulation from 1860 to 1870	316.9 "
Total increase of population in 20 years, from 1850 to 1870 . . .	171 "
Total increase of wealth in 20 years, from 1850 to 1870 . . .	328 "
Total increase of circulation from 1850 to 1870	597 "

These facts need no comment.

Erroneous ideas are very generally entertained in regard to the amount of gold required to secure the resumption of specie payments in the United States. When it is stated (and truly) that the aggregate immediate liabilities of the government and of the banks are 1350 millions of dollars, many, perhaps most people are led to deem it impracticable to secure from any quarter, the necessary amount of gold to commence resumption. But why impracticable? Not so much because there is so little gold as because there is too much paper. The present circulation is over 700 millions. Now if it be a fact, as we have not the slightest doubt, that 350 millions is as large a sum as can be kept in circulation, when the currency is convertible, then the object to be aimed at is not the accumulation of gold, which, by itself is an idle project, but the withdrawal of treasury or bank notes; for if gold to the amount of 350 millions were on hand, while the currency was as redundant as at present, the whole amount would soon be drawn off, and sent out of the country, were specie payments resumed; while, if the paper circulation were reduced to 350 millions, or to its natural volume whatever that should be found to be, a reserve of 100 millions or even less would probably be sufficient for a beginning, since no one would then wish for the gold, for when the circulation is no greater than its normal amount, paper is usually preferred on account of its greater convenience. With a circulation of only 300 or 400 millions, we could at once resume specie payments with at least as much security as under the old mixed currency system, before the war; and if we were then wise enough, as a nation, to resolve that we would have a currency of full and absolute value—the additional amount of gold required could be accumulated from month to month, and from year to year, without disturbance and without any considerable sacrifice.

In a word, contraction must precede resumption. That this is not a mere theoretical view of the subject, is proved by the fact, that resumption has never taken place, in our past history, except after a large contraction of the circulating medium. Two prominent cases may be cited: The circulation, which in 1837 amounted to 149 millions when the banks suspended, was reduced to 83 millions before resumption; a contraction of 44 per cent. In 1857, when the banks again suspended, the circulation was much less redundant in proportion to wealth and population, but amounted to 214 millions; this was diminished by 59 millions, equal to a reduction of $27\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. before specie payment was restored.

The bill recently introduced into the House of Representatives

for establishing a Central Clearing House for the National Banks is one of much importance, since it is a necessary preliminary to any proper control of these institutions. It ought to become a law. It is very doubtful if it will.

Several propositions have been made, since the assembling of Congress in December, for the issue of what have been styled "inter-convertible bonds;" that is, bonds that may at any time be exchanged at the Treasury for greenbacks, and when the latter are no longer needed be reconverted into bonds at the pleasure of the holder.

This seems a favorite project in certain quarters, and indeed we can easily conceive why it is so, since it would afford great facilities for all speculative operations; especially those conducted upon an extensive scale. To invest in such bonds from time to time drawing interest at the rate of 3.65 per cent., as proposed, and hold them until the moment most favorable for an intended movement, and then at the shortest notice convert them into money wherewith to flood the local market, must be as great a convenience to one who is operating "for a profitable corner" as any Wall street speculator could desire; but how the ordinary honest business of the country could be benefited by such an arrangement is not easily perceived. It would in truth only make a bad currency worse.

Several other measures have been presented having in view the restoration of specie payments—making the currency elastic, or more plentiful; but no bill has yet been brought forward that seems sufficiently effective in its provisions to assure certain resumption, except that offered in the Senate by Mr. Sumner, proposing the substitution of compound interest notes for greenbacks, at the rate of twenty millions per month, convertible in two years into 10-40 five per cent. bonds. This measure, if adopted, would undoubtedly secure the gradual withdrawal of the government issues, so that at the end of three and a half years all would be converted into five per cent. bonds; and the circulation would be reduced to that point at which it would be at par with gold.

By this arrangement, contraction would be effected without distress to the country, since, should any extraordinary pressure arise, these notes, as they would be legal tender, would at once be brought into circulation to such an amount as was needed by the higher rate of interest they would then command on loan.

If twenty millions per month be thought too large an issue, as we are disposed to consider it, ten millions might be substituted. In that

case three years would be required to put these notes in circulation, and five years would elapse before they could all be converted into bonds. This would secure a descent so gradual as to be almost imperceptible, and cause no interruption whatever to the trade or industry of the nation.

There are not wanting those however, who propose the withdrawal of the National Bank Notes instead of those issued by the Treasury, and in favor of such a procedure, there are certainly many forcible arguments. The result to the country would be the same were the bank notes withdrawn as gradually as it is proposed to retire the greenbacks; but for such a measure, it is supposed there would be little prospect of success, since opposing interests would, it is thought, be found too formidable. .

Yet one of these alternatives must be adopted, or the country be left to flounder on under a dishonored and mischievous currency, for the existence of which there is not, and for the last seven years has not been, the slightest excuse.

ARTICLE VI.

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM.

TWO tendencies, seemingly opposite, have yet been growing together until they are characteristics of our age. We observe on the one hand, latent inclinations, after long suppression, suddenly asserting themselves, and binding long-divided states into firm national unities. The various parts of Italy under a common crown have realized their aspirations in old Rome as their capital. How marvellously the Teutonic instincts, working always towards a single point, have made at last one powerful Germanic Empire! Whatever the final forms of government in France and Spain, they will not probably be over dissevered provinces. Russia was never so compact as now for administrative purposes; and, however loud and frequent the mutual muttering, England will long cling to her distant colonial children. Venerable China, for years threatened with dismemberment by a fanatical revolution, has withstood the shock, and will soon bring near her remote districts by railway and telegraph.

On the other hand, with these marked movements towards unification has arisen a fellowship of the nations never before witnessed. Improved facilities of intercourse have gone far to soften ancient, and obstinate antagonisms of race. Interchanges of thought are producing communities of ideas, and feelings, and interests, and even modifications of language, until mankind everywhere seems struggling towards the realization of the idea of a universal brotherhood.

Our own Republic is peculiarly susceptible to all such tendencies. Derived from Europe, the ties which unite us to our ancestral lands are ever multiplying and strengthening, while we are binding ourselves by new links to Asia, Africa, and even Australia. Our central situation will always be inviting intercourse with all other portions of the globe. It seems our destiny to mingle the blood of all races. Besides, we have still the impressibility of youth, and are therefore

more affected by foreign intercourse. With our intense, and often amusing admiration for ourselves, we have yet sympathies, quick and keen, for the whole world. Hence, in our own position, history, and relations are most easily illustrated the NATIONALISM, and the INTERNATIONALISM of our times.

Our first tendency towards that unity which lies at the root of our Nationalism is from Heaven itself, and, derived from our shape and situation, may be called TERRITORIAL.

Before the acquisition of Louisiana from France, and Florida from Spain, some of our early statesmen advocated a strong central government as necessitated by the vastness of our domain. Then our western boundary was the Mississippi. Hamilton feared that representatives of respectability could not be induced to travel six hundred miles to the National Congress, and, among other reasons, to save the expense of local administrations, would have seen the state governments wholly absorbed in the Federal Sovereignty. Imagine his despair could he have witnessed our domain enlarged by purchase and treaty, until, pushing itself between the British and the Mexican borders, it reaches along the Pacific coast from the lowest point of California, with a slight interruption, to the north-west corner of Alaska!

The passionate wish of Jefferson to secure Louisiana—silencing his political prejudices and his constitutional scruples—was the unification of our territory by the control of the Mississippi, and the advantages of its mouth to our commerce. But the grounds of his arguments have been greatly affected by modern invention. Navigable streams have lost in relative importance. They chiefly flow from north to south, while the great rush of traffic is east and west. Since the days of Hamilton and Jefferson motives and facilities for unity have been multiplied a hundred fold by steam and electricity. Our Republic has become joined by iron rather than by water. The network of rivers, with the Mississippi as a centre, and the long expanse of our great lakes, will indeed always promote our territorial oneness. But what are these to our lines of railway and telegraph, stretching over our country, and making it more easy to govern than was Virginia in the time of Washington? Without the work of Stephenson and Morse the extension and perpetuity of this Republic would have been impossible. Where transit is slow, and territory vast, the inducements to monarchy are powerful. Russia and China may long need a Czar and an Emperor. But steam and lightning have little respect for thrones and crowns. They are natural levellers

and incorrigible democrats. With their aid, dismemberment in our own country seems an improbable catastrophe. Our rushing trains, loaded with freight and crowded with passengers, having no longer the freedom of a common territory, would never bear to be stopped, and taxed, and fretted by the petty spites and hostile interests of independent sovereignties. Ocean cries to ocean for an unobstructed highway. The gulf and the lakes clamor to be closer. California demands continuous transit for her gold and her Chinese imports to the Atlantic cities, and these reciprocate her wishes. King Cotton would submit to no foreign tribute on his march to our markets. Northern forests and industries, and Southern ports and plantations must be brought ever nearer. You could not now sleepily drop the products of the West by barge and flatboat down the Ohio, Missouri, and Mississippi. They must be rushed with locomotive speed to their centres of distribution, where they spurn the old-fashioned sail in their hurry to circumnavigate the globe. Our iron, our coal, our copper, our lead, our fruits, our vegetables, our cattle, our manufactures, our imports and our exports of every description, must fly over the land without hindrance, making our motives to union multiplied as our wants. Our immigrant tides from Europe and Asia would tolerate no obstacle in their flow. The Atlantic and the Pacific are thus pressing us together with the weight of the old continents behind them. Nor could the operations of our General Government over our wide domain ever suffer the lightning to be bound, or the steam to be fettered. Our inducements to unity compared with those so affectionately urged by the Father of our Country in his Farewell Address, are as the speed of the railway and the flash of the telegraph to the old motion of the lumbering coach or the creeping barge.

Next to our unity of territory must be considered our unity of LANGUAGE.

With what a power men are brought together by a common speech and a common literature! Without these union is external, compelled, unnatural. These, more than any other, were the forces which, conquering ages of local separations and enmities, made at last Italy a kingdom and Germany an empire. Everywhere these are silently but effectively working in our world like irresistible magnets. In estimating the effect produced on our own nationalism by our language, we must pause for a moment to recall its history.

Edward the Confessor, by his Norman preferences and importations, had prepared his kingdom for a foreign subjection. When the

conquering William—inspired by the success of Canute and the policy of Edward—brought his arms into England, the descendants of Celt, and Scandinavian, and Teuton—all sprung originally from a common Aryan stock—strangely met on the same battle-field. The work of Hastings was complete. As its result the English became virtually the slaves of the Norman. They were driven from office, and in some instances had to buy the right to breathe. Priests, bishops, abbots were dispossessed and exiled. Illustrious nobles were imprisoned and executed; estates were confiscated; the very name of Englishman became a disgrace. In Church and State the haughty Normans usurped all the places of profit and power. They glittered everywhere. The language of the conquerors was taught in schools, and heard at court. It was spoken in the mansions of the nobles, the halls of the universities, the tribunals of justice. Law books and law records were in the Norman-French, while Literature, Philosophy, Theology, and the Liturgies of the Church were in Latin. Thus English, banished by king, and noble, and priest, became the speech of the serf. It was confined chiefly to shepherds, servants, ploughmen, and the obstinate remnants of the supplanted aristocracy. It was heard in stable and field, and cabin, and decaying mansions. It was the heritage of slaves. During six reigns while Norman was on the throne English was driven into the most servile and ignoble and degrading obscurity.

But after the loss of the Norman possessions to the British crown, the conquerors and the conquered were forced to amalgamate. Soon our English speech had its revenge. As the Norman in France had become latinized, in England he became anglicised. No change in history is more surprising. In a few generations our English showed its imperishable vigor. It came forth from its obscurity to subject its tyrants. Assisted by the free spirit of the Reformation, Norman and Latin were, in their turn, compelled into exile, and soon seemed curious fossils rather than living things. The English was eventually heard from the lips of scholars, and divines, and judges, and nobles, and kings. The Law was administered in it. Statutes were enacted in it. Religion was proclaimed in it. The Almighty was worshiped in it. Theology, and Literature, and Philosophy exchanged their Latin for it. Poetry preferred it. Oratory courted it. Even Fashion affected it. The pedantic learning of the times of Bacon and Milton could not suppress it by classic importations, while, a century after, it laughed at the latinizing grandiloquence of Johnson.

And now we see the same indomitable energy of life in our own

country. That vitality which mastered the Norman and the Latin in England, is, now and here, constraining to its use contributions from all the languages of the earth. Our English in this Republic is exposed to a species of universal deluge, and yet is never destroyed. Floods are pouring in upon it from China, from Japan, from India, from Africa, from Russia, from Scandinavia, from Germany, from Holland, from France, from Spain, and spreading themselves over our boundless territories, and gradually losing themselves like rivers in an ocean. English, after all, remains our national speech. The foreigner, dropping his own language, soon is heard speaking English. Beyond a question English is destined always to be the prevailing tongue in this Republic. To estimate the molding and cementing power of this brotherhood of speech is impossible. It is a silent, living, perpetual, universal force of union. Were it otherwise—did each nationality retain its tongue—were our own less tenacious, and diffusive, and dominant—a babel of languages would be followed by alienations of hearts, and discords of races, and the continuance of our Republic be as impossible as was that of the conglomerate empires of Alexander, or of Cæsar, or of Bonaparte.

But our POLITICAL is not less striking than our territorial and linguistic unity.

Perhaps there is no more interesting or instructive fact in history than the growth of NATIONALISM in this Republic. To comprehend it fully we would have to trace it to its germ in ages far distant.

Modern History is making it more and more clear that in all the Aryan races the three great divisions of government were the same, the ultimate sovereignty residing in a council composed of monarchical, aristocratic, and popular elements. The Witenagemôte, thus constituted, and sprung from the earliest ages, has perpetuated itself in the English Parliament and the American Congress. The Greek and Roman branches of the Aryan family, however, made the city the centre of political life, while with the Teutons this worked its way from the family through the tribe to the *nation*. The whole history of England develops this characteristic. Overmastering everything, the Teutonic tendencies, like those which have lately united the German Empire, brought dissevered shires, counties and kingdoms into a compact Anglican *nationalism*; and these same Teutonic impulses, vigorous as our Teutonic speech, conquering all obstacles, have achieved in our own Republic a *nationalism* equally solid, and we trust, enduring. It would be far from the purpose of this Article to digress into speculations on a topic so interesting.

Yet we have a right to draw strength and comfort from the reflection that our *nationalism* not only springs from our situation and our language, but from all the hereditary instincts and policies of our Teutonic lineage. We must hasten with this remark to a more practical view of our subject.

Notwithstanding their protests against tyranny, and their assertions of independence, it should be remembered that our founders had been by birth and custom monarchists. Their lives had always revolved around a king. Besides, there was among them a strong aristocratical element. The old-fashioned revolutionary gentleman in his ancestral mansion, surrounded by his hereditary estates, and supported by his ample resources, not a little resembled an English nobleman. In the South a retinue of slaves might well suggest a band of feudal retainers. With all his republican principles Washington, socially, was an aristocrat. Polished, reserved, and courtly, he was even considered a secret monarchist, and some of his military friends would gladly have placed him on a throne. Thus there was awakened a powerful democratic opposition, intensified by fear and hatred of a crown, and bringing into the Constitutional Convention all those antagonisms which had shaken Greece and Rome, and which, in the previous century, had deluged England with blood.

Besides, we must remember the old colonial prejudices had often been bitter, and even deadly. The Cavaliers and Churchmen of the South had not the strongest affinities for the Puritans of New England; nor had these lived in perfect amity with their Dutch neighbors of New York, nor indeed even with themselves. Thus were inevitable in the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia the most violent prejudices and interests. No result seemed more improbable, rather impossible, than unity from such discord.

Finally all antagonisms were concentrated into two great parties. One of these would have obliterated every State government in the National Sovereignty, and the other would have suppressed the National Sovereignty in a mere league of State governments. Nothing but the brotherhood produced by the long war with England, and the pressure of present perils, could have reconciled the extremes. The assembled veterans had learned to know and trust and love each other by an experience of common suffering. Those very men who had braved the arms of a foreign foe were confronting the dangers of domestic disintegration. As they had stood together in the field they must act together in the council. Without the walls of the Convention the fears and wants of the country clamored for

the practical adjustment of stupendous difficulties. The far-reaching sagacity, the manly concessions, the patriotic devotion of men thus educated and situated, have never been equaled in the formation or history of states in any time, or in any region of our world. Hence out of a chaos of jarring elements arose the majestic proportions of a Constitution, federal in its origin, national in its operations—acting not like the old confederation only on sovereignties, but also on individuals—promulgated in the name, and adopted in the conventions of the people, who were yet called into their assemblies through the legislatures of the states to express the adherence of the states to a perpetual compact, to be dissolved only by a concurrence of the states. Upon no other conceivable scheme could this vast Republic have been united or governed.

It is not too much to assert that from its adoption to the close of our civil war our Constitution, during every moment of its history, was subject to the strain and pressure of each difference of feeling and opinion which agitated the Philadelphia Convention, aggravated and intensified by all the opposition of section and interest produced by slavery. Our national cohesion under such tendencies to dissolution seems almost miraculous. Not the memories of the Revolution, and all its compacting influences; not the paternal admonitions of Washington; not the dread of foreign assaults, nor fears of domestic wars, nor love of our national flag; not the wise, the bold, the wonderful judicial career of Marshall, whose whole tendencies were towards nationalism; not appeals to our safety, nor our pride, nor our interest, could have saved us from dismemberment. It seemed to be the inevitable doom of this Republic to be shaken into pieces, although by no means in the precise way dreaded and predicted by Alexander Hamilton.

Differences in the Constitutional Convention had not been measured by degrees of latitude. The New York delegates were divided. Lansing and Yates withdrew in disgust or despair, because they feared the states would be sacrificed, while Hamilton remained to battle for a strong central government. Luther Martin of Maryland, and Charles Pinckney of South Carolina were at opposite poles of opinion. The most eminent member from Virginia and the most eminent member from New York united to defend the Constitution in those immortal papers of the Federalist which will prove for Liberty a treasury of wisdom during all future ages. Antagonisms were not therefore territorial. They certainly at least took no more hue from north and south, than from east and west. Nor did slavery give them any marked color.

In less than a half a century all was changed. Opinions could be estimated by parallels. On one side of a geographical line were revolutionary views of the supremacy of states, and on the other powerful attachments to a sovereignty in the nation. Where North and South were nothing, North and South became everything. Slavery generated peculiar habits, created hostile interests, awakened fierce hatreds, stamped itself on a class, drew to itself a section, erected an aristocracy, impressed itself on parties, influenced the press, even entered our schools, made itself a power in every department of our government, and in every portion of our country, nourished at last magnificent dreams of separate southern empire, excited over the world the sympathies of nobles and kings, and threatened in a whirlpool of discordant states to engulf the nation. The old altercations between North and South, if left to themselves, without an appeal to the sword, would gradually have rendered inevitable the separation of the two great hostile regions of our Republic. The marvel of history is, that this everlasting element of discord should have been overruled into a means of more compact unity. The iron chains of slavery have melted away in the furnace of our civil war; and, when love and wisdom relieve the present frightful social evils of the South, will be replaced by golden bonds of strength and brotherhood. A struggle, begun to tear the stars from our flag, we have reason to believe, has only fixed them more securely.

And since the recent generous and noble measures in Congress it is time for us to remember that during all this long conflict of battling forces the leaders on each side were equally able, and equally honest. Nothing is more striking than the balanced virtues of the representative men. In the days of the infant government Hamilton and Jefferson were peers in capacity and integrity. When Slavery became the cause of strife, Calhoun was not inferior to Webster in his moral nature, or his intellectual force. Even when Secession was the mad question of the hour we can no more impugn the *sincerity* of General Lee who threw his sword into the scale for Virginia, than that of General Grant, who bore our flag triumphantly from Vicksburg to Richmond. The venerable Stephens, who, leaning on his crutch, has once more addressed with familiar voice the House of Representatives, was always a consistent and powerful advocate of the sovereignty of states. Accepting the issue of the war, and once more a loyal member of our national legislature, his conquered theories are harmless. If the ghosts of a dead past still linger about him, they should neither excite our surprise, our indignation nor distrust.

It is in mutual concessions of honest purpose we are to look for restored unity and completed nationalism in the hearts of our whole people. We cannot unmake history. We cannot forget the carnage and desolation of battle. We cannot be insensible to the burden of an enormous public debt. We cannot hide from our eyes a million graves. But we *can* ascribe to the former foes of our Government a manly devotion to principles proclaimed by their statesmen and orators for years in the halls of our capitol, and cherished as sacred traditions, and impressed with every social, political, and religious sanction on the youth of a large section of our country. And we can also make ourselves charitable by the reflection that under the same circumstances we would have held the same views and fought the same battles. Such admissions will take the sting from the old strife. We believe the time has come for making them. Congress will soon present the sublime spectacle of a legislation, after years of cruel war unstained by hatred and revenge, and carefully fostering every interest of that vast region which resented its supremacy, and made a fierce assault on our national life. In a common love for a common country under a Common Flag will thus be found the pledge and consummation of the *lasting Nationalism* of this Republic.

The rush towards dismemberment, so long noticeable before our civil war, has been followed by a powerful tendency towards centralization. Secession is dreaded in proportion to the suffering it caused. Slavery, before a local institution, has been abolished by a national act. Four millions of freedmen will always have strong sympathies with the Central Government which gave them first emancipation, and then citizenship. Under the recent amendment of the Constitution the sphere of Congressional legislation has been greatly enlarged. The Supreme Court is constantly exercising its authority by deciding questions growing out of the war, and is bound more firmly than ever to support the national sovereignty. Nor can it be doubted that the prerogative of the Executive has been practically advanced. A vast public debt has extended the operations of the Federal Government, and linked it closely with the currency of the country. An increased postal service is demanding increased facilities. Systems of intercommunication, appealing both to local interests and the general welfare, are becoming almost alarmingly popular. The Geneva arbitration brought our successful and united Republic again prominently before the whole world, while the recent Cuban outrages have kindled over our whole country much of the old and

universal patriotism. Our *Nationalism* is confirmed as never before in our history.

But while the General Government has strengthened the local governments have not weakened. Their functions and relations are virtually the same. We have state legislatures, state judicatures, state executives, state politics, state literatures, state interests, state attachments, state rivalries, and yet all in harmony and subordination to the *Nationalism* symbolized by our Flag.

Even during the war what magnified the Federal Power augmented the state importance. Not one of the least beneficent results of the struggle is the confidence established in the capacity of our Government for any emergency, and its preparation for a vastness of operation which never mingled in the wildest dreams of the Fathers of the Republic. Without the local jurisdictions the Central Sovereignty would have been helpless in the great contest, and thus the fundamental theory of our Constitution was tested on a gigantic scale, rendered only practically possible by the Railway and the Telegraph. The Governors of the loyal states stood ever ready to assist the Executive at Washington. The soldiers of those states, under their respective banners, rushed to the field. The Legislatures of those states, as such, rendered aid. The resources of those states were expended in various warlike and charitable uses. The patriotic rivalries of those states gave inspiration to our armies. Yet all the movements of those states were under the Common Flag, and absolutely controlled by the Supreme National Administration. Thus were realized to the eye, with a pictured vividness and vastness, the harmony of the centripetal and centrifugal forces of the Constitution.

Conceive this country stretching from ocean to ocean, and crowding with a promiscuous population from every part of our globe, differing in race, in language, in religion, even in color; bringing with them the inherited tendencies of centuries; and you have in its government a problem of statesmanship never before presented in the history of the world. It is not too much to say that nothing but the fundamental theory of a strong Sovereignty at the centre, in combination with a minute local superintendence to the extremities, could keep together for a day so vast and so heterogeneous a people. Nor would these be available without the aids to intercommunication afforded by modern invention. Crowd into Washington all the work of Governors, of Legislatures, of Judges, of county and township officers from one end of this Republic to the other! Let their minute and cumbrous labor have its supervision at our National

Capital! Efficient administration would be impracticable. The provision of our Constitution for conditions it could never have foreseen is most wonderful. And we are always contemplating new annexations. Visions of Canada and Mexico and Cuba do not startle our people. Why? Because each added state will manage its own sectional interests. This alone keeps us from regarding as absurd the indefinite expansion of our territory. The wider our borders, and the greater our population, the more will be needed the local legislation of the states, while the Central Government, in the majesty of its sovereignty, is adjusting the larger affairs of the Republic and its relations to the whole World.

But is there not peril in the centralizing tendencies developed by our civil war? Will not the states be absorbed, as it is predicted the planets are to be lost in the sun? May we not end in an hereditary monarchy? Only when the nation is demoralized. In that event it matters little what becomes of us. Tyrants and mobs are the deserved scourges of a corrupt people. Whatever may have been our monstrous faults, we know ourselves yet to be a strong and noble nation. Hence it is we will watch every extreme. Our existence is in our vigilance. We live in our balanced interests. This country will no more tolerate military despotism than rebellious secession. As long as we preserve our national virtue we will preserve our national constitution, not only in its original compromises and adjustments, but in the very genius impressed upon it by our ancestors. In the recent triumphs of our people, led forward by a faithful and powerful Press, over the most gigantic corruptions, we have a proof of a yet remaining vigor and virtue, and a pledge of our perpetuated unity. We do not believe that the jealous vigilance of the states and of our citizens can be allayed by any temporary advantages to our currency, or any local benefits of transportation, so as to permit the National Administration to assume one prerogative not fairly and honorably deduced from the Constitution of the United States.

So far as human vision can penetrate, we have reason to believe our NATIONALISM is established. The mere abstract doctrine of secession could never have had much influence beyond a narrow circle of dreamers and speculative politicians. It needed slavery to vitalize it. This was at once its bond and its impetus. Even this alone could not have given it power. It required also contiguity of territory. Had the seceding States not been adjoining they would have been imbecile. With the extirpation of slavery it seems

improbable that any combination of circumstances will arise where so much wealth, and zeal, and ability can be concentrated in any single great section of this Republic for its subversion. The very vastness of our domain is a security against its dismemberment. No one powerful interest can easily unite a part of our country sufficiently large to succeed against the remaining portions whose advantage will be together under our Common Flag.

Let us now inquire how we are probably to be affected by the INTERNATIONALISM of our times.

Examine the Map of the United States! Our country is between the two great oceans of the earth. Across the Pacific she looks into Asia, and over the Atlantic into Europe, and thus, while lying in the centre of the new continent, she is connected with the old by the highways of the world. How easy her path to Australia, to New Zealand, to Africa! Owing to her territorial position she has free access over the globe.

Then as regards her population! The stream of human development, having started from Asia as its fountain, and been diffused over Europe for its purification, has at length reached America as its limit. Our Republic appears selected as a place where mind might be free from the fetters of the past while molded by its lessons. Here are directing the currents of all national life, and mingling the blood of all races, and fusing all customs, languages, opinions. By a strange network of universal immigration the world is becoming united within our territory. The sensitive fibres of our national life reach everywhere. Each voyage of ocean steamer and each message of the ocean telegraph, is like a pulse in the circulation of a universal life.

Now, in our dreams of young ambition, we have always supposed it our mission to change this world from monarchy to republicanism. Better knowledge of ourselves, and increased foreign intercourse, are evidently, however, subduing our aspirations. Our American eagle is becoming too old a bird to longer spread his wings for the amusement of lions, griffins, and unicorns in Europe. His ambitious flights into the clouds are more noiseless than formerly. We are learning that we must recommend republicanism to the nations more by works than words. Never can we be received as the apostles of liberty until we have fully achieved our own social and political reform. When we are worthy, our influence, without boasts, will flow around the world like the light of the sun, silent, but potent and universal.

Besides, we ought to know that mankind are not easily converted.

We can nearly as soon uproot the forests of the world as the institutions of the nations. Monarchy and Ecclesiasticism have struck deeply into the old world. When we can change its languages, and obliterate its traditions, we may revolutionize its governments. Certain antiquated prejudices and interests, are in the way of our democratic progress. The Celestial Emperor holding a sceptre old before our babyhood—ruling over territories vast as our own, and far more densely populated—will be pardoned if he pauses before abandoning the repose of flowery realms for wars of American ideas. It will be long before the Czar of Russia convenes representatives of his people in St. Petersburg to make laws for his dominions. The Emperor William not unnaturally shrinks from democratic freedom in Press and Parliament. Young Italy still clings to her monarchy. Even France and Spain may resume their old chains. Kings retain some lingering attachment to crowns, and nobles for titles, privileges, and estates. And if all these were converted, the Pope remains.

Turning our attention from a question most flattering to our vanity, let us briefly consider, not how far we are changing the nations, but how far the nations are changing us. To one acquainted with our independence, our vigor, and our aspirations, the present vassalage of this democratic people to the monarchical nations, is at once amusing and amazing.

In a country full of coal, and iron, and timber, we pay one hundred millions a year for our European transportations under a foreign flag, and in vessels of foreign construction. Our commerce over a large part of the world is carried on in foreign ships. Our galleries have their chief attractions in works of foreign art. Our libraries are filled with foreign books. Our periodicals are greatly dependent on the pens of foreign writers. With every conceivable material for both tragedy and comedy, and a passionate fondness in our people for the drama, our theatres are crowded to witness the exhibitions of foreign plays, and often by foreign players. Our most attractive tales are by foreign novelists. Our musical world would be inconsolable without the voices and instruments of foreign performers. The greatest crowds follow our foreign lecturers. Often our pulpits are supplied by foreign clergymen. Our country is swarming with foreign priests. We buy foreign furniture, imitate foreign fashions, delight in foreign silks, laces, and jewelry, seek foreign recreation, and affect not only foreign languages, art, literature, and manners, but even send our children abroad for foreign education. Thus foreign influences are visible in the multitudes of ignorant immigrants

poured upon our shores, and distributed over our land, and also are everywhere seen working powerfully in shaping the minds and modes of the most cultured classes of our Republic. Whatever may be the effect of our democratic principles upon the governments of the old world, certainly the impression it makes upon ourselves is most deep, and extensive. In no country of the earth does Internationalism exert so marked an influence. The Hebrews and the Greeks found almost wholly within themselves the materials of their marvellous and magnificent development. The Romans were greatly molded by Attic genius, and foreign intercourse. Yet their obstacles to originality were not so numerous as our own. No modern continental nation in Europe has been subject to a similar pressure from without. Notwithstanding periods of Classic, and French affectations, we can see British Literature rise from its feeblest Saxon seeds, and, protected by the isolation of its insular home, bloom, and flower, and ripen into a masculine individuality. It becomes a subject of curious speculation, whether, exposed to so many almost over-mastering influences from abroad, our Republic can have an independent, and characteristic American development.

Nothing is more depressing to original genius than the premature education of the critical faculty. Now we are just in the position where that faculty must be prematurely educated. We form our minds in youth on the models of the Greek, Latin, and English Classics. We are familiar from childhood, in copy and engraving, with the pictures, statues, and edifices of Europe. We have, indeed, constantly before us in every department of knowledge the works of the masters of the world. With a new country to develop, surrounded by every temptation to materialism, in a rush and rivalry of gain and extravagance, our youth has placed before it the highest conceivable standards of excellence. Nothing could more sharpen the critical faculty. But nothing, also, could more intimidate creative genius.

Besides, the living authors and artists abroad, and the publishers, perceive our situation, and turn it to their advantage. We have the intelligence to appreciate their productions, and the money to gratify our wishes; and as they have the desire to make and sell, the bargain is soon struck. Thus is added to our difficulties a circumstance almost fatal to original power.

Moreover, the young genius of other nations has usually had its bloom amid the quiet and seclusion of rural scenes. *We* have to grow amid all the din of machinery and the noise of traffic. Steam and

Electricity, however stimulating to mechanical invention, are not specially favorable to Art and Literature.

And our present situation grows out of our whole previous history.

Our heritage was the past of the world. Our peril was in oppression from the very richness of our privileges. We believe no people ever began its life under precisely the same circumstances. Some of the best culture in Europe was transferred to the forests of America. Cabins exhibited the classic treasures of ancient and modern times. Homer and Demosthenes were studied in chimney-corners, in the light of blazing logs. Cicero and Virgil were read where the deer bounded and the savage yelled. Shakespeare and Milton were recited amid our virgin forests. Thus in the first productions of our infant people there were more evidences of mature culture than native vigor. Our colonial vassalage stamped itself on the entire period. Never were men more bold and original in what pertained to war and government. Never were men more tame and imitative in what pertained to style and manners. Usually development is from excess of vigor to excess of culture. In our country the law was reversed. Had not the Revolution severed us from our dependence on England we would have had no more creative talent than is promised by Canada and Australia.

The struggle which gave freedom to the mind soon began to impart fire and originality. The masterly papers of the "Federalist" have, perhaps, never been exceeded in force of argument or excellence of style. Our vivid, delicate and versatile Irving is not the inferior of Steele, or Addison. The "Forest Hymn" of Bryant is unexcelled in Descriptive Poetry. Where have been surpassed in Greece or Rome, or England, the manly culture and massive strength of Webster? We could easily instance other poets and orators. Several of our historians, and some of our artists have certainly reached the very first rank measured by the models of the old world. Even our wit, often crude and grotesque, has yet an American sparkle. With every temptation to imitation we have given tokens of creative strength, and if our great works have not been numerous, they are certainly unchallenged in their excellence, and are sure proofs of a native intellectual energy which will not be crushed under all the mountains which lie on its young but giant strength. The intense Internationalism of the age cannot suppress us. Nay, the probability is that we will even gather strength from our struggle with difficulties, and rise to greater vigor from the contest. Our Nationalism in Art,

and Science, and Literature will be as characteristic as our unity in Language, and our Liberty in Government.

And more is probable. Our development will not only be original, but, in a new sense, vivacious and catholic. Our Republic glows with the hope of youth. A vast territory excites boundless aspirations. Varied scenery furnishes the most diversified images. If our social, political, and commercial intercourse with the nations tends, on the one hand, to load us down with a weight of foreign elements, on the other, the friction of minds produces vivacity, and the interchange of opinions promotes largeness of view. Our Language, too vigorous to lose its idiosyncrasy, will be enriched by the vocabularies of the world. An infinite variety will be contributed by the fusion of thought inevitable among so many commingling peoples. Even our American aspirations for a universal Republic, often now so amusing and so exaggerated, will yet stimulate energy and expand intellect. Our territory, also, is so vast that the corrupt and artificial life of cities can never enervate as in the smaller countries of Europe, where the vices of a capital infect the farthest provinces of a kingdom. No period can arise in our history when genius cannot be educated amid the repose and purity of scenes of natural beauty and sublimity, while the universal diffusion of education will both equalize and multiply the opportunities of advancement. Finally, our emancipation from Ecclesiasticism will leave Christianity free to its widest development, and we will probably see it comprehend in its influences, not only Art and Science and Literature, but every department of social, political, and commercial life, resembling the all-embracing light of Heaven, which alike sinks into the valleys, and gilds the mountains of our world.

BOOKS.

THE HISTORY OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND, ITS CAUSES AND ITS RESULTS. BY EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., HON. D.C.L., *Late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford*, VOLS. I—IV REVISED AMERICAN EDITION, NEW YORK: McMILLAN & CO.

COMPARATIVE POLITICS SIX LECTURES BEFORE THE ROYAL INSTITUTION, IN JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1873, WITH THE UNITY OF HISTORY, BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE. BY EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., HON. D.C.L., *Late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford*. NEW YORK: McMILLAN & CO.

FEW men are better qualified to write history than Mr. Freeman. His mind is vigorous, honest and manly; his views are comprehensive, while his penetration is singularly acute; in the labor of patient research he is untiring. Besides, his consecration to his life-work makes it a passion, and gives a glow to his pen. To that rare philosophical acumen which is his gift, he unites a descriptive power, which, although unusual, yet bears the marks of laborious acquisition and therefore often wants impulse and spontaneity. Mr. Freeman's peculiar title to a place in the front rank of historians will be found in his keen instincts directed and regulated by a thorough sincerity and a thorough discipline. Oxford training gives to some effeminate natures an undue refinement of taste, and a slavish reverence for authority. Mr. Freeman's masculine intellect, permeated by all the best influences of his classical and conservative culture, has yet asserted its native power, and bursting from the fetters of the past while retaining its wisdom, has placed itself in sympathy with the breadth, and the boldness of modern methods. Oxford will never regret the independence of her son. Her hand is still on him. He owes to her the restraints of a reverence constantly holding back a strong nature from rashness and from skepticism. This is specially visible in the admirable lectures which unfold the principle of his history. They are masterly—honorable to the author, his college, his country, his age.

Mr. Freeman has shown artistic skill in the arrangement of his

materials, and the development of his work. He sketches admirably early England, the Danish invasions, the reign of Canute, the rise and exile and return of Earl Godwine, the character and policy of the Confessor, and the election and coronation of Harold; and on the other side of the channel the Norman career of William and the events which prepared him for his English conquests, until the two great rival Kings met, host to host and standard to standard, on the fatal hill of Senlac. These descriptions evince dramatic and pictorial power; yet you feel that they required an effort. On the contrary, when Mr. Freeman sifts authorities, weighs testimonies, balances facts, states conclusions, traces principles, you know that he is moving on his native soil. You are conscious of the leadership of a bold guide and gifted master. We have never read any history, ancient or modern, that left behind a deeper or more abiding impression of fine abilities honestly exerted.

And to Americans these volumes have a special interest. The Lectures set forth in clear light our Aryan descent, and our connection not only with the vigorous Teuton, but with the classic Greek and the lordly Roman. We see ourselves in the brotherhood of all the great Japhetic races. The History shows how the monarchical, aristocratic, and popular elements of government, originally common to the Aryan races, arranged themselves in the English Witenagemôte, and finally compacted the English nation.

On one point Mr. Freeman insists with a clearness and a power seen in no other British writer. Indeed this single merit should recommend him to Americans. He seems to demonstrate that while the Teuton kings of England were mostly of the royal blood, they never held their crowns by virtue merely of descent, but always by the election of the Witan. The Norman Conquest changed the old law—although William, like Canute, was chosen in the national assembly. Therefore, in the long struggle of the Puritans with Charles, in the contests with his son James, in the substitution by Parliament of the House of Orange for the House of Stuart, and in the subsequent elevation of the House of Hanover, England was simply asserting her ancient and inherited Teutonic customs by declaring to the world that the sovereignty of the king was not in the divine right of a family, but in the supreme will of the people. When this principle is recognized, a nation is free, whether its monarchy is elective or hereditary. So far as Parliament represents the people, government in England, as in our own Republic, is *from* the people and *for* the people.

We should remark that while the instincts of our author are popular, and his heart always on the side of liberty, he is yet evidently a loyal and devoted subject of the British throne.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Freeman adopted the old methods of spelling the names of persons, although he retains the new methods of spelling the names of places. His usual consistency would have made his system uniform. He evidently shrank from the confusion this involved. We are not satisfied with his reasons for his course. What withheld him from a part of the change should have restrained him from the whole.

Some strictures might have been made in Mr. Freeman's amusing, yet pardonable glorifications of Saxons in general, and of Earl Godwine in particular; but as he so openly and fairly places his authorities before the reader—where there is so much that is true and great and admirable—our criticisms on these minor points would seem petty and invidious.

We cannot forbear closing this notice with some forcible and noble words which conclude the Bede Lecture delivered before the University of Cambridge. They are timely, and we commend them especially to the attention of our countrymen :

"The fashion of the day, by a not unnatural reaction, seems to be turning against 'ancient' and 'classical' learning altogether. We are asked, what is the use of learning languages which are 'dead?' What is the use of studying the records of times which have forever passed away? The answer is in our own hands. As long as we treat the languages and the history of Greece and Rome as if they were something special and mysterious, something to be set apart from all other studies, something to be approached and handled by some peculiar method of their own, we are playing into the hands of the enemy; as long as we have 'classical' schools instead of general schools of language, as long as we have schools of 'modern' history, instead of general schools of history, we are pleading guilty to the charge that is brought against us. The answer to such charges is to break down the barrier, to forget, if we can, the whole line of thought implied in the destruction of 'ancient,' 'classical' and 'modern,' and to proclaim boldly that no languages are more truly living than those which are falsely called dead; that no portions of history are more truly modern—that is more full of practical lessons for our own political and social state—than the history of the times which in mere physical distances we look upon as ancient. If men ask whether French and German are not more useful languages than Latin and Greek, let us answer that, as a direct matter of parentage and birth, it is an imperfect knowledge of French which takes no heed to the steps by which French grew out of Latin, and that it is an imperfect knowledge of Latin which takes no heed to the steps by which Latin grew into French. Let us answer again, not as a matter of parentage and birth, but as a matter of analogy and kindred, that it is an imperfect knowledge of German which takes no heed to the kindred phenomena of Greek, and it is an imperfect knowledge of Greek which takes no heed to the

kindred phenomena of German. Let us give to the history and literature of Greece and Rome in their chosen periods their due place in the history of mankind, but no more than their due place. Let us carry about with us the thought that the tongue we still speak is in truth one with the tongue of Homer; that the Ekklesia of Athens, the Comitia of Rome, and the Parliament of England are all offshoots from one common stock; that Kleisthenes, Licinius, and Simon Montfort were fellow-workers in one common cause—let all this be to us a living thought, as we read the records either of the earlier or of the later times—and we shall find that the studies of our youthful days will keep an honored place among the studies of our later life, that the heroes of ancient legend, lose not, but rather gain, in true dignity by being made the objects of a reasonable homage instead of an exclusive superstition."

PROPHECIES AND THE PROPHETIC SPIRIT IN THE CHRISTIAN ERA:
AN HISTORICAL ESSAY BY JOHN J. IGN. VON DÖLLINGER.
TRANSLATED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND APPENDICES,
BY ALFRED PLUMMER, *Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford*. RIVINGTONS: LONDON, OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE.

HALF a century ago it was quite the fashion to speak of the Middle Ages as though they had been utterly dark and chaotic; as though, with their popular ignorance and superstitions, and their hardly less bewildering scholastic metaphysics, they presented little or nothing in their social or civil history that was worthy to be studied. It has come to be clearly seen, however, that the Civilization of Modern Europe cannot be understood without a careful study of the past; since the roots and germs of this are to be found in the centuries preceding its development. The Greek, the Roman, and the Modern European Civilizations, are perceived to be in fact the unfolding of one historic life; presenting through all their changing fortunes the elements of an unbroken unity. This view has led to a much more thorough examination of all that relates to the condition of society and institutions from the decline and fall of the Roman Empire to the present century.

Dr. Döllinger's Essay discusses a subject of special interest. In his introductory chapter he presents, in his own calm and discriminating manner, the relation of Modern Prophecy to the prophetic utterances of the ancient world. The form and spirit of Roman Power repressed aspiration and kept the range of human sympathies narrow. Christianity wrought a great change in this respect. It vitalized society and stimulated individual and social activities. The result was new hopes, longings, and beliefs; and so new prophetic material and occasions were furnished. Modern Prophecies are

recognized as of four kinds, viz.:—Religious, Dynastic, National, and Cosmopolitan; these, to a greater or less extent, running into each other. They betray a threefold origin, and may be characterized, in reference to this, as spontaneous, interested, and conjectural. These distinctions are illustrated by examples.

In the succeeding chapters the general subject is treated in the following order:—The prophetic instinct of the early Middle Ages, and the expectation of Anti-Christ and the end of the world; National prophecies; Prophecies respecting Rome; The prophetic teachers; Cosmopolitan prophecies; The followers of Joachim; and Prophetic utterances from 1347 to 1519. Döllinger's position and life-long studies have eminently qualified him to do justice to such a theme. The tone of the Essay is just and candid, while yet he exposes the groundlessness of modern pretensions, and places the so-called prophecies which, at some periods, have obtained wide credence, in strong contrast to the real prophecies of the Old Testament Scriptures. As an epitome of historic facts and legends illustrative of phenomena naturally resulting from popular ignorance, superstition, fanaticism and selfishness, the volume will repay a careful reading. It presents phases of human infirmity and error by no means pleasant to contemplate; especially when we take into account the fact that even in our own time substantially the same phenomena are exhibited. So long as society shall include many whose lack of intellectual and moral culture leaves them without discernment, so long it may be expected that popular delusions will prevail.

Dr. Döllinger's present position as the recognized leader of the Old Catholic movement of course lends interest to any work of his; but this Essay is in itself a valuable contribution to an important branch of historical knowledge. An American translation of it, by Dr. Henry B. Smith of New York, was some time since published in connection with an American edition of Döllinger's *Papstfabeln*, republished from the English edition of Mr. Plummer's translation of that interesting work. The present volume is well printed, with marginal notations, and is rendered more valuable by the introduction, notes, and appendices added by Mr. Plummer, who has also executed the work of translation well. We notice a typographical error near the bottom of page 21. For 1402 read 1412.

ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON NATURAL PHILOSOPHY. BY A. PRIVAT DESCHANEL. TRANSLATED AND EDITED WITH EXTENSIVE ADDITIONS, BY J. D. EVERETT, M.A. COMPLETE IN ONE VOL. NEW YORK: D. APPLETON & CO.

THIS elaborate treatise of over one thousand pages comes to us from a quarter entitled to very high respect. In extent and fullness it surpasses any one work with which we are acquainted, and its admirably drawn and engraved illustrations (nearly 800 in number) are deserving of almost unqualified praise. Professor Deschanel is an experienced instructor in one of the first institutions in France, as well as an able and vigorous writer, and he has been particularly happy in having for his translator, Dr. Everett, the learned Professor of Natural Philosophy, in Queen's College, Belfast. The latter has conscientiously discharged the duty of a translator and editor, and has, he justly claims, materially improved upon the original work. One feature we especially like, and that is, the tone of moderation in regard to theories of all kinds, and the careful discriminating of theories from established facts. This is incidentally but strikingly illustrated in speaking of "Molecular Constitution," where Dr. E. says, in a note: "The hypothesis broached in this section must be read with caution, as being merely conjectural explanations of the distinctions between solids and liquids." It is also further urged by the writer that as the experimental or inductive method has enabled science to attain to its present degree of perfection, so it is only by remaining true to this method that we can hope to achieve fresh progress. We must observe facts, instead of trying to divine them; and we must carefully examine what really happens, and not merely reason as to what ought to happen. Thus we shall avoid one of the "great dangers of the present day," which is, as Dr. Everett observes, "lest science-teaching should degenerate into the accumulation of disconnected facts, and unexplained formulas, which burden the memory without cultivating the understanding."

The volume is furnished with a full Table of Contents, but we confess we should have been glad to have had an Index added. We say this, because long experience in the use of books confirms us in the conviction that no Table of Contents, however well done, can compensate for the lack of a full and complete Index.

LOMBARD STREET: A DESCRIPTION OF THE MONEY MARKET. BY
WALTER BAGEHOT. NEW YORK: SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG & CO.

THE recent financial convulsions of our country will draw attention to various commercial systems throughout the world. A revolution in our monetary schemes is inevitable. All information relating to banking has therefore to us now an intense practical interest. This book of Mr. Bagehot deserves at this crisis of our history a very special study. The author has enjoyed the best conceivable opportunities for observation, and his keen practical mind has not suffered them to be unimproved. His style is clear and simple, although occasionally negligent; his views are mature, and he evidently writes with a conscious knowledge of his subject.

Mr. Bagehot assails the whole principle and policy of the banks of England in regard to the *reserve* of the nation. He maintains that our system is preferable because it distributes the reserve among many Banks instead of concentrating it in one vast and overshadowing institution. Yet surely practically the financial affairs of Great Britain are liable to less fluctuation and peril than those of America.

Some of the author's views are most radical and startling, and we should think scarcely popular with his countrymen.

After commenting largely and severely on its constitution, he says in regard to the Bank of England,

"In theory nothing can be worse than this government for a Bank—a shifting Executive; a Board of Directors chosen too young for it to be known whether they are able; a Committee of Management in which seniority is the necessary qualification and old age the common result; and no trained Bankers anywhere."

"Even if the Bank of England were an ordinary bank, such a constitution would be insufficient, but its inadequacy is greater and the consequences of that inadequacy far worse because of its great functions. The Bank of England has to keep the sole banking reserve of the country; has to keep it through all changes of the money-market and all turns of the Exchange; has to decide on the instant in a panic what sort of advances should be made, to what amounts and for what dates—and yet it has a constitution plainly defective. So far from the government of the Bank of England being better than that of any other bank,—as it ought to be considering that its functions are much harder and graver—any one would be laughed at who proposed it as a model for the government of a new bank—and that government, if it were so proposed, would on all hands be called old-fashioned and curious."

Mr. Bagehot considers one third of its banking liabilities by no means an adequate reserve for the Banking Department, and maintains that the bank should never keep less than £11,000,000. When the reserve is between £14,000,000 and £15,000,000, and begins to

be diminished by foreign demand, he thinks the Bank of England should raise the rate of interest.

On account of her insular position, and consequent freedom from the contingencies of war, England is a place of deposit for Europe. By her commerce and her colonization, the influence of her Banking System is felt throughout the world. Yet, if we credit Mr. Bagehot, it is defective and unreliable in its very nature.

CYCLOPÆDIA OF BIBLICAL, THEOLOGICAL, AND ECCLESIASTICAL LITERATURE. PREPARED BY THE REV. JOHN MCCLINTOCK, D.D., AND JAMES STRONG, S.T.D. VOLS. I-V. NEW YORK: HARPER & BROTHERS.

PERHAPS in no other volumes than these can so much useful and extensive information be obtained on the topics indicated in their title. They are the results of vast industry and enterprise. What is scattered through many other Dictionaries and Biographies is collected and concentrated in this Cyclopædia, so that on the shelf of any library it will insure an economy of time, labor, and money. Despite some errors, and more crudities, we are pleased to give it commendation.

With all in its favor thus adapting it to practical use, it can, however scarcely be esteemed a work of independent American Scholarship. The scissors have too often appropriated European labors with a freedom of invasion we cannot overlook, and which, notwithstanding the general acknowledgment of the Preface is not quite pardonable. The articles styled "Bel" and "Babylon" are taken wholesale from Kitto and Smith. Wherever you notice a departure from the text of one of these Dictionaries, you may instantly find the missing passage by a reference to the other. With all the libraries of the world open to American enterprise, and with the men able and willing to perform the highest literary work, we think the time has come when this childish dependence on foreign aids should cease.

Another defect in this valuable, or rather invaluable, Cyclopædia, we cannot but notice. Divines of the first eminence for scholarship, whose writings are standards throughout the world, are sometimes assigned no larger space than ministers who have passed obscure lives in the most remote parts of the country, and whose whole title to fame depends on the place strangely assigned them in these volumes.

We must also remark that the unsatisfactory sketch of the venerable Archbishop Longley rests wholly on the authority of an American daily, and an English weekly, neither of which can be esteemed reliable for the materials of such a Biography.

EARNEST WORDS ON TRUE SUCCESS IN LIFE. ADDRESSED TO YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN. BY RAY PALMER. A. S. BARNES & CO.: NEW YORK AND CHICAGO.

WE wish we could place a copy of this excellent book in every family of our land. Its suggestions to our youth are wise and timely, breathing the affection of a father. The exquisite hymns of Dr. Palmer, sung now in every part of our world, have made his name dear and venerable, and will everywhere in Christian hearts win a way for his discourses. His prose is equal to his poetry. The style of the present volume is translucent English—pure like the morning atmosphere, which calls least attention to itself when most free from tinging mists. Nothing would be wanting to the success and happiness and glory of our Republic, if our young men and women would thoughtfully peruse these “Earnest Words on True Success in Life,” and upon such sound paternal instructions mold their characters.

CHURCH AND STATE IN THE UNITED STATES, WITH AN APPENDIX ON THE GERMAN POPULATION. BY JOSEPH P. THOMPSON. BOSTON: JAMES R. OSGOOD AND COMPANY. BERLIN: LEONHARD SIMION.

NOTHING is more difficult than for Europe and America to understand each other. In the old world, Monarchy and Ecclesiasticism so pervade society that they resemble the interlacing roots of an ancient forest, where no single tree can be disturbed without shaking its neighbors, while in our new world we are like one of our wide western prairies prepared and waiting for the seeds of virgin harvests. Here everything is free, and there everything is bound. Here our peril is the license of liberty, and there the danger is the conservatism of monarchy. Here we are always looking to the future; there they are always turning to the past. Here and there humanity is alike beset with perils. Now one great work of our age is to bring Europe and America into a nearer and more intelligent acquaintance. The brief visits of casual travelers have their influ-

ence. But much more is achieved by foreigners of culture and large views, living in the great centers of thought, and having access to the leading and molding spirits of the nations.

Dr. Thompson, after a long period of active and eminent service in his own country, is precisely in the position indicated. He is using his residence at Berlin to make our Republic better known to Germany; and his present work is opportune, and well adapted to accomplish his end. It not only contains much information in a condensed and pleasing form which will be novel and acceptable to his continental readers, but it will also stimulate farther inquiry in the same direction.

Fair and able as Dr. Thompson is, he, perhaps, evinces just a little too much disposition to apologize for the asperities of Puritanism. We can pardon, however, an amiable and not unnatural weakness. But whether this criticism be, or be not deserved, we believe this work on "CHURCH AND STATE" can be read with equal advantage at home and abroad.

THE LIFE OF THE REV. ALFRED COOKMAN, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS FATHER, THE REV. GEORGE GRIMSTON COOKMAN. BY HENRY B. RIDGAWAY, D.D., WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE REV. R. S. FOSTER, LL.D., *Bishop of the M. E. Church*. NEW YORK: HARPER AND BROTHERS.

IF Methodism since the days of Wesley, Fletcher, Clarke, Benson, and Watson has not given to the world a large number of eminent scholars and divines, it has not at least been deficient in orators and heroes. Indeed its work seems rather in the pulpit than in the study. Its living power is with the masses, and the masses are only moved, in a human view, by eloquence and by martyrdom. The latter is as necessary as the former. Men want before their eyes the proofs of sincerity not only in words, but in sacrifices. Thus was Primitive Christianity attested by blood and flame. The martyrs of our own day are not burned *up*, but they are burned *out*. It is the inner, and not the outer fire which consumes them; and such a sacrifice of life in proof of unselfish devotion is no more lost than in the past ages.

Only in this way can we account for the early death of a man so pure and lovely and eloquent as Cookman, who evidently perished in the fires kindled by his own zeal. We could not read his life without tears. The story of the father and the son is well told by Dr. Ridgaway. Perhaps in the book there is rather too much of the Methodistic element. The life of a man like Cookman should be as

free as possible from denominationalism. It is the property of Christendom.

STUDIES IN POETRY AND PHILOSOPHY. BY J. C. SHAIRP, *Principal of the United Colleges of St. Salvator, and St. Leonard, and St. Andrews.* AUTHOR OF "CULTURE AND RELIGION." NEW YORK: HURD AND HOUGHTON.

WE recall public attention to this book because we think it deserves to pass into subsequent editions. The sketches of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Keble show great critical discrimination and breadth of view, and the style is always chaste and pleasing. We have nowhere seen, in the whole range of English Literature, a more just and forcible estimate of these three distinguished Poets who so largely molded their own age, and whose influence seems destined to increase with time and to be perpetuated wherever our language shall be known.

The essay of President Shairp on "The Moral Motive Power," is not inferior to the other parts of this volume. His philosophical analysis is equal to his critical acumen. Just such writings as his we need in America. They evince strong common sense, keen discrimination, vigorous grasp, and noble amplitude, while their style is graceful and pleasing, and their whole aim and scope show the poise and refinement of a thorough conscientious culture.

TURNING POINTS IN LIFE. BY THE REV. FREDERICK ARNOLD, B.A., CHRIST'S CHURCH, OXFORD. NEW YORK: HARPER AND BROTHERS.

MR. ARNOLD'S mind resembles a promiscuous library, where the needed book is always forthcoming at the right time; or rather, perhaps, we should say, it is like a gallery where pictures of various sizes and endless varieties are so adjusted in relation to each other, and to the light, as to produce an intended effect. His book is full of illustrations drawn from different parts of literature, and of history, and turned to practical use in the guidance of life. We should take it to be rather the side face than the full picture of the man, and to indicate a reserve of capacity and of culture not employed in its pro-

duction. It is full of sound thoughts, and graceful illustrations, all tending to produce healthful manly character.

The book of Mr. Arnold as well as that of President Shairp we are glad to commend to the cultivated youth of our Republic. By such contributions to Literature, Europe is made a deep and true and permanent blessing to America.

EDUCATION ABROAD, AND OTHER PAPERS. BY BIRDSEY GRANT NORTHROP, LL.D., *Secretary of Connecticut Board of Education*. A. S. BARNES & CO.: NEW YORK AND CHICAGO.

WE are willing to receive from Europe, Literature, but not Education. The vigorous tree must grow in its own native soil and atmosphere, or it will prove dwarfed and sickly. So the youth of our Republic must be trained at home if they would become useful manly citizens. We think Professor Northrop has done his country a service by his own clear, convincing and bold essay on this subject, and also by collecting the testimony of eminent observers, and educators. Indeed, by his shrewd practical sense he has produced a masterly effect, and we believe will exert a strong influence in checking the silly American fashion of making our children exotics by transplanting them to the soil of Europe.

Education is not wholly, or principally in the School and College. Yet even there, it is, beyond question, more practical and successful for all true purposes of life at home than abroad. But our children need more than discipline from the teacher. They need contact with each other; they need the influences of the family; they need intercourse with the citizens of the country, and observation of its institutions, while its atmosphere is insensibly enfolding them, and becoming a part of their very blood, and muscle, and brain and life. In foreign lands until familiar with their language and habits they are long lonely and discouraged strangers, and when they are recalled to their social existence their characters take the mold of a hybrid, and they are exiles, having no adopted and no native land.

On the contrary, when they have passed through college, or, if possible, have been prepared for a profession;—when they have become so Americanized as to resist a foreign impress,—then a few years in an English or German University will be invaluable in imparting a larger and nobler culture. We think these points are

demonstrated by Professor Northrop, and we thank him for his work. Indeed all his suggestions in regard to mental culture, and professional teaching seem the results of long observation, and mature judgment.

Nor are his remarks on the relations of Labor and Capital—although somewhat apart from the main purpose of his book—less deserving attention. The Employer and the Workman must learn that all their interests are identical. When the Capitalist is kind, considerate, and generous, and the Laborer is earnest, faithful, and competent, the success of the establishment is certain, and the benefit to society deep and lasting. Co-operation and Arbitration will have their part in adjusting the difficulties of the day; but more necessary than either, or than all beside, is a manly and mutual BENEVOLENCE.

OPINIONS CONCERNING THE BIBLE LAW OF MARRIAGE. BY ONE OF THE PEOPLE. PHILADELPHIA: CLAXTON, REMSEN & HAF-
FELFINGER.

WE suspect that this book was written by a lady. Its inspiration seems a wife's enthusiasm, kindled by an affection it would make immortal. But whatever the motive which has prompted the work, we believe that the Scriptural view of marriage is here clearly presented and ably vindicated. By no other scheme than that of the author can you draw a line between the conduct of Abraham, David, and Solomon, and the practices of the Turk and the Mormon. Most writers, by excusing the conduct of Jewish patriarchs and kings, are simply defending the seraglio of the Sultan. Most of the evils in our country produced by discordant marriages result from overlooking the old distinction of the Common Law, founded on common sense, between Divorce *a vinculis matrimonii*, pronouncing void the contract *ab initio*, and Divorce *a mensa et toro*, simply separating the parties with every encouragement to their reunion.

THE OLD FAITH AND THE NEW. A CONFESSION. BY DAVID FRIEDRICH STRAUSS. NEW YORK: HENRY HOLT & CO.

ONE cannot but read such a book as this with a feeling of pity. Dr. Strauss has long been the completed impersonation—the *ne plus*

ultra—of Critical Rationalism. When he commenced his career as an Author, and began to publish his critical attacks on the Christian Scriptures, the rationalistic spirit was reigning triumphant, or nearly so, in all the universities of Germany. He has lived to see the tables turned entirely, and the evangelical spirit in the ascendant throughout the Fatherland. Philosophy, Theology, and Criticism, in spite of all his own labors, and those of others like-minded, have recoiled from the abysmal depths of neological and speculative skepticism, and the authority of the Bible, as historically authentic and a real revelation stands stronger at all points than before. The outlook to his old age cannot be otherwise than humiliating. The new questions that have arisen in connection with the Positive Philosophy now occupy the thoughtful part of Christendom, and poor Strauss finds himself quite behind the age.

The volume entitled "The Old Faith and the New" will add nothing to his influence. It is written, indeed, not without ability. Yet, like much that he has written before, it recklessly substitutes mere assertion for argument, unscrupulously denies or perverts the best established facts; and though maintaining generally the tone of calm discussion, it betrays in every part the profoundest hostility towards all degrees of Christian faith.

"I would not on any consideration," he writes, "appear to shirk the most unpalatable word. My conviction, therefore, is, if we would not evade difficulties, or put forced constructions upon them,—in short, if we would speak as honest and upright men,—we must acknowledge we are no longer Christians."

It is a curious fact that while Christianity has been over and over again demolished, it has somehow happened that the successive batteries that have claimed the honor of having wrought its overthrow have themselves speedily disappeared, leaving the towers of Christian truth unharmed, and even strengthened for the next assault.

With the garrulity of an old man Dr. Strauss has taken a wide range in the present volume. He has sought to support and adorn his own edifice of skepticism with additions and embellishments drawn from the later forms of speculative thought; to strengthen the impression of his own work with the supposed results of the Darwinian and materialistic theories. But no props can render his structure permanent. His books will soon be among the things forgotten, and that without any real loss to mankind.

INTRODUCTION TO THE ROMAN LAW, IN TWELVE ACADEMICAL LECTURES. BY JAMES HADLEY, LL.D, *Late Professor of Greek Literature in Yale College*. NEW YORK: D. APPLETON AND COMPANY.

THE spirit of reform in legal science is by no means confined to our own country. Not long since a bill, prepared under the eye of the Lord Chancellor of England, and proposing the most radical and sweeping changes, was supported in the House of Commons by all the influence and ability of both the Attorney and the Solicitor General. It aimed to set aside most of the distinctions between Law and Equity, and to abolish the supreme appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords for England while letting it remain for Scotland and Ireland. A bill of such profound import was discussed almost as a common-place affair, and before comparatively empty benches. More wonderful still, this bold measure excising their prerogative had come down from the Lords. Yet conservative Englishmen did not seem startled by the fundamental legal and political innovations it proposed.

In our own Republic the spirit of reform has penetrated everywhere. Pleadings in many states have been revolutionized. Law and Equity have been largely amalgamated. And the process will go on. Nations are more and more comparing foreign laws with their own, and the future will probably be characterized by larger and nobler and more practical systems of Jurisprudence throughout the world.

In this changing and formative period of our history it is well to be brought into contact with the old Roman Law. It deserves our study. Perhaps no man in America was better prepared than Prof. Hadley to analyze it, and make a lucid and systematic presentation of its great principles. He has evidently mastered his subject. His style is as clear as his mind, and both were admirably adapted to a work he has done so well. To law students especially his book will furnish a summary of the Roman Law invaluable for its simplicity, and comprehensiveness. A brief treatise on the Common Law in the same style, and on the same plan, would be equally useful. We are confident the work of Prof. Hadley will be regarded as an honor to the scholarship of our country.

One of the most striking parts of the book is a statement of the Roman view of slavery.

"An institution which casts so terrible a shadow over our recent past, and still so strongly affects the present of our country, can be no matter of indifference to us; it lends an interest, more than the merely historical, or antiquarian, to the similar institution of the Romans. The Roman jurists recognized slavery as belonging to the *jus gentium*, for they found it among all nations of whom they had any knowledge. But they did not in this case, as in most others, identify the *jus gentium* with the *jus nationale*. They acknowledged in explicit terms that slavery was an arbitrary institution, that it had no foundation in reason and equity, and therefore formed no part of the *jus nationale*. They did not hold that a superiority of birth, or race, or intelligence, gave anything but the mere actual power, to deprive the inferior of what they regarded as the natural condition of freedom. As for the idea that slavery was a real advantage to the enslaved, something which they ought to accept with gratitude, and dread to lose, it seems never to have occurred to a Roman jurist."

THE ALHAMBRA AND THE KREMLIN. THE SOUTH AND THE NORTH OF EUROPE. BY SAMUEL IRENÆUS PRIME. AUTHOR OF "TRAVELS IN EUROPE AND THE EAST." NEW YORK: ANSON D. F. RANDOLPH & CO.

DR. PRIME knows both how to write a book and to make a title. The Alhambra and the Kremlin! These are words to fix every eye and move every heart. The descriptions of the famous palaces indeed occupy but a small space in the volume to which they give their names—just enough to justify their use in the title-page. Possibly the reader will be disappointed in not finding them more largely described. We are certain, however, that this will prove his only regret. Familiar as are the topics he treats, the style of Dr. Prime is so simple, so flowing, so graceful and vivacious, and sometimes sparkling, that he always imparts a charm to his descriptions, while a certain genial humor lends flavor to the entire volume. A quick sympathy with our humanity above all mere sect, or party, or country—partly natural, and partly the result of extensive travel—is everywhere shown by the author. It adds to our estimate of the man and of the book.

AN OUTLINE STUDY OF MAN; OR THE BODY AND MIND IN ONE SYSTEM. WITH ILLUSTRATIVE DIAGRAMS, AND A METHOD FOR BLACKBOARD TEACHING. BY MARK HOPKINS, DD. LL.D., NEW YORK. SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG & CO.

THIS volume will be welcomed by those who have followed the author in his previous discussions. It was after the experience of

many years in teaching Moral Philosophy, that Dr. Hopkins published his "Lectures on Moral Science" and his "Law of Love, and Love as a Law." Both in his teaching and in his books, he has been recognized as aiming at something more than a mere presentation of the opinions of others, and the conventional statements of philosophical truth. He has taken the position of an independent thinker, and has wrought out a system of his own, and gradually developed its details.

The two volumes referred to above have been extensively adopted as text-books. They bear throughout, the impress of fresh and original thought. We do not mean that all the particular views which they embrace are the results of the author's own thinking. The science of Morals has been progressive, and many acute minds have made their contributions to it. Each new investigator must needs adopt and use much that others have advanced. But to gather up and perfect the partial results of others; to work through the dark places remaining unexplored, to find the unifying principle, or law, and so to bring all elements into order and compactness as to produce a consistent and approximately complete Moral Philosophy, is a work requiring both originality and independence. Dr. Hopkins will probably be generally allowed to have come nearer this, than any writer of his time.

He has now entered a broader field and given us an "Outline Study of Man" in his completeness as a being. This of course involves a careful analysis of his nature and adaptations, which makes this volume the proper supplement of those that have preceded it, while yet it embraces a much wider range of topics. The method of the lectures—for the substance of the book was delivered before the Lowell Institute in Boston—is quite unique. We doubt if any one before has attempted to teach so much of abstract truth from the blackboard. Yet neither the resort to this expedient nor the demands of a popular lecture have prevented the attainment of a remarkable condensation of thought and statement. Indeed, Dr. Hopkins' power of presenting his exact ideas in terse and simple sentences is one of his most marked characteristics as a writer. For the rich discussions which he has compressed into this small volume such a writer as Dr. Thomas Brown would have required two octavos, and then would have left his meaning far less intelligible to the reader.

We have not room for any analysis of this valuable contribution to the comprehensive study of man. But we hardly know a book from the careful reading of which any intelligent person, and especial-

ly any young man or woman, may derive more benefit. While Dr. Hopkins follows his own line of thought, he shows a wide acquaintance with the views of others. On the nature of perception and consciousness, and the intuitions, his own views are original; and as he differs on these and various other points from eminent authors who have preceded him, this volume will doubtless awaken discussion. But like those of which it is the fitting culmination, it will be sure to be sought as a text-book; and happy the class that shall study it thoroughly under the lead of a competent instructor. The diagrams cannot fail to be of great service in the class-room, as well as in the reading of the work. That such books as this are written, and still more that they are sought after and read and studied, is one of the most hopeful signs of these times in which science, "falsely so-called," so labors to destroy faith and belittle man.

ART-CULTURE: A HAND-BOOK OF ART TECHNICALITIES. SELECTED FROM THE WORKS OF JOHN RUSKIN, AND ARRANGED AND SUPPLEMENTED BY REV. W. H. PLATT, FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, TOGETHER WITH A NEW GLOSSARY OF ART TERMS, AND AN ALPHABETICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF ARTISTS. NEW YORK: JOHN WILEY & SON.

EVERY effort to cultivate American taste in art will be cordially approved by our countrymen. Separated by an ocean from the works of the masters, our visits to the galleries of Europe are usually brief and hasty. Suddenly confronted with pictures and statues and edifices innumerable, we are bewildered in a maze and blaze of wonders, and left to the vague and dismal generalities of a guide-book. Instead of fixing attention on a few works of the first excellence and obtaining a clear and lasting impression, too many rush from gallery to gallery, and from edifice to edifice, and in a vain effort to see everything, come away knowing almost nothing. Not unfrequently instead of being refined and elevated by spectacles of beauty and of grandeur they bring home in their minds—and sometimes in their trunks—images of things better left behind in Europe. A volume intended to purify our national taste is therefore timely. Our books on art have heretofore been very much occupied with mere descriptions of the celebrated works abroad. The selections of Mr. Platt are made to furnish *principles* to guide in the formation of a correct taste.

Anything from Ruskin should be read. As a compilation from a

writer of genius for the general public, the volume we are noticing deserves a wide circulation. In a warm appreciation of nature, in certain kinds of insight, in glowing imagery, in brilliant word-painting, in bold and striking originality, Ruskin stands by himself. His writings may take a permanent place in English Literature. But whether his whims, and oddities, and conceits may not more injure a mere pupil, than his sprightliness and splendor will benefit, admits of a question.

We inquire if the following statement is either historically or philosophically true?

"Then after their military period comes the domestic period, in which, without betraying the discipline of war, they add to their great soldiership the delights and possessions of a delicate and tender home-life, and then for *all* nations is the time of their perfect art, which is the fruit, the evidence, the reward of their national ideal of character, developed by the finished care of the occupations of peace. This is the history of *all* true art that ever was, or can be: palpably the history of it—unmistakeably—written on the forehead of it in letters of light—in tongues of fire, by which the seal of virtue is branded as deep as ever iron burns into a convict's flesh the seal of crime."

This is certainly a broad generalization expressed in flaming words, and with a most positive assurance.

But is the assertion sustained by facts? Even in the case of Grecian and Roman art it may be questioned whether either grew in a period of peace following a period of war. Certainly some of the finest productions of the ancient classic genius were not only drawn from scenes of battle, but were monuments of victory erected in the very midst of a time of carnage and tumult. Indeed one whole species of art grows immediately out of the struggles of armies from which it takes at once its subjects and its inspirations.

And surely the cathedrals of Europe did not arise in an epoch of peace succeeding an epoch of war. Their graceful forms, their delicate traceries, their multiplied images, were born in the souls of dreaming monks, in the very times when mediæval knights were filling the world with the noise and blood of battles. The war-period, and the art-period are not separable in the way assumed by Mr Ruskin.

We will also notice another generalization which seems by far too sweeping. Mr. Ruskin asserts that,

"The foundation of art is in *moral* character—that the art-gift itself is only the result of the moral character of generations. A bad woman," he says, "may have a sweet voice, but that sweetness of voice comes of the past morality of her race.

That she can sing at all, she owes to the determination of laws of music by the morality of the past. Perseverance in rightness of human conduct, renders, after a certain number of generations, human art possible."

Unfortunately for this theory Phidias who filled Athens with the glory of his matchless creations was charged—not without proofs—with most serious crimes, and was even accused of ending his life by poison to escape punishment. In every age, and in every department of art, have there not been found men of the first gifts, and the first attainments, in whom moral obliquities scarcely seemed to cloud the glow of genius? There is a wide difference between virtue in the exquisite verse of Horace, and virtue in the life of the poet. In reading the tuneful Hebrew Melodies of Byron, and some of his delicately pure descriptions of nature and of art, who could ever conceive the chaos of his moral nature? Between Fox the orator and Fox the man was a broad chasm. Among the gifted children of our new land and times, we have too often seen the same startling contrarieties. One of the marvels of genius is seen in the power to lose itself in its work, so that the moral state of the artist is wholly concealed in the very brilliance of his creations.

If Mr. Ruskin had stated that the same man, under the influence of a pure heart and life, can accomplish more lasting and noble results than when dissolute and unprincipled, he would have asserted an admitted truth. But when he makes not only moral character, but *inherited* moral character, the "foundation of art," he passes beyond the limit of a just induction. It will be hard to persuade the world that the sweetness of a woman's voice comes from the *piety* of her ancestors.

COMMON SENSE IN RELIGION. A SERIES OF ESSAYS, BY JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE. BOSTON: JAMES R. OSGOOD & CO.

THE author of this volume has in several prior publications taken his position on the farther side of that misty border-land which, in these days, spreads wide between the defined boundaries of Faith and Infidelity. Indeed, in this country, at least, he is a recognized representative and champion. We more than surmise, however, that few readers within the old lines of belief, after the perusal of the present work, would fail to regard him as a thinly disguised emissary from the camp beyond the border. The very title—with all its

seeming innocence—is to the reader conversant with the current speech of the times, most significant of the purpose of the writer to fling the gauntlet in the face of Evangelical Religion; for “Common Sense,” in the peculiar phraseology of the school of advanced thinkers which Mr. Clarke represents, is the opposite pole of “Mystery;” and in the heading of his opening chapter they are at once placed in inherent and hopeless antagonism—“Common Sense and Mystery”—or, as would better express the spirit of the Essay which it caps—Common Sense *versus* Mystery. The author has too clear and fixed an aim to permit the reader to grope long in the dimness of a vaporous phrase, and in the crucible of advanced thought it soon appears reduced to a mere synonym for *Systematic Theology*. This strikes the key which continues with shriller vibration throughout the succeeding series of essays. We must add that the most candid critical spirit can hardly avoid the oft-recurring suspicion that if the author is not possessed with the veritable “*odium Theologicum*,” which he so justly despises, he has an indwelling of *something* which must be its *liberal* counterpart; for whatever be his topic, the slightest suggestion of “Theology” instantly provokes a fierce toss of his polemic horns and a wild rush at the offensive intruder. In a word, the whole book, from beginning to end, seems so acridly controversial—in such avowed and persistent antagonism to all established creeds—so absolutely destructive in its entire aim and spirit—as to leave its reviewer, however unsectarian and disposed to keep within the line of literary criticism, pure and simple, no option but to tread the ground which the author has thus fenced in for controversial joust. To this aggressive purpose, it must be confessed, this distinguished champion brings the trained hand of a master in the art of “popularizing,” and under his skillful treatment the most abstract themes begin speciously to wear the plain and simple garb of every-day life. In truth, the sturdy Saxon doughtiness and vigor of speech are such as to afford theologians of the old measured and dignified school, a useful hint of the way by which the mass of readers can be effectually reached, and were it not for the frequent weaknesses of thought and logic, which even the most plausible style cannot wholly conceal from the native acuteness of the American mind—even with but the training of the common school—this work would be the most serious attack upon the Christian Faith which this generation has witnessed. This general label which we have thus affixed upon the exterior of this explosive mixture of advanced thought will perhaps satisfy the curiosity of the majority of our

readers as to the scope and character of "Common Sense in Religion," but for the benefit of others who may be of a more inquisitive spirit, and yet without leisure for the perusal of the work itself, we will, in the very limited space remaining to us, assay the nature of its actual contents.

The opening chapter is a psychological treatise upon "Human Nature." The writer adopts the well-known theory of a threefold division of man's nature into body, soul and spirit. From the phenomena of consciousness, he infers "a substance in which these phenomena adhere, and which he calls *soul*." Spirit he defines, "a something unlimited—without bounds in time or space—in man—which must be the power of the Infinite," any pantheistic sense in which foggy language, he, however, wholly repudiates. Apart from certain bewildering modes of speech, from which a less advanced thinker needs now and then to be disentangled, there is nothing either specially novel or objectionable in all this, even from the snowiest peak of Hyper-Orthodoxy. It is simply a psychological theory—nothing more. Every foot of it is still among moral philosophers on debatable ground—indeed a field of battle. We note it therefore at all—not as of any special importance in the future development of the author's real design—but to express our sense of incongruity in the fact that a writer, whose avowed aim is to substitute common sense for mystery—should thus with one bold shove push out from the solid shore of certainty and set all sail into the illimitable midst of that mystery of man's spiritual nature—than which there is but one vaster mystery, the nature of Deity—and that, not with the timid air of an explorer of seas almost unknown, but the absolute assurance of an old navigator, to whose eye every league is as familiar as the fields around his native village. Is common-sense after all, not what it is generally supposed, but a new revealing faculty, adequate to the discovery of all mystery, but that contained in theological formulas?

Chapter Third—for we can only touch at main points of the numerous treatises—takes up the Bible and Inspiration. This is in our opinion a vital question to Christianity, we do not say to orthodox theology which can be at best but the man-made and limited reflection of Eternal Truth. Mr. Clarke seems fully awake to this and we fear, would only be too content with the most disastrous issue of the question, if from the ruins he could save the few fragments which seem sufficient for the foundation of his system. His general definition of Inspiration at once manifests, that he takes the view removed to the utmost verge from the plen-

ary Inspiration of "Orthodox Theologians." Inspiration in any direction means the descent of some higher truth into the soul by *vital processes* not logical or mechanical. Under this definition the inspiration of the artist, poet, philosopher, artisan, is one in kind, with that of the prophet and evangelist. This, he illustrates, "by the case of the Greek," and declares "Homer, Herodotus, Æschylus, Demosthenes, Pindar (whose fiery lyrics are stuffed with myths of gods and men) Aristophanes, (the writer of comedies which for reasons of common decency would be hooted from a Parisian stage), all alike subjects of the "descended higher impulse" and "vital processes" he terms Inspiration. On this principle you place Anacreon and Byron with all the poets of wine and women side by side with Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Of course, such a theory, as indeed, the author formally declares, results in the utter rejection of the idea of infallibility. In accepting the Scriptures therefore as the spiritual guide and teacher of men as he professes with seeming earnestness and sincerity to do, he is under the necessity of providing some other ground of authority, than that afforded by the doctrine of plenary inspiration. This he does in the main proposition of his thesis, that *superior knowledge* is the *sole common sense basis of authoritative* teaching among men, in every department of human acquisition. He illustrates this by the instances of Gibbon and Livingstone, the highest authorities on the subjects on which they severally write, *because* their superior knowledge of them has to be universally conceded. But we are under the logical necessity of confessing, that the bridge of analogy, by which he seeks to link the proposition to the Divine Word breaks utterly under the first step of candid investigation.

He cannot thus, without protest on our part, quietly ignore the *essential difference* between the mere *human knowledge* of his illustrations, and the knowledge of supernatural truths—of *mysteries*, which is the very staple of almost every page of the New Testament. We can at once comprehend, why we accept Gibbon and Livingstone as "authorities" simply because such knowledge is within *purely human limits*, capable of being tested by purely natural means, if there should arise reason or motive for such guarantees. But we cannot see how such a theory would work applied to Isaiah in prophetic visions, stretching over all the track of time into eternity—to John discoursing of the nature of the Eternal Logos—to Paul declaring everlasting council in the scheme of Redemption, all as though they were eye-witnesses of the invisible world, or how we can grant them the knowledge necessary to constitute them authoritative

teachers of Christianity, without believing them the subjects of *special divine* revelation, whether plenary or otherwise, we do not feel now disposed to discuss. This is, notwithstanding Mr. Clarke's astonishing assertion to the contrary, what Paul directly claims for himself. In truth, Mr. Clarke's theory of inspiration, logically cuts out the entire supernatural element of the Word, by the roots, and reduces the Bible to a very small and convenient pocket edition, indeed, of common-sense in religion. And this we would have supposed, without discussion, what Mr. Clarke aimed at—that it was simply his purpose to revive the long extinct German theory of naturalism, in its most destructive sweep, were it not for the glowing eulogies, which after all this cruel process of reduction, he bestows upon the Bible—not designated parts of it—but the Bible in the most general terms, as the best guide for man. Even this sunset splendor at the close of his treatise on Inspiration, however, with which he gilds the Word, seems after all but a beautiful illusion, for we are soon taught that the author divides his admiration for the Bible, with generous hand, among all the creeds of man, from the Vedas to the Koran, from the myths of Boodha to the books of Mormon.

But Mr. Clarke's essay on "Evangelical Christianity," is evidently the very thick of his onset. It seems unfortunate for his purpose, that where he no doubt intended to be strongest, he should prove the weakest. He makes a mistake in his reasoning, if not in his intention to gain the popular ear, in attacking the distinctive doctrine of Christianity, not by *logic or exegesis*, but by direct appeal to the natural sensibilities, the emotional element, of his readers. But among those who accept the authority of the Bible at all, the question can really be, solely one of exegesis. The bold *rationalism* of the author, nowhere appears so undisguised as here. Elsewhere he does sometimes make a certain show of exegetical research—does sometimes pause to ask, "What says the Word? Here he seems purely arbitrary in his reception or rejection of the teachings of Scripture, acknowledging no other guide than his own moral sense. With such a slippery opponent, a logical reasoner could have no argument, any more than an artist could paint the face of Proteus. We dismiss the essay with the remark that the common sense of Mr. Clarke seems but a fragile platform for soul or sect.

The most important essay, in a doctrinal point of view, is that upon "Christ as Mediator." We need follow the author's peculiar method no further. It is enough to say, that he dismisses the

Divine nature of Christ peremptorily, as a mystery opposed to common sense, yet accepts Him as a "mediator"—not for the *good and moral*, where no mediator is needed—but for the *criminal and vicious*. This view has, for us at least, a bold and startling originality. Of this much we are certain—that if it is in the Bible of Mr. Clarke, it is not in the version of King James. But we know this is of no weight to one who has no system of interpretation but his own æsthetic taste.

There are other subordinate topics, all in the same key, which we have no space to touch. The book of Mr. Clarke will probably accomplish the aim of the writer, owing to its *ad captandum* character, but we have no apprehension that it will unsettle the faith of any man who has been trained to correct thinking.

THE ENGLISH GYPSIES AND THEIR LANGUAGE. BY CHARLES G. LELAND, AUTHOR OF "HANS BREITMANN'S BALLADS," "THE MUSIC LESSON OF CONFUCIUS," ETC., ETC. LONDON: TRÜBNER & CO., LUDGATE HILL.

MR. LELAND has evidently a passion for fresh fields of literature, and again has the rare good luck, in an age surfeited with books, of finding one marked with the foot-prints of but one or two explorers. Perhaps it is not so fortunate that the pioneer of Gypsy lore was George Borrow, and that the title of this book challenges instant comparison with those curious and brilliant romances of reality—The Gypsies in Spain and Lavengro—which a few years since startled the world of letters. For Borrow is altogether an extraordinary and unique personage—a kind of modern admirable Crichton—scholar, poet, artist, jockey, gentleman, christian, all in one—a Bible colporteur, but such a colporteur as the world never saw before or since—himself a more truly romantic and picturesque figure than any he portrays—in short, a man of *genius*, by its subtle spell entering the very secret heart of Romany Rye, and becoming gypsy of gypsies in lore and language. We should remember, also, in justice to Mr. Leland, that Borrow's field of exploration and adventure was Spain—Spain before the recent sudden outburst of radical revolution, with its strange transformation of the whole social condition—still, then, the land of romance and chivalry, of sun and song, among whose craggy sierras and vine-clad valleys the mediæval life lingered on, undisturbed by the stern realism of the

nineteenth century. It is to some degree, then, the fault of Mr. Leland's subject that his pictures of Gypsy life in cold, prosaic England should want the strong light and shadow which, under the dazzling sky of sun-burned Spain, invest the swarthy sons of Romany with such a wondrous charm for the poet and the painter. The actual English Gypsy is as unlike the Gypsy of Scott or James as the drunken being in a filthy blanket, haunting our frontier, is like the red-skinned hero of Fenimore Cooper. It may be the consciousness of the lack of the picturesque in his topic, together with the hard necessity which seems to saddle the professional humorist, after his first public appearance, to always come on the stage in harlequin costume, which has seduced our author into a certain reckless and rollicking vivacity of style (pardonable enough in his exuberant Sophomorean days, but in a mature scholar like Mr. Leland, unpleasantly suggestive of affectation), at times going beyond all the ordinary barriers of English speech into grotesque monstrosities of expression, we venture to say, unparalleled in modern literature out of Carlyle, as for instance where he speaks of a gentleman speaking Gypsy as "black-swanish and centenarian in unfrequency." Moreover, the book throughout exhales a strong "reek" of slanginess—which doubtless makes it an abomination in the nostrils of Washington Moon and the other purists, and is indeed rather too much for less hyper-fastidious people—to be accounted for, no doubt in the intention of the author, by his long association with his Romany friends, while collecting material for the present work. Indeed, he traces a great part of the slang current in low life in England to a Gypsy source. We sincerely trust that in these laudable studies his own style has not been infected beyond recovery. We will only add, that in thus taking some exceptions to these peculiarities of Mr. Leland as a writer, we still prefer even a strained vivacity, to the opposite fault—insufferable tediousness—which has made for Mr. Simpson's "Scottish Gypsies" the unenviable reputation of being the "Great Bore," par excellence, among books. We can promise the reader of "The English Gypsies," in Mr. Leland, with all his literary faults, a most chatty and instructive companion over ground which, under a duller guide, they would not be likely to traverse. With all his rattling *gossipiness*, moreover, he stops now and then, in graver mood, to touch certain profound problems of race and language which, in these days, have an interest outside of the solemn halls of the savans. His elaborate vocabularies of the Gypsy language, showing a degree of labor in contrast with his dashing manner, demon-

strate beyond doubt to any one familiar, as the reviewer once was, with the current speech of India, the Hindu ancestry of the Gypsy race, and even, by the presence of certain Arabic and Persian words, the date of their exodus, after the Moslem conquest of India in the fourteenth century. Another most deeply interesting question, is the persistence of race and type, which, however, in this case, can be explained by natural causes, as that of the Jewish race cannot. Still, the presence of a purely Oriental race—in character as purely Oriental—unchanged in long centuries of contact with social conditions like those of England, most alien to its wild and tropical spirit, is a fact as curious to the ethnologist as would be to the geologist the discovery of a living form from the tertiary among existing animals. Strangest of all, after the search round the world for a race that has no religion, it is found in Protestant England in the Gypsies, who, Mr. Leland asserts, after long and careful investigation, have literally no God and no form of worship.

We may suggest, in conclusion, that the Gypsies of America would afford to some enthusiastic explorer like Mr. Leland, a field worthy of his attention.

A HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE BIBLE. A HAND-BOOK OF PRINCIPAL FACTS FROM THE BEST RECENT AUTHORITIES, GERMAN AND ENGLISH. BY EDWIN CONE BISSELL, A.M., WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK, D.D. NEW YORK: ANSON D. RANDOLPH & Co.

OUR engagements have permitted only a cursory examination of the volume, but enough to leave the conviction, that it well deserves a permanent place as a standard of Biblical History. A systematic and well-digested work of this character, has long been a desideratum. For students in theology it is perhaps only *too* specially adapted, and we fear, that it is too heavy in style and too ponderous in bulk for the general reader. The writer evidently belongs to a class, at the very antipodes from those brilliant and ephemeral writers of periodical literature, whose false glitter blinds the public eye to the claim of profound and solid learning. Long years of assiduous mental toil, of pains-taking and conscientious accumulation of facts, of searching analysis and difficult classification, together with a fair share of general literary culture are manifest in every page of this valuable and interesting work. Such learned toilers in the deep mine of history, rarely

fill the place they deserve, in their day and generation, and must look for their reward in their own consciences, but they are in fact the living arsenals of truth, and from their rich armories, many a more famous champion draws his weapons, ready and sharpened for the conflict with error.

We think a reader of a little more than average determination will find here a fund of valuable information, quite sufficient to repay his efforts. In the world of books, as in the world of nature, a few diamonds of first water, are worth the toil of leagues of sand and dust. It is delightful to use the telescope of history, and to bring into near and life-like form, the noble band of translators, whose hands have passed the torch of truth down the successive ages. Always have their characters been grand like their mission. Tyndale, Wickliffe, Luther, are simply as men, among the giants of our race, cast into its grandest mold. We have the results of their labors as our most precious heritage, but here we see the struggles, the toil, the agonies of blood and tears, which their work cost them.

SONGS OF THE SOUL, GATHERED OUT OF MANY LANDS AND AGES.

BY SAMUEL IRENÆUS PRIME. ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS.
NEW YORK.

IT is a very difficult thing to make a really choice selection of Sacred Poetry. On the one hand it has been very much the fashion with a certain class of critics, to depreciate the hymns of the Church Catholic, and even to deny them any considerable poetic merit. These censors have suffered their own distastes for religious themes, and their inability to comprehend the peculiar inward life of earnest Christian people, so to influence their critical judgment that they have pronounced unworthy of a place in literature, hymns that to healthful Christian taste and sensibility, are full of power and beauty. On the other hand, there are many hymns having but little poetic or literary merit, that have acquired by familiar use and pleasant associations, an influence on many hearts that causes them to be estimated far beyond their merit as compositions. Whoever attempts to make a selection that shall be popular from the great mass of acceptable religious lyrics, must encounter difficulties on either side not readily to be surmounted. Only a true taste and a nicely critical discrimination, can judge impartially between the prejudice of hyper-criticism, and the prejudice of personal associations.

The songs of the Soul, have been selected, evidently with some sense of the difficulty of the task, from the class of hymns that are most manifestly born out of the heart. The plan of the volume allowed Dr. Prime to select from the whole range of Christian lyrics. This gives the advantage of far greater variety than would be possible in a collection, all relating to one general subject. *Matin and Vesper Songs—Songs of the Trinity—Songs of Holy Tides—Songs of the Cross—Songs of Sorrow—Songs out of the Depths—Songs of Aspiration—Faith—Hope—Courage—Love—Praise and Thanksgiving—Patience—Peace and Triumph*;—these are the particular divisions of the arrangement.

Under these heads are found many of the richest and most heart-stirring lays in which the Christian affections of different ages and tongues have found fit expression. "Side by side," says Dr. Prime in his prefatory note, "Go up the plaintive utterances of the captive queen, the passionate cry of the earth-stained soul, the triumphant chant of the redeemed, the stirring call of the soldier, the deep and solemn music of the mitred abbot, the noble strains of the cloistered monk, and the clear sweet melody of the martyred girl." Of course, a considerable number of these will be familiar to many readers. Others will be entirely new, or will be such as have been but rarely met with by most, into whose hands the book will fall. We know no similar volume that contains so great a variety of the gems of sacred song, with so little that one would willingly spare, as this. Each reader may very probably miss something that his individual taste might make him wish to find; but this would be true of any imaginable selection. Such a volume as this may fitly lie beside the Bible in the Christian's closet, for daily reading, in connection with that, in "the still hour."

It would have added to the value of the book if the compiler had taken more pains to assure himself that he was choosing the best text extant, instead of the one which chanced to be before him, and also to give the dates of the several hymns to a greater extent. We have noticed, also, two or three slight typographical errors. The volume is issued in splendid style, the exterior corresponding well with the contents.

T H E

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

VOL. I.

NEW YORK, MAY, 1874.

No. III.

ARTICLE I.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF ROME.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A. D.C.L.

CAN anything new be said about Rome? Is there any fact that has not been long ago found out? Is there any remark, any comment, any reflection of any kind, which has not already suggested itself to a thousand minds? It is certainly hard to find anything new to say about a city which has for so many ages occupied so many thoughts and so many pens; yet, as each man looks at things from his own point of view, and as no two men have exactly the same point of view, something may perhaps be learned by looking at Rome with the eyes of one who, after making Rome for years the center of his historic studies, sees the city for the first time with his own eyes. Rome may be studied in endless ways and with endless objects; one form of such study is to look at the Eternal City strictly in its eternal character, to look in its existing remains for their witness to the position of Rome as the center of Universal History. It may be well to look at Rome with a mind less full of the details of the immediate history of Rome than of the consciousness of her wider and ecumenical history, her character as the lake in which all the streams of earlier history lose themselves, and which all the streams of later history flow out of. In this point of view the first impression of Rome is something puzzling and paradoxical. While Roman history is the great witness to the continuity and unity of all history, the first aspect of the city of Rome gives us a feeling of a wider gap between the great periods of history than can be found

anywhere else. The first impression that Rome gives, is, that here at least, Ancient and Modern History are two distinct things, and that the gap between them is a yawning gap indeed. Farther research shows that the gap is really less wide than it seems at first sight, and that so far as it exists, the very existence of the gap in the monuments of local Rome is in truth only a witness to the absence of all break in the history of Rome in the higher sense. If Rome was for some ages the most forlorn and forsaken of the great cities of Europe, it was its eternal and ecumenical position which at once caused its decline and which made it able to recover. If, on the other hand, Rome seems at this very moment to be beginning a new life, it is at once a witness to its eternal and ecumenical position and a sign that its ecumenical position has passed away.

At the first glance Rome seems to be rich in monuments of the early days of her emperors and of the later days of her pontiffs, and to have hardly anything to show of any other, especially of any intermediate age. And this impression, though more minute research will largely correct it in detail, is still substantially true. It is true of the general aspect of the city, and of all that gives the city its special character. It is the monuments of the days between Augustus and Constantine and the monuments of the days between Julius the Second and Pius the Ninth which give Rome the aspect which distinguishes it from the other cities of Italy and of Europe. In mediæval remains Rome may be said to be positively rich, but to be comparatively poor. There is probably no age absolutely without its memorial in Rome, and the aggregate of the mediæval remains in Rome would make the fortune of a smaller city. But they seem as nothing beside the endless stores of earlier and later days in Rome itself; they seem as nothing beside the boundless mediæval wealth of some other Italian cities. We feel at once that Rome has nothing to set against the splendid ranges of domestic architecture, spread over times from the twelfth century to the seventeenth, which form the most prominent features of Venice and Verona. The only mediæval buildings which have any share in forming the general aspect of Rome, are a single military tower, and a group of ecclesiastical bell-towers, which seem as if they stood there to remind us that the ages from the eleventh to the fourteenth really did exist at Rome as well as in other places. The other mediæval remains have to be looked for; the greatest among them, the so-called House of Crescentius, stands by itself in every sense of the words. It stands in a corner, where, though it forms part of a striking group, it in no

way affects the general view of the city—and there is nothing else like it in Rome. Of churches built out of the spoils of pagan temples there is a long list, filling up the first thousand years after Constantine, and, when we come to study them in detail, they prove to be among the most important and instructive buildings in Rome. But these are not mediæval churches in the sense in which those words are understood in other parts of Italy or of Europe. And, as their architectural features are to be found almost wholly inside, most of them count for very little in the general view of the city. The only exceptions are the concentric circles of the round church of Saint Stephen on the Cœlian, and the mighty length of the rebuilt basilica of Saint Paul without the walls. Or indeed, when, as often happens, a church of this type, has, like the patriarchal basilica itself, been cased outside by some modern Pope, it counts, so far as general effect goes, among the modern buildings. The independent Romanesque architecture of Italy has hardly a representative in Rome; the Italian variety of Gothic, besides a few scraps here and there, is represented only by the single stately church of S. Maria sopra Minerva. The one secular monument of the days of the exarchate counts, in its general effect, among classical monuments; the column of Phocas is not a Byzantine column, but a classical column turned to a strange use. Among later emperors memorials may be found by those who seek for them, of Charles the Great and of the second, and the third Ottos. And in the Capitol itself we may still read the legend which tells how Frederick the Second, the last Emperor of Italian birth, sent the trophies of rebellious Milan for safe-keeping among his legal citizens of Rome. But these things have to be searched for; they do not force themselves on the eye till they are searched for. The walls again are of all dates from Aurelian to Victor Emmanuel, but the mediæval parts are perhaps the least important. On the whole, the monuments of the days between the fourth century and the sixteenth are of little account in our general impression of Rome. The city takes its whole character from buildings of an earlier and of a later time. The mediæval monuments have to be looked for almost as the monuments of the days before the Empire have to be looked for also.

But if those ages have left little behind him in the way of creation, they have left much behind them in the way of destruction. There is the fact, stamped at once on her history and on her monuments, that, while most other cities in Italy and in Europe were daily growing greater, Rome was daily growing less. As a rule, among the

great cities of Western Europe, the mediæval city has spread beyond the Roman city, and the modern city has spread beyond the Roman city. There are doubtless exceptions like Trier and Soest; but Rome is the greatest of all exceptions. No city that was not wholly forsaken ever came so near to being so. Nowhere do we find so vast an expanse of uninhabited, almost desolate, country within the walls. That the Roman Forum should ever have got the name of *Campo Vaccino* is a speaking fact. The Aventine occupied only by monasteries and vineyards is a strange commentary on the great law of Lucius Icilius; the late act for the suppression of religious corporations is in fact only a new *Lex de Aventino publicando*. When we remember how much of the ancient city lies desolate, how much of the modern city dates only from the sixteenth century, we shall see that the Rome to which the Popes returned from Avignon could have been hardly so great as the Rome of the early kings. It occupied some ground which was not within the walls even of Aurelian, but it left a great deal unoccupied which was within the wall of Servius. We understand the contrast when we see Verona with its Roman gates in the middle of the city, when we see Bath climbing up its hill and Le Mans and Lincoln sliding down theirs. When we conjure up what Rome must have been when, say, Lewis of Bavaria or Charles of Bohemia came thither for his crowning, we are tempted to sin a little on the side of exaggeration, and to fancy that the Lord of the World might have found quarters almost equally flourishing at Winchelsea or at Old Sarum.

Now what is the cause that at Rome there was so much destruction, so little creation, during the very ages when other cities were raising their noblest monuments? What is the cause that, while other cities were spreading beyond their old walls, while they were rearing their lofty minsters, their stately municipal palaces, Rome was surely crumbling away, retreating within the bounds of her earliest infancy? It is, in a word, because her princes, real or nominal, were Lords of the World, because her patriarchal church was the mother and head of the churches of the world, because Rome was the metropolis of the world, or rather had become the world itself. Rome was the victim of her own greatness. She shrank up into something less than she had been when the Etrurian and the Volscian were her rivals, her walls contained more of fields and vineyards than of the dwelling-places of men, the Cœlian and the Aventine became the homes of a few monks and their dependents, because there had been a day when her neighbors were

not the Etrurian and the Volscian, but the Scot, the German, and the Persian, because there had been a day when her walls stretched from the Rhine to the Danube, from the Solway to the German Ocean, when her outposts were no longer on the Janiculan and the Pincian, but at York, at Trier, and at Nisibis. Rome had so thoroughly leavened the world—her own Mediterranean world—the world had become so thoroughly Roman, that the local Rome fell from her place by the mere effect of her own victories. She became a venerable name, the centre of ancient memories, the home of the Senate, but no longer the home of the Cæsar. From the end of the second century Rome was no longer the habitual dwelling-place of emperors; Diocletian, Constantine, Theodosius, were as far from being permanent dwellers in the Eternal City as any Byzantine or German Cæsar of later times. Once or twice in their reigns they came to the ancient capital for some solemn pageant, but they ruled for Milan, for Trier, for Ravenna, for Nikomêdeia, for Antioch, or for the New Rome by the Bosphorus, just as the later bearers of their titles ruled from Aachen, from Gelnhausen, or from Palermo. Rome ceased to rule; her name, her arts, her laws, the dominion which had grown out of her, went on; but Rome herself was no longer the seat and center of all of them. Rome ceased to rule; but when she ceased to rule she gave up the cause of her being; a Rome which no longer ruled the nations was a Rome whose occupation was gone from her. But as one form of rule passed away, another arose; the same causes which made Rome the first of cities made her also the first of Churches. As her emperors dwelled far away, as their power in Italy was represented only by an exarch at distant Ravenna, the Roman Pontiff gradually stepped into something like the place which the Roman Cæsar had left vacant. Rome again ruled; she ruled over the minds of men as she had once ruled over their bodies and their estates; but again her dominion was of a kind which carried within it the seeds of her own destruction. A day came when the world seemed to have rolled back for fifteen hundred years, when cities again were great, as they had been great in the old days of Greece and Italy, a day when the free cities of the Empire, those of Italy foremost among them, flourished like Athens and Carthage, defending their own freedom against all invaders, but too often making a spoil of the freedom of cities weaker than themselves. Then came a time when the day of cities had passed and the day of nations had come, when a few great cities began to stand out on the face of Europe, no longer as independent civic commonwealths, but as

the centers of government and national life for whole kingdoms and nations. In neither of these forms of greatness has Rome had any share. In the mediæval world she never ranked alongside of Florence and Venice; in the modern world she has as yet not ranked alongside of London or Paris, of Berlin or Vienna. She had, like other Italian cities, her municipality; she had again, as in the days of her early Kings and Consuls, her local wars with her immediate neighbors. But her municipal life was ever weak, fleeting, and turbulent; the Popes were strong enough to hinder the growth of any regular republican government; the republican spirit was strong enough to hinder the growth of any acknowledged sovereignty in the Popes. Between the two there was anarchy; the city became the battle-field of rival nobles whom neither Pope nor Commonwealth had strength to keep in order. Nor did it mend matters when the nominal sovereign of Rome and of the world came once in a reign, perhaps only once in two or three reigns, to claim the crown of Charles and Otto at the head of a German army. In this way, because Rome was still the acknowledged head of the world, because the Roman emperor still sat above all other princes, because the Roman Pontiff still sat above all other Bishops, Rome herself became more desolate and forsaken than any other of the great cities of the world. She could neither become the permanent capital of either her temporal or her spiritual chief, nor could she become, like other Italian cities, a commonwealth independent of either. The magic of her name lived on; as of old, Rome had been where the Roman Cæsar was, so now Rome was where the Roman Pontiff was. As the Cæsar once could rule from York or Antioch, so the Pontiff now could rule from Lyons or from Avignon. But Rome herself crumbled away; fields and vineyards covered her once crowded hills; her ancient monuments became fortresses, to be besieged and defended in every brawl within her gates. Pilgrims came from all lands to visit her holy places, and her own Emperor, one might almost add, her own Pontiff, did hardly more than come on pilgrimage to her. But life of her own, life like the life of Florence or Pisa or Genoa, she had none. The desolation, the moral death, of mediæval Rome was more than the fitting penalty, it was the immediate consequence, of her twofold dominion over mankind.

At last the captivity was over. Rome again received her bishops, and no doubt she acknowledged them as sovereigns. Rome became the abiding seat of an ecumenical power in things spiritual. Her Pontiffs too became the acknowledged lords of a state, considerable

among the states of Italy. Under their rule a new Rome arose, the Rome of Popes and Popes' kinsfolk, and the monuments of Roman greatness were destroyed or rifled to build and adorn their palaces. Rome became the seat of a dominion wider than that of her Cæsar's, the center of a rule which overleaped the ocean and the Euphrates, and which still gathers men to its solemn assemblies from western and southern continents of which the old Cæsars never heard. But all this again cut off all hope of any true life for the local Rome. She became an ecumenical, a cosmopolitan city, a city living on its ecumenical and cosmopolitan character, but a city cut off alike from the life of an independent commonwealth and from the life of a national capital. Pontifical Rome, like imperial Rome, was a petted and patronized city, a city whose monuments embody, not the energy of her people, but the bounty, the vanity of her princes. Both the two series of monuments which give Rome her character, the works of her Emperors and the works of her Bishops, are monuments of the same class. They are the gifts of masters to their subjects, not the works of a free city, or a free people. Both of them are there in abundance; the works of the earlier days, when Rome truly lived under her kings and consuls: the works of the intermediate days, when she might have lived, had she not been the mother and mistress of nations and of churches, are to be found only few and far between.

The two great phenomena then of the general appearance of Rome are the utter abandonment of so large a part of the ancient city and the general lack of buildings of the middle ages. Both of these facts are fully accounted for by the peculiar history of Rome. It may be that the sack and fire under Robert Wiscard—a sack and fire done in the cause of a Pope in warfare against an Emperor—was the immediate cause of the desolation of a large part of Rome; but if so, the destruction which was then wrought only gave a helping hand to causes which were at work both before and after. A city could not do otherwise than dwindle away, in which neither Emperor, nor Pope, nor Commonwealth could keep up any lasting form of regular government, which had no resources of its own, and which lived, as a place of pilgrimage on the shadow of its own greatness. Another idea, which is sure to suggest itself at Rome, is rather a delusion. The amazing extent of ancient ruins at Rome unavoidably fills us with the notion that an unusual amount of destruction has gone on there. When we cannot walk without seeing, besides the more perfect monuments, gigantic masses of ancient wall on every side; when we stumble at every step against fragments of marble columns, or richly-

adorned tombs, we are apt to think that they must have perished in some special havoc unknown in other places. The truth is really the other way. The abundance of ruins and fragments—again setting aside the more perfect monuments—proves that destruction has been much less thorough in Rome than in almost any other Roman city. Elsewhere the ancient buildings have been utterly swept away; at Rome they survive, though mainly in a state of ruin. But, by surviving in a state of ruin, they remind us of their former existence, which in other places we are inclined to forget. Certainly Rome is, even in proportion to its greatness above all other Roman cities, rich in ancient remains above all other Roman cities. Compare the cities of the West, which, at one time or another, supplanted Rome as the dwelling-places of her own Cæsars, Milan, Ravenna, York, Trier itself. York may be looked upon as lucky in having kept a tower and some pieces of wall through the fierce havoc of the English Conquest. Trier is rich above all the rest, and has, in her *Porta Nigra*, one monument of Roman power which Rome herself cannot outdo. But rich as Trier—the second Rome—is, she is certainly not richer, in proportion, than Rome herself. The Roman remains at Milan hardly extend beyond a single range of columns, and it may be thought that that alone is something, when we remember the overthrow of the city under Frederick Barbarossa. But compare Rome and Ravenna! No city is richer than Ravenna in monuments of its own class, Christian, Roman, Gothic, Byzantine. But of works of the days of heathen Rome there is no trace—no walls, no gates, no triumphal arch, no temple, no amphitheatre. The city of Placidia and Theodoric is there, but of the city which Augustus made one of the two great maritime stations of Italy there is not a trace. Verona, as never being an imperial residence, was not on our list; but, rich as Verona is, Rome is, even proportionally, far richer. Provence is probably richer in Roman remains than Italy herself; but even the Provençal cities are hardly so full of Roman remains as Rome herself. The truth is that there is nothing so destructive to the antiquities of a city as its continued prosperity. A city which has always gone on flourishing according to the standard of its own age, which has been always building and rebuilding and spreading itself beyond its ancient bounds, works a gradual destruction of its ancient remains beyond anything that the havoc of any barbarians on earth can work. In such a city a few special monuments may be kept in a perfect or nearly perfect state, but it is impossible that large tracts of ground can be left covered with ruins as they are at Rome. Now it is the ruins, rather than the

perfect buildings, which form the most characteristic feature of Roman scenery and topography. And they have been preserved by the decay of the city, while in other cities they have been swept away by their prosperity. As Rome became Christian, several ancient building, especially among the temples, were turned into churches, and a greater number were destroyed to employ their materials, especially their marble columns, in the building of churches. But though this cause led to the loss of a great many ancient buildings, it had very little to do with the creation of the vast mass of the Roman ruins. The desolation of the Flavian Amphitheatre and of the Baths of Antoninus Caracalla comes from another cause. As the buildings became disused—and, if we rejoice at the disuse of the amphitheatre, we must both mourn and wonder at the disuse of the baths—they were sometimes turned into fortresses, sometimes used as quarries for the buildings of fortresses. Every turbulent noble turns some fragment of the building of the ancient city into a stronghold from which to make war upon his brother nobles, and to defy every power which had the slightest shadow of lawful authority, be it Emperor, Pope, or Commonwealth. Every sign, every struggle, every interval, however momentary, of regular government of any kind, led to fresh havoc, in the way either of building or of destroying these robbers' nests. The damage, which a lying prejudice attributes to Goths and Vandals, was really done by the Romans themselves, and, in the middle ages, mainly by the Roman nobles. As for Goths and Vandals, Genseric undoubtedly did some mischief in the way of carrying off precious objects, but even he is not charged with the actual destruction of any buildings. And it would be hard to show that any Goth, from Alaric to Totila, ever did any mischief whatever to any Roman monuments beyond what might happen through the unavoidable necessities and accidents of warfare. Theodoric, of course, stands out among all the ages as the great preserver and repairer of the monuments of ancient Rome. The few marble columns which Charles the Great carried away from Rome as well as from Ravenna can have gone but a very little way towards accounting for so vast a havoc. It is not only the peculiar history of Rome which accounts for the peculiar condition of her ancient buildings, neither perfect nor utterly swept away; it was almost wholly by Roman hands that buildings, which might have defied time and the barbarian, were brought to the ruined state in which we now find them.

But the Barons of mediæval Rome, great and sad as was the destruction which was wrought by them, were neither the most

destructive nor the basest of the enemies at whose hands the buildings of ancient Rome have had to suffer. The mediæval Barons simply did according to their kind. Their one notion of life was fighting, and they valued buildings or anything else simply as they might be made use of for that one purpose of life. There is something more revolting in the systematic destruction, disfigurement, and robbery of the ancient monuments of Rome, heathen and Christian, at the hands of her modern rulers and their belongings. Bad as contending Barons or invading Normans may have been, both were outdone by a foster brood of evil nephews. Who that looks on the ruined Colosseum, who that looks on the palace raised out of its ruins, can fail to think of the famous line

“Quod non fecere barbari, fecere Barberini.”

And well nigh every other obscure or infamous name in the roll-call of the mushroom nobility of modern Rome has tried its hand at the same evil work. Nothing can be so ancient, nothing so beautiful, nothing so sacred, as to be safe against the destroying hand of her own vandals. The boasted *Renaissance*, the time when men turned away from all reverence for their own forefathers, and professed to recall the forms and the feelings of ages which are forever gone, was, of all times, that when the monuments of those very ages were most brutally destroyed. Barons and Normans and Saracens destroyed what they did not understand nor care for; the artistic men of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries destroyed the very things which they professed to admire and imitate. And when they did not actually destroy, as in the case of statues, sarcophagi, and the like, they did all that they could to efface their truest interest, their local and historical association. A museum or collection of any kind is a dreary place. For some kinds of antiquities—which cannot be left in their own places, and which need special scientific classification—such collections are necessary. But surely a statue or a tomb should be left in the spot where it is found or in the nearest possible place to it. How far nobler would be the associations of Pompey's statue, if the hero had been set up in the nearest open space to his own theatre, or even with Marcus and the Great Twin Brethren in the Capitol, instead of being stuck up in an unmeaning corner of a private palace? It is sadder still to wind our way through the recesses of the great Cornelian sepulchre, and to find that sacrilegious hands have rifled the resting-place of the mighty dead, that the real tombs, the real inscriptions, have been

stolen away and copies only left in their own places. Far more speaking, far more instructive, would it have been to grope out the antique letters of the first of Roman inscriptions, to spell out the name and deeds of "Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus Gnaivod patre prognatus" by the light of a flickering torch in the spot where his kinsfolk and *gentiles* laid him, than to read it in the full light of the Vatican, numbered as if it stood in a shop to be sold, and bearing a forlorn inscription recording the "munificentia" of the triple-crowned autocrat who wrought the deed of selfish desecration. Scipio indeed was a heathen; but Christian holy places, places which are the very homes of ecclesiastical history or legend, are no safer than the monuments of heathendom against the desolating fury of ecclesiastical destroyers. Saddest of all it is to visit the sepulchral church of Saint Constantia—be her legend true or false makes no difference—to trace out the series of mosaics, where the old emblems of Bacchanalian worship, the vintage and the treading of the wine-press, are turned about to teach a double lesson of Christian mysteries, and then to see the place of the tomb empty, and to find that the tomb itself, the central point of the building, with the series of images which is begun in the pictures continued in its sculpture, has been torn away from the place where it had meaning and almost life, to stand as number so-and-so among the curiosities of a dreary gallery. Such is the reverence of modern potentates for the most sacred antiquities, pagan and Christian, of the city where they have too long worked their disfiguration.

In one part however of the city destruction has been, as in other cities, the accompaniment of reviving prosperity on the part of the city itself. One of the first lessons to be got by heart on a visit to Rome is the way in which the city has shifted its site. The inhabited parts of ancient and of modern Rome have but a very small space of ground in common. While so large a space within the walls both of Aurelius and of Servius lies desolate, the modern city has spread itself beyond both. The Leonine city beyond the Tiber, the Sixtine city on the Field of Mars, both of these beyond the wall of Servius, the Leonine city largely beyond the wall of Aurelian, together make up the greater part of modern Rome. Here, in a thickly inhabited modern city, there is no space for the ruins which form the main features of the Palatine, Cœlian, and Aventine Hills. Such ancient buildings as have been spared remain in a state far less pleasing than that of their ruined fellows. The Pantheon was happily saved by its consecration as a Christian

church. But the degraded state in which we see the Theatre of Marcellus and the beautiful remains of the Portico of Octavia, and, above all, the lower fate still to which the mighty sepulchre of Augustus has been brought down, if they enable the moralist to point a lesson, are far more offensive to the student of history than the utter desolation of the Colosseum and the Imperial Palace. The Mole of Hadrian has shared a somewhat different fate; its successive transformations and disfigurements are a direct, and a most living and speaking part of the history of Rome. Such a building at such a point, could not fail to become a fortress, long before the days of contending Colonnas and Orsini; and, if the statues which adorned it were hurled down on the heads of Gothic besiegers, that is a piece of destruction which can hardly be turned to the charge of the Goths. It is in these parts of Rome that the causes which have been at work have been more nearly the same as those which have been at work in other cities. At the same time it must be remembered that they have been fully at work for a much shorter period. And wretched as, with one great exception, is their state, it must be allowed that the actual amount of ancient remains preserved in the Leonine and Sixtine cities is certainly above the average amount of such remains in Roman cities elsewhere.

And now what is the general effect which a contemplation of the phenomena of ancient and modern Rome leaves upon the mind as to the present state and future destiny of a city which stands by itself in the whole history of the world? One conviction which is forced upon the mind is that the last three years have been among the most important years in its whole history. Those years have made Rome the head of Italy, but in making her the head of Italy, they have taken away her last claim to be looked on as the head of the world. The lover of the history and antiquities of Rome will be the first to rejoice in her liberation, the first to rejoice that the rule of the priest and the stranger is over, that the days of foreign inroads have passed away, and that the occupation of Bonaparte is as much a thing of the past as the occupation of Brennus. And he will be the first to understand and enter into the fervent longing of the Italian people to crown the deliverance and union of Italy, by the deliverance and annexation of her ancient head. He will understand how the other great cities of Italy, cities many of them so rich alike in ancient associations and in modern splendor, cities so long the seats of princes or of commonwealths more glorious than princes, could none of them bring themselves to yield the place of honor to

any one of their own number, while all were ready to yield it to that city which is alone Imperial and Eternal. Without Rome Italy was imperfect, and, in becoming part of Italy, Rome could not become any part short of the head. Yet from another point of view we must regret the change. If Rome is the natural head of Italy, it is also the museum, the picture-house of past times, the place of study and contemplation for the whole world. If Rome, as the capital of Italy, grows and flourishes, its forsaken quarters are likely to be again built over, and, if so, a great part of the unique charm of Rome will be lost, and the actual havoc likely to be wrought among its antiquities will be frightful. One is almost tempted to wish that united Italy could have reconciled the claims of her rival cities and could have marked the beginning of her new era by the foundation of a new city on a new site, a Panionion, a Washington, as the old League of the Allies had its Italica, as the Lombard League had its Alexandria. But it is now too late to draw back; Rome is the head of Italy; but it cannot be too deeply borne in mind that, in becoming the head of Italy, she ceases to be the head of the world. Rome, as the capital of a local Italian Kingdom, is no longer the Rome whose dominion was from the one sea to the other, and from the flood unto the world's end. She is no longer the Rome before whom all kings bowed down and to whom all nations did service. From the Rome of Cæsars and Pontiffs she has gone back to the Rome of the Punic Wars, the Rome which may have again to strive with Carthage or Macedonia, with Spain or Gaul, but a Rome which, as she looks on liberated Venice and Verona, will, we may trust remember that in the land beyond the Alps she has found a friend who without making sounding promises, really did what those who promised more loudly failed to do. No German Charles, nor Otto, nor Henry, nor Frederic is likely to come again to seek the crown of Rome, or the crown of Monza; but the old connection between Germany and Italy may still go on in a healthier shape. That Italy is free from the Alps to the Adriatic, and not only from the Alps to the Mincio, that she has again her head, freed from the dominion of the foreign invader—both these blessings come, in their different ways, of German friendship and German victories, of the victories of a power which does not indeed make war for an idea, but whose warfare is commonly the mightiest example of the irresistible logic of facts. But these very facts only show more clearly, how widely Rome the head of Italy differs from Rome the head of the world. A Rome who has to thank the German for her deliverance from the intruder, is another

thing indeed from the Rome who first held the Gaul as her bondsman, and then tamed him into her citizen, and who held the German at bay as her one equal European enemy. No one doubts the fact of the change; it is written in the history of mankind. But the first establishment of Rome as the local capital of a local Kingdom, of a single unit in the society of nations, is the first formal acknowledgement of the fact on the part of Rome herself.

Rome Ecumenical, Rome the head of the world, has lived two lives and has wielded the scepters of two dominions. She has been the Rome of the Cæsars and the Rome of the Pontiffs. In either character she has represented a principle exactly opposite to that principle of national life and national independence which is the mainspring of all modern European politics. In either character she has represented a power, not necessarily oppressive, not necessarily hurtful, but a power inconsistent with the full being and free growth of separate nations. The relation of her subjects, temporal and spiritual, to her central dominion has sometimes been bondage, sometimes amalgamation, sometimes simple subordination. But it has always been a relation in which separate kingdoms and commonwealths have had to acknowledge a power superior to themselves beyond their own borders. Now the acknowledgement of any such external superior, except in the shape of a freely chosen Federal head, is contrary to all modern political notions. This by no means proves that either of the two forms of Roman dominion, either the Empire or the Papacy, was in itself an evil thing. Like all other human institutions, each of them had its good and its bad side; there was a time when each of them served an useful purpose; but each of them, Empire and Papacy alike, came to outlive its usefulness. The Empire became a shadow, the title of a dominion, itself little more than shadowy, which had lost all local connection with either the Old or the New Rome. A time had come when a real Roman Emperor would have been hurtful to the interests of mankind, and no useful purpose was served by keeping up the title of a Roman Emperor who was no longer real. And as it was with the Empire, so it is with the Papacy. The Empire is gone, because the days of its usefulness were over; for the same reason the Papacy ought to follow it. The Papacy arose out of the Empire, and it should fall with it. The same causes which made Rome the temporal head of the world made her also the spiritual head, and the same causes which have made Rome cease to be the temporal head of the world should make her give up all claim to be the spiritual head also. The

objection of course is ready, that the Empire was a human thing, which arose and fell through human causes, while the Papacy is something inherently divine, something which did not grow by man's work and which man's work cannot overthrow. But the answer is ready also. In the days when the theory that Rome was the appointed head of the world was most fully accepted and most clearly drawn out, Empire and Papacy were held to be one as divine as the other. In the belief of Dante the two swords were of equal sharpness, the two lights were of equal brightness; if the Roman Pontiff was God's Vicar the Roman Cæsar was God's Vicar no less. The theory had its weak side as a theory, and it assuredly never was fully carried out in practice; yet it had its use. It held up before men's eyes in rude times the remembrance that there were powers on earth which claimed to rest on something more than brute force, and such a remembrance could not fail to be wholesome. But it is impossible to show by any of the facts of history that the spiritual power of Rome had any source different from her temporal power, that her spiritual power was divine in any sense in which her temporal power was not divine also. The Emperors of Rome were chief among princes, the Bishops of Rome were chief among bishops, simply because Rome was, or had been, chief among cities. But as the civilized world gradually settled down into independent nations with organized national governments, the theory of Roman dominion in both its branches became less and less applicable to the actual facts of the world's history. Only it was easier to patch up a new theory to defend it in the case of the Papacy than it was in the case of the Empire. But it has been done only by inventing dogmas which would have sounded strange indeed in earlier days. There is in truth a wide gap between the natural primacy of the Bishops of the Imperial City and the portentous doctrine of an infallible Pope. It may indeed be asked whether the dogma of an infallible Pope does not actually shut out the existence of a real Bishop of Rome, Bishop of the greatest and most venerable see in Christendom. Certain outward signs look as if it were so. Names, forms, titles, external objects and ceremonies, often prove a great deal. When a Roman Emperor-elect stooped, like the last Francis, to describe himself as "Emperor of Germany and Austria," it was proof enough that the days were past when a Roman Emperor could be of any real use among mankind. So, when we enter the church of Saint John Lateran, the patriarchal church of Western Christendom, the immediate home and see of the Roman Bishop, the church which boasts

on its front that Emperors as well as Popes have decreed it to be the head and mother of all the churches of the City and of the World, we soon see that, if the Roman Cæsar lived to forget his own being, the Roman Pontiff has lived to forget his no less. The high altar, reserved for the use of its Bishop only, stands useless while that Bishop hides himself in a distant corner of his city, grudging his flock their deliverance from the yoke of the foreign invader. The apse is there still, blazing with its rich mosaics, but its crown and centre is wanting; the chair of that see which ranks above Mainz and Canterbury and Lyons, no longer holds its place as the mid-point of the mighty semicircle. Cast out into the cloister, as a curiosity, a work of art, a relic of antiquity, the patriarchal throne of the world stands there empty and useless, to witness that the days have come when the power of which it is the figure should pass away. The days of Emperors and of Popes, the days of any power which stands in the way of the free development of independent nations, have vanished. Rome has exchanged her Ecumenical Cæsar for a local king; it is time that she should exchange her Ecumenical Pontiff for a local Bishop. Her temporal dominion is gone, even within her own peninsula; she is not the mistress of Italy but the head; her king is not King of the Romans, with Italy or the world as dependents on the Roman King and people; he is the King of Italy, the chosen chief of a nation among whom the citizen of Rome has no privilege over the citizen of Syracuse or Aosta. History cannot pretend to fathom the depths of infallible dogmas; but history shows that the spiritual and the temporal power of Rome arose from the working of the same causes, and it shows too that, now that those causes have utterly passed away, there is no longer any more ground for asserting the universal dominion of a Roman Pontiff than for asserting the universal dominion of a Roman Emperor.

ARTICLE II.

INDIAN CITIZENSHIP.

GENERAL FRANCIS A. WALKER.

THE proper treatment of the Indian question requires that we deal with the issues arising out of the peculiar relations of the aboriginal tribes of the continent to the now dominant race, in much the same spirit, profoundly philanthropic at bottom, but practical, skeptical, and severe in the discussion of methods and in the maintenance of administrative discipline, with which all Christian nations, and especially the English-speaking nations, have learned to meet the kindred difficulties of pauperism. It is in no small degree the lack of such a spirit in the conduct of Indian affairs which has rendered the efforts and expenditures of our government for the advancement of the race so ineffectual in the past; and for this the blame attaches mainly to the want of correct information and of settled convictions respecting this subject, among our people at large. So long as the country fluctuates in an alternation of sentimental and brutal impulses, according as the wrongs done to the Indian or the wrongs done by him are at the moment more distinctly in mind, it can not be wondered at that Congress should be reluctant to undertake the reorganization of the Indian service on any large and lasting plan, or that the Indian Office should hesitate to cut out for itself more work than it can look to make up in the interval between sessions.

What, to take a recent and memorable instance, would have been the fate of any scheme of Indian legislation, which was at its parliamentary crisis when the massacre of General Canby occurred? The work of years might well have been undone under the popular excitement attendant upon that atrocious deed. Yet it would be quite as rational to denounce the established systems for the care and control of the insane, and to turn all the inmates of our asylums loose upon the community because one maniac had, in an access of frenzy, murdered his keeper, as it would have been to abandon the established Indian policy of the government, the only fault of which

is, that it is incomplete, on account of anything that Captain Jack and his companions might do in their furious despair. The more atrocious their deed the more conspicuous the justification of the system of care and control from which this one small band of desperadoes had for the moment broken free to work such horrid mischief. Yet there is much reason to believe that had the Indian service at that time depended, as every service must once a year come to depend, on the votes of Congressmen, it would have failed, temporarily at least, for the want of them. Nor is it only acts of exceptional ferocity on the part of marauding bands which have sufficed to check all the gracious impulses of the national compassion. The reasons which have existed in the public mind in favor of the Indian policy of the government have not always been found of a sufficiently robust and practical nature to withstand the weariness of sustained effort, and the inevitable disappointments of sanguine expectation; and thus the service has at times suffered from the general indifference scarcely less than from the sharpest revulsions of public feeling.

Much has been said, within the past three years, of the Indian Policy of the Administration; and if by this is meant that the policy of the government in dealing with the Indians has become more and more one of administration, and less and less one of law, the phrase, with exception of an article too many, is well enough. As matter of fact, the sole Indian policy of the United States deserving the name was adopted early in the century, and it is only of late years that it has been seriously undermined by the current of events, while it is within the duration of the present administration that the blow has been struck by legislation at the already tottering structure which has brought it nearly to its fall.

To throw upon a dozen religious and benevolent societies the responsibility of advising the Executive in the appointment of the agents of the Indian service is not a policy. To buy off a few bands, more insolent than the rest, by a wholesale issue of subsistence and the lavish bestowal of presents, without reference to the disposition of the savages to labor for their own support, and even without reference to the good or ill-desert of individuals, this, though doubtless expedient in the critical situation of our frontier population, is the merest expediency, not in any sense a policy. Yet the two features specified have been the only ones that have been added to the scheme of Indian control during the continuance of the present administration, while, on the other side, an irreparable breach has been effected in that scheme by the action of powerful social forces, as

well as by the direct legislative contravention of its most vital principle.

From the earliest settlement of the country by the whites, down to 1817, the colonies, and afterwards the thirteen states, met the emergencies of Indian contact as they arose. The parties to negotiation were often ill-defined and the forms of procedure much as happened. Not only did each colony, prior to 1774, conduct its own Indian relations, generally, with little or no reference to the engagements or the interests of its white neighbors; but isolated settlements and even enterprising individuals made their own peace with the savages or received the soil by deed from its native proprietors. Nor on the part of the Indians was there much more regard for strict legitimacy. Local chieftains were not infrequently ready to convey away lands that did not belong to them; and where a colony grown powerful wished a pretext for usurpation, almost any Indian would do to make a treaty with or get a title from. It is scarcely necessary to say of negotiations thus conducted that they embraced no general scheme of Indian relations; that they aimed invariably at the accomplishment of immediate and more or less local objects, and often attained these at the cost of much embarrassment in the future, and even at the expense of neighboring settlements and colonies.

Throughout the history of colonial transactions, we find few traces of anything like impatience of the claims of the Indians to equality in negotiation and in intercourse. Neither the power nor the character of the aborigines was then despised as now. Strong in his native illusions, his warlike prestige unbroken, the Indian still retained all that natural dignity of bearing which has been found so impressive even in his decline. The early literature of the country testifies to the disposition of the people to hold the more romantic view of the Indian character, even where the animosities of race were deadliest; nor does it seem that the general sentiment of the colonies regarded the necessity of treating on equal terms with the great confederacies of that day, as in any degree more derogatory than the civilized powers of Europe in the same period esteemed the necessity of maintaining diplomatic relations with the great Cossack power of the North. Indeed, the treaty with the Delawares in 1778 actually contemplated the formation of a league of friendly tribes, under the hegemony of the Delawares, to constitute the fourteenth state of the Confederation then in arms against Great Britain, with a proportional representation in Congress. And this was proposed not by men accustomed to see negroes voting at the polls and even

sitting in the Senate of the United States, but by our conservative and somewhat aristocratic ancestors.

But after the establishment of our national independence, incidental to which had been the destruction of the warlike power of the "Six Nations," the nearest and most formidable of all the Confederacies known to colonial history, we note a louder tone taken, as was natural enough, with the aboriginal tribes, a greater readiness to act aggressively, and an increasing confidence in the competency of the white race to populate the whole of this continent. Earlier Indian Wars had been in a high sense a struggle for life on the part of the infant settlements, they had been engaged in reluctantly, after being postponed by every expedient and every artifice; but the conquest of the territory northwest of the Ohio appears to have been entered upon more from a statesmanlike comprehension of the wants of the united and expanding republic, than from the pressure of immediate danger. It was but natural that the concentration of the fighting power of the states, the consciousness of a common destiny, and the cession of the western territory to the general government, should create an impatience of Indian occupation which neither the separate colonies, nor the states struggling for independence, had felt. Yet even so, we do not find that, from 1783 to 1817, the United States did much more than meet the exigency most nearly and clearly at hand.

In the latter year, however, the negotiations for a removal of the Cherokees west of the Mississippi, although commenced under strong pressure from the much afflicted state of Georgia, and at the time without contemplation of an extension of the system to tribes less immediately in the path of settlement, mark the beginnings of a distinct Indian policy. In 1825, the scheme for the general deportation of the Indians then east of the Mississippi, was fairly inaugurated in the presidency of Mr. Monroe, Mr. Calhoun, his Secretary of War, proposing the details of the measure. In 1834, the policy thus inaugurated was completed by the passage of the Indian Intercourse Act, though large numbers still remained to be transported west.

The features of this policy were, first, the removal of the tribes beyond the limits of settlement; second, the assignment to them in perpetuity, under solemn treaty sanctions, of land sufficient to enable them to subsist by fishing and hunting, by stock-raising, or by agriculture, according to their habits and proclivities; third, their seclusion from the whites by stringent laws forbidding intercourse;

fourth, the government of the Indians through their own tribal organizations, and according to their own customs and laws.

This policy, the character and relations of the two races being taken into account, we must pronounce one of sound and far-reaching statesmanship, notwithstanding that an advance of population altogether unprecedented in history has already made much of it obsolete, and rendered necessary a general readjustment of its details.

The first event which impaired the integrity of the scheme of President Monroe, was the flight of the Mormons, under the pressure of social persecution, across the plains in 1847. The success of this people in treating with the Indians has often been noted, and has been made the occasion of many unjust reflections upon the United States, as if a popular government giving, both of necessity and of choice, the largest liberty to pioneer enterprise, could be reasonably expected to preserve peaceful relations with remote bands of savages, as effectively as a political and religious despotism keeping its membership compact and close in hand. But while the Mormons have certainly been successful in maintaining good terms with the natives of the plains, it is not so certain that their influence upon the Indians has been advantageous to the government, or to the white settlers not of the church. It clearly has been for their interest to attach the natives to themselves rather than to the government; it clearly has been in their power to direct a great many agencies to that end; and it will probably require more faith in Mormon virtue than the majority of us possess to keep alive much of a doubt that they have actually done so. We certainly have the opinion of many persons well informed that it has been the constant policy of the Latter Day Saints to teach the Indians to look to them rather than to the government as their benefactors and their protectors; to represent, as far as possible through agents and interpreters in their interest, the goods and supplies received from the United States, as derived from the bounty of the church; to stir up for special purposes or for general ends, troubles between the natives and the encroaching whites, east, west, and south; and finally so to alienate from the government, and attach to themselves the Utes, Shoshones and Bannocks, as to assure themselves of their aid in the not improbable event of a last desperate struggle for life with the power of the United States.

The next event historically which tended to the disruption of the policy of seclusion, was the discovery of gold upon the Pacific Slope, which in three years replaced the few insinuating priests and indolent

rancheros who had previously formed the white population of the coast, with a hundred thousand eager gold hunters. That the access of such a population, bold, adventurous, prompt to violence, reckless, and too often wantonly unjust and cruel, should stir up trouble and strife with the sixty thousand natives upon whom they pressed at every point in their eager search for the precious metals, was a thing of course. The Oregon War followed, and occasional affairs like that at Ben Wright's Cave, leaving a heritage of hate from which such fruits as the recent Modoc War are not inaptly gathered.

In 1855-6 occurred the great movement, mainly under a political impulse, which carried population beyond the Missouri. In two or three years the tribes and bands which were native to Kansas and Nebraska, as well as those which had been removed from states east of the Mississippi, were suffering the worst effects of white intrusion. Of the Free State party, not a few zealous members seemed disposed to compensate themselves for their benevolent efforts on behalf of the negro, by crowding the Indian to the wall; while the Slavery propagandists steadily maintained their consistency by impartially persecuting the members of both the inferior races.

Thus far we have shown how, instead of the natural boundary between the races which was contemplated in the establishment of the Indian policy of the government under President Monroe, two lines of settlement had, prior to 1860, been pushed against the Indians, one eastward from the Pacific, one westward from the Missouri, driving the natives in many cases from the soil guaranteed to them by treaty, and otherwise leaving them at a hundred points in dangerous contact with a border population not apt to be nice in its sense of justice or slow to retaliate real or fancied injuries; while, during the same period, a colony of religious fanatics, foreign to the faith and very largely also to the blood of our people, was planted in the very heart of the Indian country, with passions strongly aroused against the government, and with interests opposed to the peace and security of the frontier.

But it was not until after the Civil War that the progress of events dealt its heaviest blow at the policy of Indian seclusion. In 1867-8 the great plow of industrial civilization drew its deep furrow across the continent, from the Missouri to the Pacific, as a sign of dissolution to the immemorial possessors of the soil. Already the Pacific Railroad has brought changes, which without it, might have been delayed for half a century. Not only has the line of settlement been made continuous from Omaha to Sacramento, so far as the

character of the soil will permit, but from a score of points upon the railroad, population has gone north and gone south, following up the courses of the streams and searching out every trace of gold upon the mountains, till recesses have been penetrated which five years ago were scarcely known to trappers and guides, and lodgment has been effected upon many even of the more remote reservations. The natural effects of this introduction by the railroad of white population into the Indian country have not yet been wholly wrought. There are still reservations where the seclusion of the Indians is practically maintained by the ill-repressed hostility of tribes; some, where the same result is secured by the barrenness or inaccessibility of the regions in which they are situated; but it is evident that the lapse of another such five years will find every reservation between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains surrounded, and to a degree penetrated, by prospectors and pioneers, miners, ranchmen or traders. Against the intrusion of these classes, in the numbers in which they are now appearing in the Indian country, the Intercourse Act of 1834 is wholly ineffective. It was an admirable weapon against the single intruder. It avails nothing against the lawless combinations of squatter territories.

While the movements of population have thus in great part destroyed, and threaten soon utterly to destroy, at once the seclusion in which it was hoped the native tribes might find opportunity for the development of their better qualities, and the natural resources to which, in the long interval that must precede the achievement of true industrial independence by a people taught through centuries of barbarous traditions to despise labor, the Indian might look for subsistence, Congress in 1871 struck the severest blow that remained to be given to the Indian policy, in its fourth great feature, that of the self-government of tribes according to their own laws and customs, by declaring that "Hereafter no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe or power, with whom the U. S. may contract by treaty."

In the face of 382 treaties with Indian tribes, ratified by the Senate as are treaties with foreign powers, this may perhaps be accepted as quite the most conspicuous illustration in history of the adage, circumstances alter cases.* Since Anthony Wayne received

* The doctrine of a *vanishing* Indian nationality was strongly insisted on by Mr. Justice McLean in his opinion in *Worcester vs. The State of Georgia*:

"If a tribe of Indians shall become so degraded or reduced in numbers as to lose the

the cession of pretty much the whole state of Ohio from the Wyandottes, Delawares and Shawnees, times have indeed changed, and it is fitting that we should change with them. The declaration of Congress is well enough on grounds of justice and national honor; but it none the less aims a deadly blow at the tribal autonomy which was made a vital part of the original scheme of Indian control. The declaration cited does not in terms deny the self-sufficiency of the tribe for the purposes of internal self-government, but the immediate necessary effect of it is further to weaken the already waning power of the chiefs, while Congress yet fails to furnish any substitute for their authority, either by providing for the organization of the tribes on more democratic principles, with direct responsibility to the government, or by arming the Indian Agents with magisterial powers adequate to the exigency.

Under the traditional policy of the United States, the Indian agent was a Minister Resident to a "domestic, dependent nation." The Act of March 3, 1871, destroys the nationality and leaves the agent in the anomalous position of finding no authority within the tribe to which he can address himself, yet having in himself no legal authority over the tribe or the members of it. It is true that, as matter-of-fact, agents, some in greater, and some in less degree, continue to exercise control, after a fashion, over the movements of tribes and bands. This is partly due to the force of habit, partly to superior intelligence, partly to the discretion which the agent exercises in the distribution of the government's bounty; but every year the control becomes less effectual, and agents and chiefs complain more and more that they cannot hold the young braves in check.

The above recital, however tedious, has been necessary in order to set fairly forth the actual condition of the scheme of seclusion, which is still, in profession and seeming, the policy of the government. It must be evident from the recital that the purposes of this policy are not being answered and that the increasing difficulties of the situation of self government, the protection of the local law, of necessity, must be extended over them. The point at which this exercise of power by a state would be proper, need not now be considered, if indeed it be a judicial question. * * * But if a contingency shall occur which shall render the Indians who reside in a state incapable of self-government, either by moral degradation, or a reduction of their numbers, it would undoubtedly be in the power of a state government to extend over them the ægis of its laws."—6 Peters, pp. 593-4.

If, as would appear, Mr. Justice McLean by this intends that a state may exercise such discretion, so long as the U. S. continue to recognize the tribal organization, however feeble or corrupt it may in fact be, the doctrine is flatly contradicted by that of the Supreme Court in the Kansas Indians.—5 Wallace, 737.

uation, in the wider and closer contact of the two races, will soon compel Congress to review the whole field of Indian affairs and establish relations, which, if they cannot, in the nature of things, be permanent, will at least have reference to the facts of the present, and the probabilities of the immediate future. Whenever Congress shall take up in earnest this question of the disposition to be made of the Indian tribes, its choice will clearly be between two antagonistic schemes, seclusion and citizenship. Either the government must place the Indians upon narrower reservations, proportioned to their requirements for subsistence by agriculture, and no longer by the chase; reservations which shall be located with the view of avoiding as much as possible the contact of the races, and working as little hindrance as may be to the otherwise free development of population; and, around these, put up the barriers of forty years ago, reënforced as the changed circumstances seem to require: or the government must prepare to receive the Indians into the body of the people, freely accepting, for them and for the general community, all the dangers and inconveniences of personal contact and legal equality. No middle ground is tenable. If substantial seclusion is not to be maintained, at any cost, by the sequestration of tribes and by the rigid prohibition of intercourse, it is worse than useless to keep up the forms of reservations and non-intercourse. Many tribes are already as fully subject to all the debasing influences of contact with the whites as they could be if dispersed among the body of citizens, while yet they are without any of the advantages popularly attributed to citizenship.

It requires no deep knowledge of human nature, and no very extensive review of Congressional legislation, to assure us that many and powerful interests will oppose themselves to a readjustment of the Indian tribes between the Missouri and the Pacific, under the policy of seclusion and non-intercourse. Railroad enterprises, mining enterprises and land enterprises of every name, will find any scheme that shall be seriously proposed to be quite the most objectionable of all that could be offered; every state, and every territory that aspires to become a state, will strive to keep the Indians as far as possible from its own borders; while powerful combinations of speculators will make their fight for the last acre of Indian lands with just as much rapacity as if they had not already, in Western phrase, "gobbled" a hundred thousand square miles of it.

In addition to the political, industrial and speculative interests which will thus oppose the restoration of the policy of Indian seclu-

sion from the shattered condition to which the events just recited have reduced it, three classes of persons may be counted on to lend their support to the plan of introducing the Indians who have thus far been treated as "the wards of the nation," directly into the body of our citizenship. We have, first, those who have become impatient of the demands made upon the time of Congress and the attention of the people in the name of the Indians, and who wish, once for all, to have done with them. Such impatience is neither unnatural nor wholly unreasonable. It must be confessed that no good work ever made heavier drafts upon the faith and patience of the philanthropic. What with the triviality of the Indian character, the absurd punctilio with which, in his lowest estate, he insists on embarrassing the most ordinary business, and his devotion to sentiments utterly repugnant to our social and industrial genius; what, again, with the endless variety of tribal relations and tribal claims, and the complexity of tribal interests, aggravated by jealousy and suspicion where no previous intercourse has existed, and by feuds and traditions of hatred where intercourse has existed, the conduct of Indian affairs, whether in legislation or in administration, is in no small degree perplexing and irritating. The Indian treaties prior to 1842 make up one entire volume of the General Statutes, while the treaties and Indian laws since that date would fill two volumes of equal size. It cannot be denied that this is taking a good deal of trouble for a very small and not very useful portion of the population of the country; and it is not to be wondered at that many citizens, and not a few Congressmen, are much disposed to cut the knot instead of untying it, and summarily dismiss the Indian as the subject of peculiar consideration, by enfranchising him, not for any good it may do to him, but for the relief of our legislation.

Next we have that large and increasing class of Americans, who, either from natural bias, or from the severe political shocks of the last twelve years, have accepted what we may call the politics of despair, by which is meant, not so much a belief in any definite ill-fortune for the republic, as a conviction that the United States are being borne on to an end not seen, by a current which it is impossible to resist; that it is futile longer to seek to interpose restraints upon the rate of this progress or to change its direction; that the nation has already gone far outside the traditional limits of safe political navigation, and is taking its course, for weal or woe, across an unknown sea, not unlike that little squadron which sailed out from the Straits of Saltez on the 3d of August, 1492. Many of the per-

sons now holding these views were formerly among the most conservative of our people; but emancipation, negro suffrage, and the consolidation of power consequent upon the war, have wholly unsettled their convictions, leaving them either hopeless of the republic, or, as temperament serves, eager to crowd on sail, and prove at once the worst and the best of fortune. In this despair of conservative methods, some of these men have acquired an oddly objective way of looking at their country, which to every man ought to be a part of himself, and have apparently as much of a curious as of a patriotic interest in watching the development of the new forms and forces of national life. Men of this class, and they are not few, are not likely to hesitate in extending to the Indians citizenship and the ballot. A little more or less, they think, can make no difference. After negro suffrage, anything.

Finally we have a class of persons, who, from no impatience of the subject, and from no indifference to the welfare of the aborigines, will oppose the policy of seclusion, as an anomaly not to be tolerated in our form of government. These are men who cannot bear that, from any assumed necessity or for any supposed advantage, exception should be made, of any class of inhabitants, or in respect to any portion of territory, to the rule of uniform rights and responsibilities, and of absolute freedom of movement, contract and intercourse, the whole nation and the whole land over. Were the Indians ten times as numerous, were their claims to consideration stronger by no matter how much, and were the importance to them of seclusion far more clear than it appears, these political philosophers would steadily oppose the scheme. They might regret the mischiefs which would result to the Indian from exposure to corrupting influences, they might be disposed to favor the most liberal allowances from the public treasury, in compensation to him for his lands, and for his industrial endowment; but they would none the less relentlessly insist that the red man should take his equal chance with white and black, with all the privileges and all the responsibilities of political manhood.

In view of the likelihood that the expediency of Indian citizenship will thus become at an early date a practical legislative question, it seems desirable in the connection to state the constitutional relations of the subject. The judicial decisions are somewhat confused although from the date (1831) of the decision of Chief Justice Marshall in the *Cherokee Nation vs. the State of Georgia* (5 Peters, 1) to that (1870) of the decision in *The Cherokee Tobacco* (11 Wallace,

616), there has been a marked progress (note especially the decision of Chief Justice Taney in the United States *vs.* Rogers, 4 Howard, 567) towards the stronger affirmation of the complete and sufficient sovereignty of the United States. Yet in December, 1870, the judiciary committee of the Senate, Carpenter presenting the Report, after an incomplete, and in some respects an inaccurate and inconsequential* recital of judicial opinions, made the following startling announcement:

"Inasmuch as the Constitution treats Indian tribes as belonging to the rank of nations capable of making treaties, it is evident that an act of Congress which should assume to treat the members of a tribe as subject to the municipal jurisdiction of the United States, would be unconstitutional and void."

That this is not good law need not be argued inasmuch as the decisions previously cited, in the U. S. *vs.* Rogers and in The Cherokee Tobacco, assert the complete sovereignty of the United States in strong terms;† in the latter, the doctrine being explicitly affirmed that not only does the capability of making a treaty with the United States, which has been held to reside in an Indian tribe, not exempt that tribe from the legislative power of Congress, but that not even a treaty made and ratified, among the stipulations of which is such an exemption, even were that exemption the consideration for cessions the benefit of which the United States has enjoyed and continues to enjoy, can hinder Congress from at any time extending its complete legislative control over the tribe. Con-

* We are aware that this is a heavy charge, but it is justified by the facts. The recital is incomplete. The decision in the United States *vs.* Rogers is not referred to. This case is, as it was treated by the Supreme Court in The Cherokee Tobacco, of the highest importance.

The recital is inaccurate. An opinion is given at length as that of Kent in Jackson *vs.* Goodell, 20 Johnson, 193. This is a case in the Supreme Court of New York, Chief Justice Spencer delivering the opinion, Kent having been previously appointed Chancellor. The expressions quoted by the Committee are to be found in Goodell *vs.* Jackson, in error to the Court of Appeals, 20 Johnson, 693. The recital is inconsequential, as will appear by what is said further in the text.

† "We think it too firmly and clearly established to admit of dispute that the Indian tribes residing within the territorial limits of the United States are subject to their authority, and where the country occupied by them is not within the limit of one of the states, Congress may by law punish any offence committed there, whether the offender be a white man or an Indian."—Taney, Ch. J.

In The Cherokee Tobacco, the court quoting from Ch. J. Taney the sentence just preceding, and a similar utterance of Ch. J. Marshall, remarks, "Both these propositions are so well settled in our jurisprudence that it would be a waste of time to discuss them, or to refer to further authorities in their support."

siderations of good faith may influence individual Congressmen in such a case, but the constitutional competence of Congress in the premises is declared to be beyond question.

Nor is the extraordinary proposition of the committee's report better in reason than in law. The argument is in effect this: The United States makes treaties with foreign nations; the United States cannot legislate for foreign nations. The United States may make treaties with Indian tribes; *ergo*, the United States cannot legislate for Indian tribes. This course of reasoning implies that the sole objection to the United States legislating for foreign nations is that it makes treaties with them: whereas there are several other good and sufficient objections thereto. It also implies that the sole consideration for the United States treating with Indian tribes, called by Chief Justice Marshall "domestic dependent nations," is that it cannot legislate for them, whereas the real consideration has been one of practical convenience, not of legislative competence.

We shall best set forth the constitutional relations of this subject by presenting the premises, whether of fact or of law, upon which all the judicial decisions relative thereto have been founded.

1. As matter of fact, the European powers engaged in the discovery and conquest of the New World, left with the Indian tribes the regulation of their own domestic concerns, while claiming the sovereignty of the soil occupied by them. The Indian tribes thus continued to act as separate political communities.*

2. The Constitution of the United States excludes from the basis of Congressional representation "Indians not taxed," without further defining the same.

3. The Congress of the United States has, with a few recent exceptions, treated Indians in tribal relations as without the municipal jurisdiction of the United States.

4. The Senate of the United States has confirmed nearly four hundred treaties, negotiated by the Executive under the general treaty-making powers conferred by the Constitution, with tribes which embrace about three-fifths of the present Indian population of the United States. The House of Representatives has, from the foundation of the government, as occasion required, originated bills

* Throughout the whole course of this discussion on the Constitutional relations of the Indians we should indicate as subject to possible exception the tribes found upon soil ceded by Mexico. It is claimed that as Mexico never treated the Indians within its jurisdiction other than as a peculiar class of citizens, all the members of those tribes became citizens of the United States by virtue of the provisions of the Treaty of Gaudalupe Hidalgo, 1848.

for the appropriation of moneys to carry out the provisions of such treaties.

This comprises all that is essential in this connection. The *indicia* gathered from particular acts of the government, or from the phraseology of individual treaties, really add nothing to the above.

We believe the following propositions to be consistent with the facts of history and with the latest judicial decisions.

1. The exclusion by the Constitution of "Indians not taxed" from the basis of representation was in no sense a guaranty to the Indian tribes of their political autonomy, but was a provision in the interest of an equitable apportionment of political power among the states, some states having many Indians within their limits, others few or none.

2. The self-government enjoyed by the Indian tribes under the Constitution of the United States, as under the European powers, has always been a government by sufferance, by toleration, by permission. The United States, for their own convenience, have allowed this self-government, because to reduce the savages to the condition of submitting to civilized laws would have involved a great expense of blood and treasure, while, through the tribal organization, a much better government, for the purposes of the civilized power if not for the welfare of the Indians themselves, could be obtained than through an administration which should disregard that organization. But this toleration of savage self-government worked no prejudice to the sovereignty of the United States.

3. The decay of a tribe in numbers and in cohesion, no matter to what extent carried, does not bring the members of such tribe within the municipal jurisdiction of the state wherein they are found, so long as the tribal organization continues to be recognized by the National Government. See *The Kansas Indians*, 5 Wallace, 737.

4. Congress is constitutionally competent to extend the laws of the United States at once over every Indian tribe within the territories, if not within the states of the Union, even though treaties may guaranty to individual tribes complete and perpetual political independence, the breach of faith involved in the latter case being matter for possible conscientious scruples on the part of legislators, not for judicial cognizance—see 11 Wallace, 616, 2 Curtis, 454, 1 Woolworth, 155.

We have thought it important thus to review the doctrine of the Report of the Senate Judiciary Committee, because from the high

standing of the Committee, from the assumption which the Report* makes of completeness in the citation of "treaties, laws and judicial decisions," pertinent to the subject on the express ground of a desire to enlighten not only Congress but the country in respect to our Indian relations, and from the wide circulation given to the Report, as compared with that obtained by an ordinary decision of the Circuit or Supreme Court of the United States, the Report has apparently come to be accepted by Congress and the country as an authoritative exposition of the history and law of the subject, although in the very month in which it was submitted to Congress the Supreme Court, in the *Cherokee Tobacco*, pronounced a doctrine which cuts up that of the Report, root and branch.

Such being the constitutional competence of Congress to deal with the Indians, without restraint either from the self-government hitherto permitted them, or from treaties to which the United States are a party, it is for Congress to decide, firstly, what the good faith of the nation requires, and secondly, what course will best accomplish the social and industrial elevation of the native tribes, with due consideration had for the interests of the present body of citizens.

How then stands the matter with the faith of the nation? By the Report on Indian Affairs for 1872, there appear (p. 16) to be in the neighborhood of 120,000 Indians with whom the United States have no treaty relations. These certainly can have no claims to exemption from direct control, whenever the United States shall see fit to extend its laws over them, either to incorporate them in the body of its citizenship, or to seclude them for their own good. There are, again, as nearly as we can determine by a comparison of treaties with the Reports of the Indian Office, about 125,000 Indians with whom the United States have treaties unexpired, but to whom no distinct guaranty or promise of autonomy has been made. Examination of these treaties reveals nothing which should prevent the United States from establishing a magistracy and a code of laws

* "Although the Committee have not regarded the questions proposed for their consideration by this resolution as at all difficult to answer, yet respect for the Senate which ordered the investigation, and the existence of some loose popular notions of modern date in regard to the power of the President and Senate to exercise the treaty-making power in dealing with the Indian tribes, have induced your Committee to examine the questions thus at length, and present extracts from treaties, laws and judicial decisions; and your Committee indulge the hope that a reference to these sources of information may tend to fix more clearly in the minds of Congress and the people, the true theory of our relations to these unfortunate tribes." Report, p. 11. It would perhaps have been fortunate had the Committee found the questions difficult.

for the government of these tribes, according to principles suited to their present condition, yet tending to raise them to a higher social and industrial condition. On the other hand, the perpetual interdiction of all white persons upon the reservations of these tribes, except "such officers, agents and employees of the government as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in discharge of duties enjoined by law," would seem to preclude the possibility of these regions ever being opened to settlement, and the Indians thereon resolved into the body of citizens on equal terms. But, as matter of fact, not even such treaty provisions need, with intelligent and firm but kindly management, greatly or long embarrass the government in the adjustment of the Indian question according to either principle which may be adopted, seclusion or citizenship. Few of these tribes but are obliged, even now, to seek from the United States, more aid than they are entitled to by treaty; while it is certain that in the near future, most if not all will be thrown in comparative helplessness upon our bounty. The United States being the sole party to which they can cede their lands (8 Wheaton, 543), and the sale of the great body of these lands being their only resource, the government will have the opportunity, not only without fraud or wrong to this people, but for their highest good and indeed for their salvation from the doom otherwise awaiting them, to cancel the whole of these ill-considered treaties, leaving the natives where they ought to be, subject to direct control by Congress. We repeat there need never be any difficulty in securing at the right time and in the right way, the relinquishment of lands or privileges from the Indians. They are unfortunately only too ready to sacrifice the future to present indulgence; while the government on its part can always afford to pay them far more for their lands than their lands are worth to them. Under this relation of the parties in interest, and with the pressure of actual want, due to the inability of the natives properly to cultivate what they possess, the United States may at an early date, with good faith and judicious management, easily secure the relinquishment of every franchise that stands in the way of a satisfactory adjustment of the difficulty.

There is still a third body of Indians, about 55,000 in number, occupying chiefly the regions known as the Indian territory, and representing the tribes which were the subjects of the colonization policy of President Monroe, to whom the United States have plighted their faith that no foreign authority shall ever be extended over them without their consent. These are not beggarly and

vagabond Indians, to whom the offer of subsistence would be sufficient to obtain the relinquishment of their franchises, or the cession of their lands. They are self-supporting, independent and even wealthy. Their cereal crops exceed those of all the Territories of the United States combined. In the number and value of horses and cattle, they are surpassed by the people of but one territory. In expenditures for education by the people of no territory.* If these people ever relinquish their autonomy, it will be because they desire the privileges of American citizens. This may well be, in the immediate future, and surely will be, sooner or later, unless they are made to fear the violence and greed of their white neighbors. Meanwhile, they should be honorably protected in the enjoyment of their treaty rights. They have already advanced so far in civilization as to secure their own future, as against anything but squatter and railroad rapacity; and their fate does not properly form a part of the Indian problem of the present day.

Excepting thus the present inhabitants of the so-called Indian Territory, who ought to be excepted from any scheme that embraces the half-civilized and the wholly savage tribes, we have practically a clear field for any policy which Congress shall determine to be best suited to the serious exigency of the situation, for, however easy to dismiss the subject for the time with ridicule, the task of so disposing a nomad population of 200,000-240,000, as to reduce to a minimum the obstruction it shall offer to the progress of settlement and of industry, without leaving the germs of lasting evil to a score of future states, and at the same time to secure the highest welfare of that population: this task is a most serious one, to which the best statesmanship of the nation may well address itself.

In characterizing the classes of persons who will naturally be found among the advocates of the policy of an immediate bestowal of citizenship upon the Indian tribes, whether they be willing or

* See Annual Report, Board of Indian Commissioners, 1872, p. 12.

Constant efforts are made to break the force of such comparisons as these, by asserting that the progress of the Indian territory in industry and the arts of life is due to white men incorporated with the Creeks, Cherokees, and Choctaws. If this be true, it would seem that white men when brought under Indian laws, and adopted into Indian families, exhibit qualities superior to those which they develop when controlling themselves and organizing their own forms of industry and of government. This suggests the inquiry whether it might not be well to turn over two or three territories that might be named, to the Indians, with liberty to pick out white men for adoption and for instruction, in the hope that these communities might in time be brought up to the condition of that of which the Indians have had sole control for forty years.

unwilling, whether for good or evil, we have in effect stated all the arguments in favor of that policy, for it is not probable that, aside from those who would properly be placed under one or another of the classes indicated, there are a score of persons reasonably well informed in Indian affairs, who would so much as affect to believe that such a course would have other than disastrous consequences to the natives.

The considerations which favor the policy of seclusion, with more or less of industrial constraint, are so direct and familiar, and are sustained by so general a concurrence of testimony and authority, that they will not require us greatly to protract this paper in their exposition and enforcement. These considerations are four in number, three of them having especial reference to the interests of the Indians, the fourth bearing on the welfare of the states to be formed out of the territory now roamed over by the native tribes.

First, so long as an Indian tribe is left to its own proper forces and dispositions, free from all foreign attraction, it is not only easily governed, but the whole body obeys the recognized law of the community with almost absolute unanimity. No expressions would be too strong to characterize the social homogeneity of an Indian tribe, and the complete domination of the accepted ideas of right and wrong, of honor and baseness. Public opinion is there conclusive upon every individual, and the spectacle, seen in every town and village with us, of large numbers openly practicing that which public opinion reprobates, or refusing to do that which public opinion prescribes, is wholly unknown. We do not say that this is the most desirable as the ultimate form of society; but this tyranny of sentiment may and should be made a most powerful auxiliary for good in the early stages of industrial and social progress for this people.

Second, it is unfortunately true that when the Indian is, by the powerful attraction of a race which his savage breast never fails to recognize as superior, released from the control of the public sentiment which he has been accustomed to obey, he submits himself by an almost irresistible tendency to the worst and not to the best influences of civilized society. While there are undeniably exceptions to this statement, it is supported by such a mass of melancholy evidence in the history of scores of tribes once renowned for all the native virtues, that no one has the right to advocate the introduction to such influences of uninstructed and unprovided tribes, unless he is prepared to contemplate the ruin of nine-tenths of the subjects of his policy.

Nor are they the worst elements of the Indian which thus submit themselves to the worst elements of the white community. The very men who bear themselves most loftily according to the native standards of virtue, are quite as likely to fall, under exposure to white contact, as are the weakest of the tribe. Their familiar attractions all broken, their immemorial traditions rudely dispelled, their natural leadership destroyed, the members of a wild tribe, strong and weak together, become the easy prey of the rascally influences of civilized society.

Third, the experiment of citizenship, except with the more advanced tribes, is at the serious risk, amounting almost to a certainty, of the immediate loss to the Indians of the whole of their scanty patrimony, through the improvident and wasteful alienation of the lands patented to them, the Indians being left thus without resource for the future, except in the bounty of the general government or in local charity. On this point a few facts will be more eloquent than many words.

The United States have, by recent treaties or legislative enactments, admitted to citizenship the following Indians. In Kansas, Kickapoos, 12; Delawares, 20; Wyandottes, 473; Pottawatomies, 1604: in Dakota, Sioux, 250: in Minnesota, Winnebagoes, 159: in Wisconsin, Stockbridges, to a number not yet officially ascertained: in Michigan, Ottawas and Chippewas, 6039: in the Indian Territory, Ottawas of Blanchard's Fork, 150. Time has not yet been given for the full development of the consequences of thus devolving responsibility upon these Indians; but we already have information, official or semi-official, to the effect that the majority of the Pottawatomie citizens, after selling their lands in Kansas, have gone to the Indian Territory and reassociated themselves as a tribe; that of the Wyandottes, considerable numbers have attached themselves to the reorganized tribe in the Indian Territory; that of the Citizen Ottawas of Blanchard's Fork, nearly all have disposed of their allotted lands, and are still cared for to some extent by the government as Indians; that of the Ottawas and Chippewas of Michigan, a majority certainly, and probably a large majority, have sold the lands patented to them in severalty, in many cases the negotiation preceding the issue of patents, two parties of white sharpers contesting for the favor of the agent, in the way of early information as to the precise lands assigned, and the disappointed faction, in at least one instance, resorting to burglary and larceny for the needed documents.

It will thus be seen that of these Indians upon whom the exper-

iment of citizenship has been tried, more than half, probably at least two-thirds, are now homeless, and must be reëndowed by the government, or they will sink to a condition of hopeless poverty and misery.

Fourth, the dissolution of the tribal bonds, and the dispersing of two hundred thousand Indians among the settlements will devolve upon the present and future states beyond the Missouri an almost intolerable burden of vagabondage, pauperism and crime. It is not even essential to the result of a dispersion of these tribes that the law should pronounce their dissolution as political communities. Unless the system of Reservations shall soon be recast, and the laws of non-intercourse thoroughly enforced, the next fifteen or twenty years will see the great majority of the Indians on the plains mixed up with white settlements, wandering in small camps from place to place, shifting sores upon the public body, the men resorting for a living to basket-making, beggary and hog-stealing, the women to fortune-telling, beggary and harlotry ; while a remnant will seek to maintain a little longer in the mountains their savage independence, fleeing before the advance of settlement when they can, fighting in sullen despair when they must. It is doubtless true that some tribes could still remain together as social, even after being dissolved as legal, communities ; but the fate we have indicated would certainly befall by far the greater part of the Indians of the plains, were the reservation system broken up, in their present social and industrial condition. To believe that a pioneer population of two, three or four millions, such as is likely to occupy this region within the next twenty years, can, in addition to its own proper elements of disorder, safely absorb such a mass of corruption, requires no small faith in the robust virtue of our people and in the saving efficacy of republican institutions.

This last consideration we have urged, not on behalf of the Indians, but in the interest of the present white communities beyond the Missouri, to whom such a dispersion of the tribes would be a far greater burden than the maintenance of the reservation system in its integrity could possibly be, and in the interest of a score of states of the Union yet to be formed out of that territory. Surely it is not in such cement that we wish to have the foundations of our future society laid.

We conclude, then, that Indian citizenship is to be regarded as an end and not as a means ; that it is the goal to which each tribe should in turn be conducted, through a course of industrial instruction and constraint, maintained by the government with kindness

but also with firmness, under the shield of the reservation system. It is true that this system can no longer be kept up without sacrifice on our part. In the days of President Monroe, the sequestration of the Indians involved only the expense of transporting eighty or ninety thousand persons to a region not settled, nor then desired for settlement. To-day there is no portion of our territory where citizens of the United States are not preparing to make their homes. To cut off a reservation sufficient for the wants of this unfortunate people in their rude ways of life; to hedge it in with strict laws of non-intercourse, turning aside for the purpose railway and highway alike; and, upon the soil thus secluded, to work patiently out the problem of Indian civilization, is not to be deemed a light sacrifice to national honor and duty. Yet that the government and people of the United States cannot discharge their obligations to the aborigines without pains and care and expense, affords no reason for declining the task.

The claim of the Indian upon us is of no common character. The advance of railways and settlements is fast pushing him from his home, and, in the steady extinction of game, is cutting him off from the only means of subsistence of which he knows how to avail himself. He will soon be left homeless and helpless in the midst of civilization, upon the soil that once was his alone. The freedom of territorial and industrial expansion which is bringing imperial greatness to the nation, to the Indian brings wretchedness, destitution, beggary. Surely, there is obligation found in such considerations as these, to make good in some way to him the loss by which we so largely gain. Nor is this obligation one that can be discharged by lavish endowments, which it is of moral certainty he will squander; or by merely placing him in situations where he might prosper, had he the industrial aptitudes of the white man, acquired through centuries of laborious training. Savage as he is, by no fault of his own, and stripped at once of savage independence and savage competence by our act, for our advantage, we have made ourselves responsible before God and the world for his rescue from destruction and his elevation to social and industrial manhood, at whatever expense and at whatever inconvenience. The corner-stone of our Indian policy should be the recognition by government and by the people that we owe the Indian not endowments and lands only, but also forbearance, patience, care and instruction.

It is not unusual to sneer at the sentimentality of "the Quakers" and other active friends of this race. But we may as well remember

that posterity will grow much more sentimental over the fate of the Indian than any Quaker or philanthropist of to-day. The United States will be judged at the bar of history according to what they shall have done in two respects, by their disposition of negro slavery, and by their treatment of the Indians. In the one matter, the result is fortunately secure; nor will it be remembered against us, in diminution of our honor, that we procrastinated and sought to evade the issue, and for a time made terms and compromised with wrong. In that when at last we were brought face to face with the question we did the one thing that was right, and in tears and blood expiated our own and our fathers' errors, the ages to come will give us no grudging and stinted praise. Would that we were equally sure that no stain will rest upon our fame for what shall yet be done or left undone towards the original possessors of our soil! What is past cannot be recalled, nor has anything yet gone into history that need deeply dishonor us as a nation. Posterity will judge very leniently of all that has been done in heat of blood, in the struggle for life and for the possession of the soil by the early colonists; it will not greatly attribute blame that, in our industrial and territorial expansion and a conquest of savage nature more rapid than is recorded of any other people, savage man has suffered somewhat at our hands; it will not attempt nicely to apportion the mutual injuries of the frontier, to decide which was first and which was worst in wrong, red man or white; it will have ample consideration for the difficulties which the government has encountered in preserving the peace between the natives and the bold, rude pioneers of civilization. But if, when the Indians shall have been thrown helpless upon our mercy, surrounded and disarmed by the extension of settlement, and impoverished by the very causes which promote our wealth and greatness, we fail to make ample provision, out of our abundance, and to apply it in all patience and with all pains, to save alive these remnants of a once powerful people and reconcile them to civilization, there is much reason to fear that, however successfully we may excuse ourselves to ourselves by pleading the manifest destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race, impartial history will pronounce us recreant to a sacred duty.

ARTICLE III.

ART AT THE NATIONAL CAPITAL.

“ Art, with all its technicalities, difficulties, and particular ends, is nothing but a noble and expressive language, invaluable as the vehicle of thought, but by itself nothing.”—RUSKIN.

“ The Artist, it is true, is the son of his age ; but pity for him if he is its pupil, or even its favorite ! * * * Let him look upward to his dignity and his mission, not downward to his happiness and his wants.”—SCHILLER.

THE names of George Peabody and William W. Corcoran are linked together in personal friendship and in deeds of extraordinary munificence. Friends in business and social life from an early period in this century, they seem to have vied with each other in schemes of public beneficence and private charity. Our age is the better for their commercial success and their generous lives, and it will bear to its successor the high example of these two men, over whose memory will be shed an aureola resplendent with the light which comes from using the good gifts of God for the benefit of humanity at large. George Peabody's charitable enterprises, far-reaching in their extent, are scattering their benefactions not alone over the impoverished states of the South, but among the bleak hills of his native New England ; and thus there is no section of our land to-day that does not reap something of good from his successful career in trade. Alike prosperous in business and munificent in character, the venerable William W. Corcoran is still fulfilling his part in the closing years of a useful life by bestowing upon the city of his birth and of his success a large share of his princely fortune. In the northern section of Washington is situated the beautiful edifice known as the Louise Home. Visible from nearly every point of view in the Federal Capital, it attests the reverent love in which is embalmed the name borne by wife and daughter. Far more fitting as a memorial of the departed than a costly church-yard monument,

is this home for gentlewomen of the South whom the ravages of war made houseless and dependent. Surrounded with the comforts of a refined home, these "*guests*" of Mr. Corcoran, as he is wont to call them, live in a security and repose befitting their former life and social position. Touching tribute to the dead as well as noble gift to the living! "We celebrate," as Jean Paul Richter says, "nobler obsequies to those we love by drying the tears of others, than by shedding our own; and the fairest funeral wreath we can hang on their tomb is not so fair as a fruit-offering of good deeds."

Not content with establishing and endowing this magnificent charity for Southern women, Mr. Corcoran's generosity has found another want to be supplied in Washington. Having a taste for art himself, and possessing the means to gratify that taste, he has collected in his private gallery, from time to time, some of the best specimens of American painting and sculpture which adorn the collection of any private citizen. On the corner of Seventeenth street and Pennsylvania avenue, within a stone's throw of the Executive Mansion, and in the fashionable West End of Washington, stands the Corcoran Art Building. In architectural design it is modeled after the later French *renaissance*. It is two stories high, and surmounted with a Mansard roof and central dome above the main entrance. The building is constructed of pressed brick embellished with richly-traced brown-stone trimmings. Crypts for statuary, at a suitable distance apart, line the exterior of the walls, and as yet remain empty, but in course of time they will be filled with the statues of distinguished public men. The floors are laid on brick arches and iron girders, thus rendering the whole edifice fire-proof. It has a front on Pennsylvania avenue of one hundred feet, and on Seventeenth street of one hundred and fifteen feet. From the base to the cornice immediately under the roof it reaches a height of sixty feet. The Corcoran Art Building was begun as far back as 1859, and at the opening of the late war it had just been roofed in. In this unfinished state it was seized by the War Department, and became the office of the Quartermaster-General of the United States Army. It was held as an adjunct to the War Office for eight years, and shortly after the close of the war it was surrendered to its owner, who, as soon as he came into possession of the property, deeded it to a board of trustees of his own selection, in trust as a Gallery of the Fine Arts, to be held by them and their successors for the purposes indicated. If it be diverted from the original design for which it was erected, it reverts to the heirs of Mr. Corcoran. Renovated at

a large outlay, the Corcoran Art Building is now completed and dedicated, as the inscription over its portals informs the visitor, to Art. Under the direction of its accomplished curator, Mr. W. McLeod, an artist of no mean repute, it was formally thrown open to the public on the nineteenth of January. The valuable private collection of pictures of Mr. Corcoran formed the nucleus of the public gallery, around which have been gathered some good specimens of home and foreign artists; and this inception of the first attempt to secure for the Capital of the Nation an Art Gallery commensurate with its wants and tastes gives every promise of permanency and success, under the liberal spirit by which the donor and the trustees have inaugurated the enterprise.

Art education has made rapid progress towards the development of a correct taste during the last half century in America. We have outgrown that childhood period in which the thrifty brokers of Italian shops palmed off upon our credulous travelers spurious Claudes, Domenichinos, and Salvator Rosas. The establishment of Art-Unions and public galleries in our cities has done much to foster the study of the Fine Arts, and to propagate among the masses an appreciation of the creative ability of our own artists; while generous citizens here and there have extended timely aid and sympathy to struggling men of genius at the opening of their career. Vanderlyn found in Aaron Burr a liberal friend; Luman Reed gave Cole and Durand his warm support; Cooper was the early patron of Greenough; and the late Hiram Powers recognized in Longworth a firm and discreet counselor. The encouragement and patronage which the cultivation of Art now receives in America is not simply a pecuniary recompense, but a true realization of the moral grandeur of the artist's vocation. In this aspect of Art lies the supremest reward both to painter and to patron. Money is but a part of the artist's remuneration. It is in the emotion, the sensibility which respond to the creative beauty of the canvas, that the artist meets that encouragement, lacking which pecuniary emolument is but a paltry substitute. Art, too, has an important moral mission to fulfill in the development of our national character, and where on this continent is there greater need for a public gallery of the Fine Arts, than at the source from which emanate the defects of which they, in part, may become the corrective? There is apparent, to every traveled person of culture, in our character as in our manners, a want of repose. We need the contemplation of ideal beauty and excellence, not of professional or business life, but of nature and its interpreta-

tion by Art. The desire to enrich our homes and our public buildings with copies of the masters or pictures by our native artists, is not, as Margaret Fuller conjectures, "merely one of our modes of imitating older nations," but "it springs," to use her wiser suggestion, "from a need of balancing the bustle and care of daily life by the unfolding of our calmer and higher nature."* It is the ultimate purpose of the trustees of the Corcoran Art Gallery, we believe, to develop it, by-and-bye, into a school of design. Whether this be accomplished or not, we would suggest that instead of following the pernicious example of some of our older galleries, in attempting to secure originals of the great masters of the Italian, Spanish and Dutch schools, even in a state of mutilation, they seek to obtain good copies executed by skillful modern hands, as being far more serviceable than such irremediably faded originals as would be likely to reach our shores. A Correggio, a Titian, a Rubens, or a Murillo of any intrinsic value can rarely be obtained, while copies of surpassing excellence are within the reach of almost every public institution for the cultivation of Art. How many magnificent copies of Guido's Beatrice and Salvator Rosa's Catiline adorn even private collections in America!

We have detained our readers too long from the interior of the Corcoran Art Buildings, and we will take a cursory glance at the salons on the first floor ere we enter the large hall of paintings in the north end. On either side of the spacious staircase stands a bust in marble which at once attracts the visitor. The bust on the right is of Alexander Von Humboldt by the German sculptor Rauch, who was an intimate of the great savan, while the one studied art and the other represented the Prussian government at Rome. It is said that this bust was executed at the especial request of Humboldt for Mr. Corcoran. To the left is a copy of the magnificent colossal bust of Napoleon by Canova. It is to be regretted that the same sculptor's Josephine, once the property of the old American Academy of the Fine Arts in New York, is not a companion piece. Since the loss of Canova's Washington in the destruction by fire of the Capitol of North Carolina, there are few specimens from his chisel in America. Although Canova had never seen Washington, our early art critics lavished great praise upon the execution of the statue, if not upon the likeness.

As one leaves the hall to the left, one enters the office of the trustees, a large room, handsomely furnished and containing cabinet-

* Papers on Literature and Art, p. 108.

size portraits of the old masters. Passing along to the salon in the rear, in which are gathered many articles of *vertu*, an examination of the innumerable bronzes by Barye of the Jardin des Plantes of Paris, and vases of the most exquisite and delicate workmanship, will occupy the leisure of many a visitor; the classical scholar will linger longest at the case of the Hildesheim collection of utensils illustrating the domestic economy of the Romans. From specimens exhumed in Saxony, these various vessels have been designed in France, preserving in the adroitly-traced figures on ewers, tripods and bowls the original story of Pagan mythology.

The hall of paintings is above that reserved for sculpture on the first floor, which at this early stage is unoccupied. At the head of the stair-case the massive doors of the salon of pictures stand open, so that one catches as he ascends the stairs a glimpse of the full-length portrait of the donor of the gallery. The paintings, numbering about a hundred, are arranged according to no artistic classification. As the gallery grows numerically, and collects representatives of the different schools of art, some historical scale of arrangement can be determined upon. In the brief notice, which space compels us to bestow upon some of these pictures, we follow whither our fancy leads, for we appreciate the sentiment of Allston:—"I am by nature, as respects the arts, a *wide-liker*. I cannot honestly turn up my nose even at a picture of still-life, since, if well done, it gives me pleasure." The Cromwell and Milton of Emmanuel Leutze, long known to every visitor of the Capitol at Washington by his empaneled picture on its southwestern wall illustrative of Bishop Berkeley's verse,

"Westward the course of empire takes its way,"

is among the most pretentious pictures in size and design. Milton, the Latin secretary of the Protector, is seated at an organ, entertaining him and his family and courtiers, who lend an enraptured ear to the music of the poet. Cromwell, his wife, and child, the latter of whom is fondling a pet dog, are the central figures in the painting. There are in all seventeen persons delineated on the canvas. Cromwell is seated and rests his hands upon the hilt of his sword, while at his side is his wife, who possesses the same grim Puritanic features which give an almost sardonic hardness and severity to the face of her husband. Leutze has caught the sullen gloom of the Puritan, and it is as clearly manifested by his brush as it is described by Macaulay in his Essay on Milton. The woman and child, on Milton's right in the picture, are strikingly natural, both in attitude and feature; while the por-

traiture of the poet is blurred, without a single trace of expression, or a single point in detail to redeem it from sheer inanity. One seeks in vain for a trace of the physical grandeur or intellectual beauty of the Miltonic face. It may perhaps have been Leutze's aim to present the leading characteristics of the unlovely side of Puritanism, but Milton plays too prominent a part historically and artistically to be thus shorn of his laurels for the sake of a sentiment. Then again he was a Puritan in his life, if not in his song, and he is represented here, not as the author of *Paradise Lost*, but as the trusted counselor of Oliver Cromwell, and, alike with the Protector, he should share the essential preëminence of his political and religious associates.

Another name familiar at the Capital is represented by a single picture. Christopher P. Cranch, son of the late Chief Justice of Washington, possesses a versatility of talents which reminds one of William W. Story, our gifted sculptor at Rome. Poet, painter, and musician, Mr. Cranch renounced, in his devotion to art, the ministry of the Unitarian church, which he entered in early life. In its two-fold character he exhibits the truth of the remark of Annibale Carracci as few artists have done:—“*Li poeti dipingono con le parole li pittori parlano con l'opere.*” Friend and associate of Emerson and Ripley, he was in sympathy with the transcendental school of New England, and while a student of art in Rome, he visited, with Margaret Fuller, the notable objects of interest, and wrote, at her death, a beautiful monody, in which he revives these memories;—

“ How we recall the Italian days
Amid the Cæsar's ruined palace halls—
The Coliseum and the frescoed blaze
Of proud St. Peter's dome—the Sistine walls—
The lone Campagna and the village green—
The Vatican—the music and dim light
Of gorgeous temples—statues, pictures, seen
With thee.”

In art Mr. Cranch's success lies chiefly in the landscape. He has a correct eye for perspective, and he throws over his pictures a graceful repose more especially noticable in Italian landscape than perhaps any other. Hence his picture in the Corcoran Art Gallery, Castle Gondolfo, Lake Albano, is one of the best which we have seen from his easel.

Two pictures by Rossiter, of Cold Spring on the Hudson, call for no particular commendation. In his *Rebecca at the Well*, we have rather an attractive figure, in a loosely fitted white robe,

bordered on the shoulders and front with a line of blue. She is resting one elbow on an urn. Her complexion as well as eyes and hair are dark, giving to the features an Oriental cast, but the contour of the face is essentially modern. This blending of the eastern type of beauty with that, which for want of a better name we may call American, is the greatest fault in Rossiter's pictures. There is a compression about the mouth in Rebecca, and in the Blonde, Brunette, and Medium, which diminishes the general effect of an otherwise prettily executed female portraiture. No date is assigned to these two pictures, which is of importance in tracing the progress of living artists. From a close examination of many of Rossiter's pictures hitherto, we greatly prefer the works of his earlier career. His Eve, which we saw at his residence when completed, is not comparable with some of the studies of his younger days, while his Washington at home at Mt. Vernon is positively execrable.

Among the portraits are two by Rembrandt Peale—Bernardin de Saint Pierre, author of *Paul et Virginie* and Comte Charles Léon Ferdinand de Lasteyrie, publicist and art-critic. Both of these are most excellently done, and in the flesh, tint, and color are a refreshment to the eye weary with the visionary and ambitious treatment of ideal beauty under the brush of Rossiter. The relation which portrait painting sustains to art, is one of those mooted questions about which critics and artists occupy no common ground. There are theorists who combat the opinion that there exists any legitimate connection between individual portraiture and art in general, but the writers who have awakened in our century a spirit long unknown to criticism, give to the portrait a primary place. Goethe had a sort of aversion to portraits, not from a belief of their insignificance in art, but because by their silent reproaches they remind us of what we have lost. Schlegel calls portraiture the basis and the touchstone of historic painting. In the face of Saint Pierre we do not detect any indication of that spirit which cashiered the delightful writer and companion of Rousseau from the French army, nor is any of the discontent of his early life visible in its lineaments. On the contrary, we behold the intelligence and geniality of a hale old man, surrounded in the evening of his days with an elegance and ease of living which authorship, and the pension of Napoleon, enabled him to enjoy. The portrait of M. Lasteyrie, in frontal prominence, resembles the head of Lockhart in Faed's *Scott and his Friends at Abbotsford*. The intellectual beauty of the face, so serene and yet so strong, would be remarked by the connoisseur in any collection

of portraits of distinguished personages. Inman's portrait of Henry Clay, and Sully's full length of Andrew Jackson, are both admirable likenesses and add much to this department of the gallery. Of Madame Richard's Humboldt we cannot say so much; its opacity and chalkiness, even at the height at which it is placed on the wall, detract from what in other respects may be regarded as a good likeness. Humboldt's face, however, has so much individuality that its rugged lines are at once recognizable, even in a common-place portrait.

For those who feel an affection for Thomas Cole as a refined artist and man, the two gems catalogued the Departure and Return—companion pieces—have an interest which draws again and again to look upon these delightful expressions of the truthful and conscientious painter. Cole is to art what the gifted Henry Reed of Philadelphia is to literature. The principles of an ennobling sentiment which guided his life always made his art pure and ethereal. In his pictures there is nothing to shock acutest sensibilities or nervous tastes either by physical pain or mental anguish. A glow akin to a summer's day colors them with sunlight. They are but the reflections of that contemplative repose, the outcome of a poetic temperament subdued by a deep spiritual nature. Cole was endowed with the soul of the true artist, and William Cullen Bryant who knew him well said that he was not the product of the schools, trammelled by hereditary traditions of art which often dwarf a man of imagination.

"That he would have been a great painter," says his friend, "if he had never studied abroad—scarcely less great on that account—no man can doubt; but would he have been able to paint some of these pictures which we most value and affectionately admire: that fine one for example, the Ruins of Aqueducts in the Campagna of Rome, with its broad masses of shadow dividing the sunshine that bathes the solitary plain, strewn with ruins; its glorious mountains in the distance, and its silence made visible to the eye? . . . Cole owed much to the study of nature in the old world, but very little to its artists. He had a better teacher, and copied the works of a greater Artist."

The Departure and Return bear the date of 1837, and are therefore the expressions of his natural artistic life, developed by foreign and home study. They symbolize the disasters which befall the powerful in arms, when unmindful of the warning voice of the ministers of peace. Against a mountain range a castle of mediæval architecture is clearly defined in the foreground. Through the drawbridge a line of knights is wending toward the scene of conflict and a reverend

palmer, standing in cloistral habit under the shadows of a full-leaved oak waves the leader back. But heedless of the admonition they speed on their warlike career. The Departure is in midsummer. The foliage has deepened into richest green. Autumn comes and in the Return the variegated tints of declining nature seem in sympathy with the solemn pageant. The radiance of an autumnal sunset sends its golden light over hill and dale. The trees lengthen their shadows on the ground. The finger of decay touches every object in the outer world. A Gothic Church with its symbol of suffering pointing to the final consummation of the Christian's hope, stands amid the luxuriant foliage garish with the evening light, and through its colored windows mirrors forth the beams of the departing day. The dying knight who spurned the palmer's counsel, returns on a litter borne by his retainers, and followed by a companion-in-arms. His horse in the rear of its wounded master is riderless. The palmer with uplifted hands, as if in supplication to heaven for a disobedient spiritual son, sees the realization of those menaces of war which he vainly tried to avert. There is a masterly skill in the distribution of light and shadow in these pictures, particularly in the Return; and herein lies what is always difficult to accomplish in an open-air day-light picture. If criticised by the canon laid down by Coleridge "that a work of art should be judged by its intrinsic merits, not by its faults," we would regard them among the best paintings in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, for but one defect is observable, and that of such slight importance as to call for no remark.

Claude Joseph Vernet, illustrious pupil of a no less illustrious father, and Francisque Régis Gignoux, the follower of his master, Delaroche, represent in part the French school. In the Sea-port Vernet delineates with good effect the lashing of the angry waves during a storm. The picture is not large, but conveys a pretty clear idea of the dexterity with which the artist arranges lineal and aërial perspective and blends the sombre with lighter colors. The Winter Scene and the Landscape are products of Gignoux's residence in America. They serve rather as suggestions of his power in one phase of art than a complete impersonation of the genius of the man. They exhibit his partiality for shadows, in which he is faultless. Kensett's Sketch of Mount Washington and Doughty's Autumn on the Hudson, which we greatly admire, both indicate a delicate penetration into the mysteries of true landscape painting, and are full of atmospheric individuality and skill in the picturesque. Nature, after

all, is but the limning of the Divine Artist, and human art but an attempt to imitate His wonderful handicraft, to reveal its hidden beauties, to interpret its new and unseen relations.* Doughty's picture has the infinite varieties of tint and foliage for which the American Rhine is so remarkable in the early fall. We have frequently noticed that the greater number of visitors in a gallery of paintings slur over even the best landscapes, content with a momentary glance, and press towards the historical pictures. It is the tacit recognition, of which they are perhaps unconscious, that landscape painting occupies a far lower plane in art than the revelation of epic story or romance, and yet it is an indisputable fact that the proportion of good historical paintings, even in American art, is far in excess of fine landscapes. Tragedy in art, as tragedy on the boards, appeals by its story and its paraphernalia to faculties possessed in common by all men. The unlettered rustic can comprehend a great soul-stirring passion, be it on canvas or the stage, as the equal of any of us; but to take in a full appreciation of a reproduction by art of the scenes in which perhaps his life is passed, requires not only an eye skilled by practice but a feeling, an instinct, an intuition, call it what you please, which no labor can acquire, no art can teach. It is an habitual presence diffused over all qualities, moral and intellectual, which is well expressed by *ἦθος* in the terminology of Aristotle. Although Thomas Doughty began his art studies under discouragements which would have overawed a less devoted artist, he attained an honorable recognition from our best painters, and his landscapes have increased in value since his death. Always faithful to his own exalted conception of his vocation, he never prostituted his art to please the whims and caprices of the multitude, who are more readily captivated by the gay coloring of an elaborate theatre-curtain than by the most perfect delineation of a scene from nature. This fidelity to duty and to art left him at the close of his life almost penniless.

The Drought in Egypt by Portaels is a new painting by an artist of whom little is known in America. Its date is 1873. The scene represented is taken from one of the most terrible chapters in Old Testament history. "Take thy rod, and stretch out thine hand upon the waters of Egypt, upon their streams, upon their rivers, and upon

* "And what are Art and Science, if not a running commentary on Nature? what are poets and philosophers but torch-bearers leading us through the mazes and recesses of God's two majestic temples, the sensible and the spiritual world? * * * The more familiar we become with Nature, with the greater veneration and love do we return to the masters by whom we were initiated; and as they have taught us to understand Nature, Nature in turn teaches us to understand them."—*Hare's Guesses at Truth*, Am. Ed., p. 44.

their ponds and upon all their pools of water, that they may become blood (Exodus vii: 19)." There are in all fourteen figures; the central one is that of a wise man or astrologus of Egypt, who holds in his hand a scroll in whose mystic characters he finds no relief to stay the awful plague. His dark, dejected face and mournful attitude are eloquent of mute despair. His heavy robes form a background for the figure of a woman, whose striking features and passionate gesture seem to appeal to him for the dying child upon her knees. To the right an Egyptian woman of perfect Eastern type and voluptuous form, clad in costly garments, is supported by an Ethiopian slave, who holds up to the magician the rich jewels of her mistress as if to bribe his aid. To the left is a group of women, and among them a mother with wild haggard face upturned to the pitiless sky. Her dying infant is borne aloft as an offering to appease the angry gods. But perhaps the most pathetic of all is the quiet despair pictured upon the faces of the women leaning close to the empty well, their useless watering-pots a mockery, parched as they are with thirst. In the distance is seen the dried up bed of a river, and upon its verge lies a dead body, near which stand two mourners. The picture glows with a lurid light peculiar to Oriental scenes and altogether conveys an impression of the reality of suffering. The technical qualities are effective, and the Egyptian characteristics clearly and vigorously defined. The anatomical structure in representations of Egyptian life, in painting as in sculpture, is marked by certain details which, if properly understood by the artist, stamp his work as unmistakably eastern. This remark is essentially true of both ancient and modern Egypt. Winckelmann, the historian of Ancient Art, confirms this opinion. "A sculptor showed me," says he, "a thigh, together with the knee, of a kneeling figure in greenish basalt, as an Egyptian work; but I proved to him, by pointing out the markings of the bones and cartilages of the knee, that it was a Greek production, in spite of the Egyptian stone." *

It is not necessary at this day to speak of Huntington's *Mercy's Dream*, drawn from Bunyan, and Faed's *Shakespeare and his Friends*, so well known through excellent engravings; and as other important pictures still remain upon which we have a word to say, we will not detain our readers with two with which they are familiar.

Jean-Léon Gérôme, the disciple of Paul Delaroche, and Professor of Painting in the *École des Beaux-Arts*, has won various medals in

* Lodge's *Trans. of History of Ancient Art*, Vol. i., p. 258.

Art Exhibitions. His *Death of St. Jerome* places him in the foremost rank of the present French school of realists in art. His creations partake too much of the extravagant and the harrowing to please our fancy. He can paint beauty combined with grief, but not with joyousness or sweetness. He knows the strength of his own powers, and it can be said in his favor that he has a delicacy of mind which restrains him from attempting uncongenial subjects. His pictures are better adapted to public galleries than for private residences. One specimen of *Gérome* reveals the entire genius of the artist; the same monotony and murky coloring pervade all his pictures. If one were to spend hours in the study of his *Plague at Marseilles*, or his *Lioness meeting a Jaguar*, one would glean no clearer insight into his art than comes of an inspection of his picture in the Corcoran Gallery. Opposite the *Drought in Egypt*, but wholly unlike it in subject and detail, is *Gérome's Death of Cæsar*. The act of assassination has just been committed, and the dead body of the victim lies gashed and bleeding on the marble floor of the senate-house. The face is partially covered with his robe, but enough is revealed to exhibit even in death the stern and powerful features of Rome's greatest military chieftain. One sees only the pedestal of Pompey's statue which is bathed with Cæsar's blood. The chair which he occupied is overturned, the symbol of his departed power and suggestive of his encounter with L. Tillius Cimber, who seized his robe of office and dragged it from his shoulders as the signal to the conspirators that the moment of attack had arrived. Near his body lies a dagger, and at a greater distance, the parchment scroll containing a statement of the impending massacre, which the Greek sophist Artemidorus pressed into his hands as he entered the Capitol on that fatal morning. Cæsar's is the only figure on the canvas, and this, in conjunction with the somber colors with which the scene is clothed, heightens the awful desolation and death-like stillness which hang over the deserted senate-hall. True to that conception which always associates great physical development with extraordinary military prowess, the artist has delineated with wonderful success the muscular strength of the bared arm thrust out, in the fall, from the folds of the robe with which Cæsar enveloped himself when he espied Brutus among the conspirators. In the splendid animal frame which *Gérome* has given to Cæsar, the spectator realizes the majestic presence of the man who had reduced thousands of his conquered foes to slavery, who had confiscated their patrimony, and who by popular clamor had converted his best

friends and the noblest patriots of Rome into assassins. And yet the common end of *such* greatness.

The elements of beauty in another historical subject—Count Eberhard, of Wittemburg, weeping over the body of his son—was first tested in the alembic of a dramatic poet of Germany, from whom the artist has taken the story. It is the production of Ary Scheffer's earliest style, before he began to feel the influence of that remarkable school of painting which arose during the Pontificate of Gregory the Sixteenth. In the first decade of this century, a tall German youth, who had hardly passed his majority, took lodgings in the old convent of St. Isidore in Rome, to study art from a point of view wholly different from the realistic and romantic school of Lessing. It was Friederich Overbeck. He was soon joined by Cornelius of Dusseldorf, and Veit of Berlin, and in the halls of the Massimo Villa at the Lateran, each one of them painted in fresco an apartment, taking their subject from the Divina Commedia of Dante. The importance of this school in the history of modern religious art can scarcely be overestimated. Overbeck remained at Rome, but Cornelius and Veit became the founders of a Christian school of art at Munich, Berlin and Frankfort. They may be called the regenerators of art, for they led the age from the classical style back to that of the earlier Italian masters. Ary Scheffer's Count Eberhard was painted twenty-four years before his death, and it was during this period especially, that the influence of the school of Overbeck seems to have changed the selection of his subjects and to have cleared away that mannerism caught from his teacher, Baron Guérin. Traces of the transformation of his style are perceptible in his picture of Count Eberhard. Mr. Jarves says Ary Scheffer is a poet but not a painter. We would couple the two and call him a poet-painter, for such he was under the spell of the purer and sweeter types of his later years. His Christus Consolator, so reverent, so pathetic in conception, is known to every one by engraving. Scheffer belongs to that limited number of artists who subject every detail in art to an imaginary standard. He is never tame nor monotonous, but speaks in his faces through infinite gradations so nicely blended as to be imperceptible to the spectator. In a supreme degree he possesses a delicate ideal grace, discoverable in all his portraitures, no two of which are alike. Some of the effective elements, but none of the weak points of the artist are manifest in Count Eberhard. Ulrick, son of the count, had angered his father by the loss of a battle in which the former was severely wounded. When he had recovered

he met his father at the family board. Smarting under the disgrace with which his son had stained the proud escutcheon of Eberhard, the Count drew across the table-cloth a knife, cutting it in two between them. Young Ulrick left the castle of his father to return a corpse. He entered the next battle which he won and in which he was killed :

“ Back to the camp, behold us throng,
 Flags stream, and bugles play—
 Woman and child with choral song,
 And men, with dance and wine, prolong
 The warrior's holy day.

“ And our old Count—and what doth he ?
 Before him lies his son,
 Within his lone tent, loneliness,
 The old man sits with eyes that see
 Through one dim tear—his son ! ”*

Such is the event and such is the scene which Ary Scheffer, following the early ballad of Schiller, portrays on his canvas. Ulrick, apparently a lad of eighteen, lies dead upon a robe in his father's tent. He is clad in armor, part of which has been loosed about the neck in which he is wounded. His long hair, parted in the middle after the German University fashion, adds to the effect of the artist's personation of death on the youth's countenance. In exhibiting the dead pallor of the face there is none of that chalkiness visible which disfigures many kindred attempts by other painters. To one who comprehends the story which the picture depicts, the lusterless features of Ulrick are eliminated, as it were, from the painful vision, by the absorbing interest awakened on behalf of the sad old Count. The agony of his countenance, full of heavy Teutonic lines, expresses that more terrible inner misery of the heart which upbraids his conscience for his inhumanity to his son. The awful contemplation of his dead child swallows up every other feeling, and forgetful for the nonce of the meanness and cruelty of the unnatural parent, you fain would speak some word of tenderest pity to the poor old man unnerved by anguish and remorse :

“ If thou tellest the heavy story right,
 Upon my soul the hearers will shed tears ;
 Yea, even my foes will shed fast falling tears,
 And say—Alas, it was a piteous deed ! ” †

* Poems and Ballads of Schiller, Bulwer's Trans., p. 283.

† Shakespeare, Henry VI., Part iii.

In Eberhard's face, with its furrows deepened by sorrow, you still read the spirit of a man whom you would hesitate to rouse to hostility, as you would flinch before a lion in his lair. At the feet of his dead son lies a dog, looking pleadingly and sympathetically at the Count, showing even in his brute nature, more of human kindness than the gay retainers who celebrate the victory within the camp. Their revelry is in strange juxtaposition with the scene of death; but life in every sphere has as bewildering parallels. The Ducal Palace is ever in close proximity to the Bridge of Sighs.*

Christ Bound, attributed to Vandyck, Virgin and Child, to Murillo, and Sea-ports, to Canaletto, we do not purpose to analyze, but we may remark, in passing, that it requires an accurate and critical knowledge of the works of the latter, to distinguish them from those of his nephew and pupil, Bernardo Bellotto, who closely followed the style of his master. Nor can we dwell even for a moment, on other good pictures which are a source of delightful pleasure—*Le puits qui parle*, (The Talking Well), by Vély representing an interesting scene, we should judge by the costume, in the Canton de Veaux of Switzerland, Vennerman's Village Doctor, W. D. Washington's Huguenot's Daughter, and De Brackeleer's companion pieces, Happy and Unhappy Families.

One other name of great note in art will close our excursus upon the pictures of the Corcoran Gallery of Art. After a careful study, on several different occasions, of the Adoration of the Shepherds credited in the Catalogue to Raphael Mengs, we are not satisfied as to its genuineness. Eliminate from the picture the rich and gorgeous coloring of the drapery after the manner of the great Venetians, and hardly a trace remains to remind us of that high praise which Lanzi bestows upon him:—"We perhaps should not say," remarks he, "that Mengs was a whetstone which gave a new quality to the steel, which it could not otherwise have acquired; but that he was the steel itself, which becomes brighter and finer the more it is used."† Winckelmann is not eclipsed by Lanzi in his admiration of Mengs as a painter and as a critic in art. Flogged, and at times starved by a tyrannical but art-loving father, into a severe study of the great originals of Italy, Anton Raphael Mengs gave to the minutest details of his art a preparation and elaboration

* "There is seldom a line of glory written upon the earth's face but a line of suffering runs parallel with it; and they who read the lustrous syllables of the one, and stoop not to decipher the spotted and worn inscription of the other, get the least half of the lesson earth has to give."—*Faber's Sights and Thoughts in Foreign Churches*, p. 288.

† History of Painting in Italy, Eng. Ed., vol. i., p. 527.

before he put brush to the canvas, of which the history of artists shows few examples. In the Adoration of the Shepherds there are some good points which are unhappily counterbalanced by the bad. The shepherd kissing the feet of the Virgin is natural and vigorous, but we are almost at a loss what to say of the group of angels hovering over the manger. Their plump proportions and awkward attitudes border closely upon the realm of caricature, and are but poor representatives of the celestial ministrants who sang an anthem such as our earth never heard; while the Virgin and Child are wanting in expression, defective in color, and unworthy of a painter who was moved by that spiritualized conception known to Italian Schools before "the rise and predominance of Protestantism, which while it gave new life to Religion, struck Art with a palsy, from which it seems as if it could never recover."* The Adoration of the Shepherds viewed as a production of Mengs and in the light of the facts enumerated seems to us doubtful, or at least more authority than the catalogue of the gallery would be required before we would receive it as a veritable piece of his careful handiwork. Modern art, at best, has produced few good Madonnas, and indeed few great studies which appeal to the spiritual emotions of man. The mechanical skill, the genius of color and of expression, other things being equal, have had as great masters since the Reformation as were nurtured in the bosom of Catholicism, which has stood in relation to the arts

"Serene amidst the blood and dust of ages
Never waxing old, but on the stream of time from age to age,
Casting bright images of heavenly things."

The causes of the failure of art in post-Reformation times to create a religious school underlie the entire fabric of Protestant civilization, and the gulf which separates what may be denominated the art period from our age widens year by year. The religion of Protestantism, whatever good elements it may possess, is iconoclastic in the domain of the Fine Arts. The Middle Ages were pregnant with the *spirituel*. The epoch which nurtured a Dante, gave to its painters an ideal born of Mother Church, and the great masters offered to her those matchless conceptions of saintly beauty which a loyal homage could alone inspire. Chivalrous as we may be in our veneration for woman, we know nothing of the sublime ideality with which Catholic ages clothed her whom its theology revered not only as the

* William Ware's Lectures on Allston, p. 16.

Immaculate mother but as the loftiest type of womanhood in their civilization.*

In the Octagon salon of the Corcoran Gallery are a few pieces of sculpture, the central figure in position as in importance is the Greek Slave of the late Hiram Powers. The death of the sculptor last year at Florence, Italy, has again brought his name prominently before the critics, some of whom dispute the claims upon which his reputation rests, and question the ultimate place which he will occupy in art. The criticism from the London Athenæum, with which Mr. Jarves concludes his Essay on Powers, and in which he apparently coincides, will make few converts in this country :—"The Greek Slave was so bad that the popular applause which attended its appearance may be taken to prove the public ignorance of sculpture." Mr. Jarves, to whom we are indebted for this bit of criticism, has adroitly prepared the mind of the reader for the reception of this remarkable opinion by exhibiting certain idiosyncrasies of Powers as a man, thus creating a bias against him which culminates in positive disgust by the time one reaches the climax of invective from the Athenæum. That Powers was dogmatic in his profession and fretful under an imaginary neglect by his country, preferring self-exile to a generous reception always awaiting him at home, it would be useless to deny. With the habitual temper of his mind toward his brother workers and toward the land of his birth we have nothing to do; with its influence on his art we are concerned. Powers had no appreciation of the plastic art of the Greeks and he was too truthful to affect it. That he would have been a greater sculptor if he had devoted his earlier years to the study of the remains of its exuberant wealth, under the guidance of a Winckelmann, there can be no doubt, and it is equally true that a knowledge of ancient art would have produced in the Greek Slave the classic features to which it makes no pretension. In viewing the statue therefore, critical fairness compels us to deal with the results of the art-dicta of the sculptor rather than with precedents which he despised. How far is Hiram Powers legitimately successful, following his self-appointed canon, is the problem which the disinterested critic has to solve. There are those who use the scalpel of the critic, whose consciousness of ideal beauty is so

* Sir James Mackintosh says: "Have not dying Christs taught fortitude to the virtuous sufferer? Have not Holy Families cherished and ennobled domestic affections? The tender genius of Christian morality, even in its most degenerate state, has made the Mother and the Child the highest objects of affectionate superstition. How much has that beautiful superstition, by the pencils of great artists, contributed to humanize mankind!"

hampered by adherence to cast-iron laws of art, that the spiritual potency of a great creation eludes their grasp unless every element is conformed to preconceived rules. They remind one in their mental strabismus of that class whom Matthew Arnold calls

“Light half-believers in our casual creeds.”

Throwing aside the fact that the art of Powers won the approval of Thorwaldsen, the Danish sculptor, and of Everett and Sumner, the best connoisseurs that the Senate has ever had, we believe that the time is not near at hand when posterity will yield to another his position among the foremost of American sculptors. Nor can our ken penetrate into a future in which Hiram Powers will be looked upon merely as an inspired mechanic, devoid of all true conceptions of art.* The original Greek Slave, made for Captain Grant of the English army, is at Raby Castle. The copy in the Corcoran Gallery was taken from it by permission of the Duke of Cleveland, who subsequently became the owner. After so much has been written both in its praise and in its censure, it is not necessary to attempt any analysis of this magnificent creation enshrined in the beautiful verse of Mrs. Browning and of Henry Theodore Tuckerman. No piece of American sculpture has inspired such exquisite limning among the poets, creators too, possessed of

“The art and faculty divine,”

as the Greek Slave. All the arts which elevate man have a common bond of union, by which they become the best interpreters of each other.† In the charming picture of a Southern poet, the late J. R. Thompson of the New York Evening Post, the chaste loveliness of the statue lives as an exotic transplanted from the realm of art to that of song:—

“It is not that the cold and rigid stone
Is taught to mock the human face divine—
That silently we stand before her form,
And feel as in a holy presence there.

* “It must be confessed that Powers’ art has always savored more of the mechanical and the sensational than of the purely artistic; but he did honestly and energetically what he found to do; and when he had once found out that there was an art of sculpture, he labored long and earnestly, according to his gift, to win a high place in the field.”—*Louis Viardot’s Wonders of Sculpture*, p. 351.

† “Omnes artes, quae ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum et quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur.”—*Cicero, Arch. i.*

But in those fair calm lineaments of hers,
All pure and passionless, we catch the glow,
The bright intelligence of soul infused,
And tender memories of gentle things,
And sorrowing innocence, and hopeful trust."

And now we have reached the limit assigned us for our ramble among these works of art which have become the possession of the nation, and we conclude. It was the panegyric of one who wore in the Eternal City the imperial purple, that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble. It may not be presumptuous to argue, as regards art, a kindred eulogy for him who has made the needs and adornments of the National Capital the study of his later years. At all events, it can be said, without fear of contradiction, that Mr. Corcoran will have left it invested with new beauty which coming generations will amplify, when ours is mingled with the dust of the ages.

ARTICLE IV.

A U S T R A L I A .

BARCROFT BOAKE, D.D.

THE fact that the vast territory of Australia is designated by a single name causes much misconception. It is difficult to realize that its most widely separated parts are as far from each other as New York from San Francisco, and farther than London from St. Petersburg. The northern portion of Queensland is well within the Tropics, while the southern point of Victoria is nearly 40° from the Line; the whole of this vast island, which lies between $10^{\circ} 30'$ and 39° of south latitude, and between 115° and 153° of longitude, east from Greenwich, being 2400 miles in length, with an average breadth of about 2000 miles. There are five distinct colonies in Australia, each having a separate legislature, and separate, and sometimes conflicting, interests. The oldest of these is New South Wales, which was commenced as a convict settlement in 1788, and ceased to be a Crown Colony in 1856, when a Local Parliament and Responsible Government were instituted.

2. The next of the colonies in the order of seniority, though not of importance, is Western Australia, which was founded in 1829, and still continues to be a Crown Colony, without Responsible Government.

3. In 1834, an Act was passed by the British Parliament, for founding the Colony of South Australia. In that Act, it was provided that no convicts should ever be sent thither, and that, when the population should have reached 50,000, a Constitution, with Representative Government, should be granted to it. Both these provisions have been faithfully carried out. In 1849, the population was 52,904, and in 1850, the British Parliament conferred on the colonists the power of electing members to serve in the Legislative Council. South Australia is thus the first of these colonies that possessed a Representative Council, and the only one which has been from the first free from the taint of the convict system.

4. The first attempt at establishing a settlement at Port Philip was made in 1803, when Colonel Collins landed there with the intention of forming a penal colony, as an offshoot from that at Port Jackson. The site selected by him was, however, found to be unsuitable, and the settlement was transferred in the following year to Van Diemen's Land. In 1826, another attempt was made, under the command of Captain Wright, to establish a penal colony at Western Port subsidiary to that at Port Jackson. That attempt also failed; but in 1834, Mr. Henty, without any sanction from the British Government, landed at Portland Bay, where he was fortunate in finding some of the best land in what is now the flourishing Province of Victoria, and was the first to make a permanent settlement in that part of Australia. In the following year, Mr. John Batman, who had previously, in conjunction with Mr. Gellibrand, made an unsuccessful application to Governor Darling of N. S. Wales for permission to settle at Western Port, seems to have been encouraged by Mr. Henty's success to attempt the establishment of a settlement, as Mr. Henty had done, without any reference to the Government of N. S. Wales. His designs were, however, on a grander scale than Mr. Henty's. He entered into negotiations with the native tribes of the district, and purchased, or pretended to purchase, from them a tract of land, "situate and being in Port Philip, running from the branch of the river at the top of the Port (where the city of Melbourne now stands), about seven miles from the mouth of the river, forty miles N. E., and from thence west forty miles across Iramoo Downs, and from thence S. S. W. across Vilumanata to Geelong harbor at the head of the same, and containing about 500,000 acres, more or less." * This purchase was, of course, disallowed by Government, but Batman received compensation for the expenses he had incurred. In the same year, a Mr. Fawkner, who seems to have had no connection with Batman, settled with his followers on the present site of Melbourne. In 1836, H. M. S. "Rattlesnake" arrived, bringing with her, as the official head of the new settlement, Captain Linsdale, after whom one of the principal streets in Melbourne is now called. At that time the colonists had given to the new settlement the name of Glenelg, after the Colonial Secretary of the day. It was not until the next year that it was named Melbourne, after the then Prime Minister of England. In 1842, the area of the Colony of Port Philip, as it was then called, was increased, and the colonists were empowered to send six Delegates to represent them in the Legislative

* Quoted from "Batman's Treaty with the Aborigines," by Mr. Trollope.

Council at Sydney. This measure was, however, far from satisfying them; and after the lapse of eight or nine years, during which there was a constant agitation of the question in the settlement, the British Parliament passed an Act, in 1851, constituting Port Philip a separate colony, to which, by the wish, it is said, of the Queen herself, the name of Victoria was given.

5. Queensland is the youngest of the five Australian Colonies. About the year 1825, a penal settlement, for the reception of the worst class of criminals, was established at Moreton Bay, where Brisbane, the capital of Queensland, now stands. Thirty-four years later, *i. e.*, in 1859, it was separated from N. S. Wales. The power of electing representatives was conferred upon its people. A system of responsible government was instituted, and its present name was given to it by her Majesty.

Having thus given a brief account of the early history of the five colonies, we shall now proceed to describe their present state.

In New South Wales, as might be expected from its comparative antiquity, society has assumed a much more settled form than in the younger colonies. There are many to be met with among its inhabitants who can say that not only themselves, but their fathers and mothers also, were born in the colony. Their affection for the land has consequently begun to assume something of the character of patriotism, while in the other colonies, the affection which the settlers feel for the country of their adoption can scarcely be supposed to amount to more than a certain pride in the work of their own hands, and a deep interest in the prosperity of the colony in which they have settled, as being identified with their own. A conservative feeling is therefore more common in N. S. Wales than in the other colonies. Showing itself, as it always does, in a respect for established institutions. Mr. Trollope in describing Sir James Martin, who has been five times Attorney-General, and thrice, while holding that office, Premier also, and who is now Chief Justice of New South Wales, says he is "a proclaimed foe to separation, strong in loyalty to the crown, very English, very confident in his own colony; perhaps a little jealous of others, very pugnacious, a consistent and thorough-going politician, and almost a Tory." Now although all the other characteristics might be in Sir James' favor in any of the other colonies, in all of which loyalty and an aversion to separation seem to be predominant, yet his Toryism might be expected to have interfered with the success of his career, at least in Victoria, where a love for extreme democracy appears to be the sentiment that prevails in

the minds of the great majority of the electors. A colony which could, thrice allow an "almost Tory" to be at the head of its Executive, must certainly possess a considerable admixture of the conservative element. It is not only in its conservatism that N. S. Wales, and especially its capital, Sydney, shows some of the consequences of its having been settled so much longer than the other colonies. The majority of its well-to-do inhabitants, instead of being men who have won for themselves, by their own energy, the station which they enjoy, are the sons of such men; and having inherited the means of living, some in comfort, and others in great affluence, have not the same stimulus which their fathers had, to urge them to put forth their strength; the consequence is, that although there is more evidence of wealth to be seen in the magnificent equipages and splendid mansions of Sydney than in those of Melbourne, yet there is less of enterprise in the moneyed class than is seen in the younger and more successful colony of Victoria. It is not so easy to account for a similar want of energy in that portion of the New South Wales community which is possessed of neither competence nor wealth; but that such want does exist would seem to be proved, by the number of persons to be met with in the streets of Sydney who evidently belong neither to the wealthy nor to the laboring class, and who may be described as "shabby-genteel." There is poverty to be met with in Melbourne, even squalid poverty might doubtless be found in some of its back lanes, but the reduced gentleman either finds some remunerative work by which he can support himself, or else sinks altogether into that gulf of destitution in which every attempt to keep up an outward show of respectability is abandoned.

Western Australia, although the second of the colonies in seniority, is the most backward and the least prosperous, which may be accounted for, in part, by the fact that gold has never been found within its limits in sufficient quantity to pay for the labor of procuring it. The absence in Western Australia of gold, which has been of such service to N. S. Wales and Queensland, and more especially to Victoria, and of copper, which has added so much to the prosperity of Southern Australia, may in part account for this; but there must be other causes at work, which have contributed to keep it back; for the other four colonies had attained to a considerable degree of prosperity, before either gold or copper was discovered in any of them. Mr. Trollope, who is the latest authority on the subject of these colonies, and whose opinion is, from his ability, as well as from his evident desire to be fair and impartial in his statements,

entitled to very great weight, considers the principal of these causes to be the fact that, although there is as good land in Western Australia as in any of the other colonies, yet it lies in patches, sometimes far distant from each other, with very much desert or useless country between. It must be recollected, also, that not only has the absence of gold and copper placed this colony at a disadvantage, by depriving it of that inducement which the other colonies held out to gold and copper miners to settle in it, thus preventing it from increasing as rapidly as they did, but that many of its early settlers were actually enticed by the same motive to abandon it. Whatever may be the cause, however, it is certain that Western Australia, although the second of these colonies in point of age, has made far less progress than any of the others, having had, in 1872, a population of no more than 25,353, occupying an area of 1,000,000 square miles, which is about eight times the size of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The colony must not, however, be regarded as altogether a failure. According to Mr. Trollope's statements, a laboring man can always be sure of enough to eat and drink, and, if he will only behave himself well, of a comfortable home; eighteen shillings a week being the lowest wages given in the colony, without rations; while, in Mr. Trollope's opinion, a working man, with a working family, who could raise £200 to emigrate with, could scarcely do better than establish himself as a farmer in Western Australia.

South Australia, which was the third of these colonies that was founded, differs in some important points from the rest. Its real prosperity commenced with the discovery of copper, at the Burra mines, in 1845; and gold has also been found in alluvial diggings, though not in quartz reefs, until the recent discoveries in the Northern Territory, which, strange to say, belongs to South Australia, although separated from it by the whole breadth of the island-continent; but it possesses a peculiarity of soil and climate which enables it to grow wheat, which none of the other colonies can do, except Victoria. The quantity of wheat produced in South Australia is, however, much greater than that in Victoria; and the trade in wheat and flour is carried on on so large a scale that Adelaide has sometimes been called the "Farinaceous City." In the year 1872, 104,000 tons of breadstuffs were exported thence, and sold for £1,253,342;—while the quantity grown in Victoria is not sufficient for the use of its own inhabitants. In the other colonies, the pioneer settlers were undoubtedly the squatters, who spread their

flocks and herds over vast tracts of country which had been previously occupied only by wandering tribes of savages. In Adelaide, on the contrary, the settlement was commenced on a plan which is known as the Wakefield System, according to which the land was to be sold in small quantities at a sufficient price, so that the purchasers should settle on their own lands, and hold no more than they would be able to occupy beneficially for themselves and the colony at large. That plan was not strictly carried out; it was impossible indeed that it should be; for the experience of Victoria, as well as of South Australia, has very fully demonstrated that no legislative enactments can be devised which shall be capable of preventing the operations of land-jobbers on the one hand, who contrive to make a profit by purchasing land from the government, and selling it again at an advanced price to those who really wish to settle, and on the other, from the grasp of capitalists, who seek to get possession of extensive tracts by employing pretended settlers, or *dummies*, as they are commonly called in the colonies. But although the original plan was not thoroughly carried out, yet there is no doubt that the first settlers in South Australia were chiefly men whose object it was to commence as agriculturists on comparatively small allotments of land, and that the squatter, with his tens of thousands of sheep, instead of being, as in the other colonies, the first occupier of the soil, came in at a later period; and although he did subsequently make good his footing in the land, yet the value of the wool produced falls still considerably below that of the wheat grown by the cockatoos, as the small farmers are contemptuously called; the former having fetched the sum of £987,194 per annum, on an average of eleven years, whereas the average value of the wheat exported during the same period was £1,283,630 per annum. The magnitude of the scale in which squatting operations are carried on in South Australia, may be judged of from Mr. Trollope's account of a run which he visited, about 200 miles to the north of Adelaide, on which there were 120,000 sheep; the area of the run being 1,200,000 acres; so that there were 10 acres for each sheep. On this run, at the time of Mr. Trollope's visit, there was no grass whatever, although he was told that as soon as the rain should fall, the surface of the ground would be covered with grass; meanwhile the sheep were kept alive by feeding on the saltbush, an ugly gray shrub, about two feet high, which seems to possess the power of bringing forth its foliage without moisture. This foliage is impregnated with salt, and both sheep and cattle will feed upon it and

thrive. On this enormous run there were, according to Mr. Trollope's account, twenty wells, sunk to various depths, from fifty to one hundred and twenty feet; to each well was attached a large tank, holding from 30,000 to 60,000 gallons; from these tanks the water was distributed into troughs made of stone and cement, which are so arranged that sheep can be watered from either side. If, therefore, there be three such troughs, the sheep in six different paddocks can be watered from one tank,—the well being so placed as to admit of access to it from various paddocks, all converging on the same center. In this way 10,000 sheep will be watered at once. Each paddock contains perhaps 40 square miles, or over 25,000 acres. Each well, with its appurtenances of tanks, and troughs, and wind-mills, had cost about £500;—and there had been about as many failures in the search for water in wells which had been dug, but in which no water could be found. When to the cost of these is added that of fencing, it will be evident that no man who did not possess the command of a very large capital could attempt such an undertaking.

Copper is the third great source of wealth to South Australia. The Burra Burra mines were discovered in 1845. A company was formed, which began operations with a capital of only £1500 over and above the sum expended on the purchase of the land; and during the first six years, it exported 80,000 tons of ore, giving a profit of nearly half a million sterling. Gradually the surface copper was worked out; and still richer mines having been discovered at Wallaroo and Moonta, the working of the Burra Burra mines was, for a time, almost discontinued. When Mr. Trollope visited the place, however, in 1872, new operations had commenced under a new management, and many persons believed that a complete resuscitation would take place; and as the mines, both at Wallaroo and at Moonta, are said to be still richer than those at Burra Burra, it is evident that the mining interest in South Australia is in a very flourishing state.

Before quitting the subject of South Australia we must mention the Telegraph Line, which runs from Port Darwin, in the north, over against the Island of Timor, down to Adelaide, in the south; the whole length of 1800 miles being constructed through the territory and at the cost of this colony. By it telegraphic communication is opened, by means of ocean cables, with London. The successful completion of this great undertaking has given encouragement to the idea of another and much larger project—a railway from

Adelaide to Port Darwin, across the huge central desert of Australia. The cost of this is estimated at £10,000,000. There are no inhabitants in the country through which it is proposed that it shall run; and a year or two ago there were not more than 200 white inhabitants at the proposed terminus at Port Darwin. Their number has since been augmented by a few hundreds of miners, who have been attracted thither, principally from Victoria, by a report of the discovery of gold. The hope of the projectors is, that population would follow the railway, as it has always followed railways in the United States. Within 250 miles of the southern terminus, copper exists in large quantities, and the expense of carriage alone suspends its extraction; while gold has been found at the other end in considerable quantities. The proposal which has been laid before the South Australian Parliament is, that the land along the proposed line shall be divided into blocks of 10,000 acres each, of which numbers 1, 3, 5, etc. shall be granted to the company by which the railway is to be constructed, and numbers 2, 4, 6, etc. retained by the government. This seems to be a feasible plan for raising the requisite funds; but there are stupendous difficulties to be overcome; and it seems to be doubtful whether the project will ever be seriously undertaken.

According to the date of its establishment, Victoria would come next in order to South Australia; but we shall now proceed to give a brief account of Queensland, the youngest of these Australian colonies, reserving for our conclusion what we have to say respecting her eldest sister, Victoria, with which colony alone we have any personal acquaintance.

Queensland boasts to be the largest of the Australian colonies. It is doubtful, however, whether South Australia, which extends right across from ocean to ocean, and Western Australia, which occupies the western third of the Island, may not contest the title with her. There is more foundation for the assertion that she is larger than England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Belgium, Holland, and Denmark, all put together. This immense territory had in 1872 no more than 120,000 inhabitants. The great want of this, as indeed of the other colonies, is, therefore, population; but Queensland has been singularly unfortunate in her efforts to supply this want. In 1869, 1635 emigrants arrived in the colony, induced to come thither by the very liberal grants of land which were offered to them; but the great majority of these sold their grants and re-emigrated; 2272 persons having gone to the other colonies, in that year, over and above the

number who came into Queensland from other parts of Australia. Before Queensland became a separate colony, the only great commercial interest of the country was the pastoral. The country had been taken up by the squatters up to the line of the Tropic of Capricorn, and even beyond it. In 1858, just before its separation from N. S. Wales, the first discovery of gold was made. The colony produces grapes, oranges, and pineapples, but not apples, gooseberries, or currants. Wheat has been produced, but not so as to pay the grower of it. Oats are grown, but only to be made into hay. Cotton is also grown, but only in small patches. Sugar is produced largely, and will probably become the great rival of the wool trade. Wine is made, but as yet of an inferior quality. There is a considerable trade in timber; but the pursuit of gold, as gratifying the taste for gambling, seems to have the greatest attraction for a considerable portion of the population.

In Queensland, the bounties offered to immigrants are bestowed chiefly with the view of creating a class of small farmers; but the country is not adapted for farming. Indian corn, oaten hay, and a little butter are almost the only articles that the farmer can produce.

What is called in the colonies the squatting interest is predominant in Queensland. Strange as it may seem, the squatters are the aristocracy of Australia. It is they who own the millions of sheep, which supply the wool, which with gold constitutes the great export trade of the whole country. The squatters claim, and with justice, to have been the first pioneers of settlement. They occupied with their flocks and herds the vast tracts of country, over which the small tribes of the aborigines had previously wandered. Their attempts to be recognized as the owners of the districts which they thus occupied were systematically, and most properly, resisted. The resources of the country could never have been developed, if it had been left in the possession of great proprietors, who, in most instances, would scarcely employ more than one man for each ten thousand acres. While they were allowed, therefore, to feed their sheep on the unoccupied lands, on the payment of a nominal rent, they were made to understand that they had no title to their runs, and that they must make room for any settlers who chose to take up small plots of ground suited for agricultural purposes. In Queensland, however, the unoccupied lands are so extensive, the prospects of agriculturists so uninviting, and their numbers, consequently, so small, that the squatters are in no danger of being seriously interfered with by the free selectors, as the small farmers, who obtain grants from the

government of portions of their runs, are called. As these free selectors, of course, make it their business to choose the very best spots that they can find, "picking the eyes" out of the runs, to use a colonial phrase, and not unfrequently do this with the purpose of ultimately forcing the squatter to pay an exorbitant price for the portions they have selected from his run, they are naturally in very bad odor with the squatters; and, as they are scarcely able to produce enough upon their farms for the support of themselves and their families, they are very commonly accused by their aristocratic neighbors of adding to their means by stealing cattle and sheep. A very bad feeling has thus arisen between the two classes. There is one circumstance, however, which tends to mitigate, and which it may be hoped will, in course of time, put an end to this animosity. At the shearing season, the squatter stands in need of all the labor that he can procure; for this he pays very high wages; and those wages are a great advantage to the free selector, who, by means of them, is freed from the necessity, if, indeed, that necessity ever existed, except in the imagination of the squatter, of depending upon stolen beef and mutton for the sustenance of his family. Amicable relations are thus established between the farmer and the owner of flocks; and, as it may be hoped that a fair proportion of the free selectors are more honest than the squatters give them credit for being, there is reasonable ground for expecting that the hostility between the two classes will not be permanent.

We now come to Victoria, the youngest but one of the Australian colonies, but at the same time the one that has made by far the most rapid growth in wealth and prosperity.

The space which remains to us is far too brief to admit of our giving anything approaching to a full and accurate view of her present state and future prospects. We shall, however, proceed to describe in as few words as possible her peculiarities in respect of the principal points on which the well-being of a community depends; and first, we shall speak of her form of government.

From what has been already said, it may be inferred that Victoria is the most democratic of the five Australian colonies, with the exception, perhaps, of South Australia, in which a plan was adopted from the first for encouraging the settlement of a class of small proprietors. Western Australia has as yet scarcely emerged from the state of a Crown colony. The powers of its governor have, indeed, within the last three or four years, been somewhat limited by the institution of a Legislative Council, consisting of eighteen members,

six of whom are nominated by the government, and twelve are elected by the colonists; but while the governor can carry no measure without the consent of the Council, neither can the Council do anything without the consent of the governor; and, moreover, the governor himself, and not the ministers whom he appoints, is responsible for the administration of the colony.

In New South Wales, the mother of these colonies, a certain amount of conservative feeling has arisen from the long existence of a wealthy class of settlers, who may be regarded as the aristocracy of the colony, and, moreover, the members of the Upper House are nominated by the leading colonial minister, instead of being elected by the people, as they are in Victoria.

In Queensland, the climate is unfavorable to the prosperity of settlers who are not possessed of some amount of capital, and seems to be such as to make the colony peculiarly well suited for the operations of the owners of flocks and herds. In Queensland, therefore, the influence of the squatters is predominant.

In Victoria, none of these checks upon democracy exist. The ministers, appointed by the governor, being responsible to the Legislature, possess, of course, all the real power of government, and the Queen's representative possesses no more political authority in the colony than the Queen herself does in the mother country, with two important exceptions, however. When the existing Ministry finds itself unable to command a majority in the Lower House, or Legislative Assembly, he has the power of either granting or refusing to it a dissolution of that body; and he can also either refuse his assent to bills that have passed both Houses, or reserve them for the approval or disapproval of the Home Government. The Upper House, or Legislative Council, is elective, as well as the Legislative Assembly. The former is returned by six provinces, into which the colony is divided, each province returning five members. Of these five, one goes out every second year; so that each member of the Council is returned for ten years. A property qualification is required, both for the candidate and for the electors. The former must own property to the amount of £2500, and the latter must pay a rental of £50, or possess ratable property of that value. The Lower House is elected for three years, by manhood suffrage, and no property qualification is required, either for the candidates or for the electors. The votes for both Houses are taken by ballot. In Victoria, the representatives of the people are paid for their services, the members of both Houses receiving £300 a year each, and being entitled to

travel free by railways and mail-coaches. This plan of paying the members was only adopted in the year 1871, and, unless renewed by another bill, will cease in 1875. The advocates for the plan advanced two arguments in favor of it; first, that a better class of politicians would be induced to offer themselves as candidates; and, second, that working-men would be enabled to send forward some of their own body to represent them. The measure has, however, altogether failed in securing either of those objects. No one supposes that better men have been elected under the new system than were returned under the old; and there is not a single member of the present Assembly who was supporting himself by manual labor at the time of his election; although amongst the amenities which have occasionally been exchanged between honorable members, it has sometimes been insinuated that an opponent had formerly been a bullock-puncher;* whereupon the person accused has, forthwith, rushed into print to disclaim the soft impeachment. It is not very likely, however, that men of the class of which the Victorian Lower House principally consists will either refuse or neglect to pass a bill for the continued payment of their own stipends; so that the probability is, that payment of members will become an established institution of the colony. There is, as might be expected, a chronic state of antagonism existing between the two Houses; the Upper House, as representing the property of the colony, being animated by a feeling of conservatism, while the tendency of the Lower House is altogether democratic. Several bills, which were passed by the Lower House, especially one for facilitating the acquisition of land by free selectors, and for increasing the quantity which each might take up, and another providing conditions on which freehold lands should, when known to be auriferous, be thrown open to the operations of miners, having been rejected by the Upper House, a charge of obstructiveness has been advanced against it; and it is not impossible that many of the members selected for the Lower House at the elections which are about to take place, will be returned under a pledge to vote for the remodeling of the Constitution, in such a way as either to do away with the Upper House altogether, or to deprive it of the power of resisting the will of the Lower House.

* That is, a driver of a wagon drawn by bullocks. In former days, the roads were frequently so heavy as to render necessary the frequent application of the but-end of the whip to the animal's sides when the lash was found insufficient to urge forward. Hence the colonial term above used.

RELIGION.

Up to a recent period the State in Victoria granted to all Christian sects a certain amount of pecuniary support, which was distributed in proportion to the numbers belonging to each. A Bill was passed, however, in 1870, for gradually doing away with State aid to Religion, so as that it might finally terminate in 1875. In the large towns, and in the more settled parts of the country, the withdrawal of that aid has been scarcely felt; the congregations being both able and willing to support their ministers and their places of worship with more or less liberality; but it is different in "the bush," as the more remote parts of the colony are called. There the residents are, in many instances, both too few and too poor to be able to contribute what is necessary for the decent maintenance of their ministers. This difficulty would be but little felt, if the rich inhabitants of the towns, or the still richer pastoral tenants of the Crown, were inclined to give of their abundance, in order to supply the wants of their poorer brethren; but there is perhaps no part of the world, including even Ireland in the olden time, where the rich seem to be so far as they are in Victoria from recognizing the truth of the principle that "property has its duties as well as its rights." The number of *millionaires* in Victoria is said to be larger, in proportion to the population, than it is in London itself; but it would be difficult to name even two or three instances in which any one of them has contributed munificently to any religious, charitable, or literary undertaking. Nowhere is money more lavishly spent in amusement and dissipation, and nowhere is it more grudgingly contributed for any unselfish purpose. So much is this the case, that those who seek to raise money for any philanthropic object, are driven to appeal to the popular love of pleasure. Is it sought to establish an hospital? The only way for raising funds is by getting up a fancy ball. Is the building or enlarging of a church the object in view? A bazaar or fair must be had recourse to. Very small indeed are the contributions that are sent from Victoria in aid of foreign missions; and even the missions to the aborigines of the country, and to the Chinese that are resident within the colony, are miserably supported, insomuch that absolute want of funds has sometimes prevented them from being extended when opportunities occurred for increasing their sphere of usefulness.

EDUCATION.

Large sums have been expended by the Government of Victoria in promoting the education of the children of the colonists; and that expenditure has been so far successful that the colony will probably compare favorably, as regards the general diffusion of education, with most other countries. For those who seek to acquire a liberal education, there is a University with a small number of professors, all of whom are apparently equal to the discharge of their respective duties, while some of them are men of considerable learning and ability. By them lectures are given and examinations held; and degrees in Law and Arts are conferred by the senate. There are, also, several preparatory schools, which besides training up students for the University, impart instructions in the necessary branches of an English and commercial education to considerable numbers, and the elements of classical and mathematical knowledge to a few, who do not pass on from them to the University. In every community, however, the most important schools are those in which the mass of the population are educated. Up to a recent period, the State in Victoria supported a large number of schools, which were entirely under the control of the Educational Department, and aided in the support of a great many others, which were established by the different Christian denominations. This system was not found to work well, especially as regarded the denominational schools. If the Church of England opened a school in any township, the Presbyterians, Wesleyans, or Independents were sure to imagine that it was necessary for them also to have a school of their own; and the consequence was, that two or even three schools were frequently opened in a neighborhood where one would have been amply sufficient for the wants of the population. The expense was thus very much increased, while the quality of the instruction given was somewhat deteriorated; for it must be obvious to every one that one large school, capable of paying a sufficient salary to secure the services of a really able man as head master, can be worked both more economically and more efficiently than can two or three small schools, conducted by underpaid, and consequently, as a rule, inferior men. It was seen that this objectionable state of things was owing chiefly to the rivalry of the different sects; and an outcry, a very reasonable outcry, was raised against sectarianism, and especially against its being allowed to

interfere with the educational arrangements of the country. The secularists, who, in Victoria, as elsewhere, though a comparatively small, are a very active and noisy body, took advantage of the feeling that was thus excited, to press their own objection against the permission of religious teaching of any kind, in any school receiving aid from the public funds; and succeeded, to a very considerable extent, in persuading the great majority of the people and of their representatives, that the evils of sectarianism could only be got rid of by the total exclusion of every kind of religious instruction from the State schools. When the public mind was in this state, a very bold and comprehensive measure was brought forward by the government, the foundation of which was that the education given in the State schools should be free, secular, and compulsory. This met with very general approbation, although, if all that was intended by those words had been clearly understood in the first instance, it is possible that it might have been less favorably received. Many persons supposed that when the government proposed to make education free, they meant that it should be free only to those who were not able to pay for it; but when the details of the proposed measure came to be explained, it was seen that their intention was that it should be free to all, without any reference to the circumstances of the parents. One argument that was advanced in favor of this universal remission of the school fees was, that if some of the children were required to pay fees, while others were taught gratuitously, the latter would, in effect, be branded as paupers. The government bill was carried by an overwhelming majority in the Lower House; and when it went up to the Legislative Council it contained a clause prohibiting the masters of the State schools from either giving religious instruction of any kind themselves, or permitting such instruction to be given by others in their school-houses, either during school hours, or before or after those hours. Now there are many districts in Victoria in which there is neither church, nor chapel, nor any other building, except the school-house, in which divine service could be solemnized or religious instruction given, to old or to young. This clause, therefore, would have amounted, in all such districts, to a positive prohibition of every kind of religious teaching. The secularist party, however, had not as much influence in the Upper as in the Lower House, and that most objectionable clause was consequently struck out of the bill in its passage through the Legislative Council.

A period of nearly two years has elapsed since the passing of

the act, but no attempt has, as yet, been made to force instruction on any who were unwilling to accept of it. Promises have, however, been given that schools shall, so soon as it may suit the convenience of the Educational Department, be opened for the special benefit of the *gutter-children*—promises which conclusively prove the insincerity of those who objected to the establishment of a combined system of gratuitous and non-gratuitous instruction, on the ground that the recipients of the former would thereby be branded as paupers. The Act has in fact been administered solely in the interests of the well-to-do inhabitants, the education of whose children was well, though not perhaps perfectly, provided for before; and the street-children have, during all that period, been almost uncared for. Under the system which prevailed before, children whose parents were in indigent circumstances were admitted to the school without payment of fees. If, therefore, any child remained untaught, when there was a school within reach, it was the fault of his parents, and the only class to whom it was necessary to extend education was that class which was unwilling to receive it; and these are just the children who have, up to the present time, been left uncared for and untaught, although the necessity of providing for them was used as a reason for saddling the general revenue of the country with the whole cost of the Educational Department, a considerable portion of which had previously been defrayed by the fees paid by those whose parents were in good circumstances.

The effects of the new education scheme have not, however, been wholly evil. An incidental good of very great importance has arisen from it. The ministers of the various Protestant denominations have felt themselves constrained in some districts, by the impossibility of providing in any other way for the imparting of any religious instruction on week-days to the junior members of their flocks, to unite in order to avail themselves of that permission which the firmness of the Upper House extorted from the government and its adherents, to use the State school-houses for the purpose of giving scriptural instruction, before or after school hours. In one district in particular, five or six ministers of different denominations and one or two Christian laymen have made an arrangement by which each of the four or five schools in their neighborhood is visited three times in each week by one or other of their number. On those visits they confine themselves to instructing the children on those points on which they are all agreed, viz., those relating to the Faith and Duty of a Christian, reserving for their Sunday-Schools any

teaching, which they may deem to be necessary, respecting the peculiar tenets of the denominations to which they severally belong. This plan has now been working with perfect success for a considerable time; and it is hoped that the example thus set will be speedily followed in other districts; for nothing, perhaps, can be more effectual in doing away with sectarian asperities, than the discovery, even between those who differ most from each other on points of Church government and discipline, that they can work harmoniously and profitably together in the discharge of that which is certainly not the least important of their duties.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE LANDS OF THE COLONY.

Never, perhaps, was the inherent power of capital more strikingly manifested, than in the way in which a considerable portion of the public lands of Victoria have been alienated. The British Government, from the first, steadily and persistently refused to acknowledge the right of the squatters to the vast tracts which they occupied with their flocks and herds, and which they were, in some instances, the first to discover. It was not even permitted to them to purchase those lands, except in comparatively small quantities. When Victoria obtained the right of self-government, the same principle was professedly followed. The object, avowed by its Legislature, was to prevent the absorption of large tracts by great capitalists, and to create a yeomanry possessing small freeholds. It may, perhaps, be questioned whether those who drew up the Acts in which this principle was supposed to be embodied were, in all instances, perfectly sincere in the desire, which they professed, to open the lands to settlers with small capitals. The public men of Victoria do not, as a body, bear a very high character in public estimation, as may be conjectured from the fact that a London capitalist has been known to make it a condition before entering into business relations with a gentleman of some property, and of high standing both in the colony and at home, that he should pledge himself to have nothing to do with public affairs in Victoria. Whether the framers of the Land Acts, however, were sincere in their professions, or not, it is certain that they failed altogether to effect their avowed object. In spite of all the legislation by which it was attempted to keep the lands of the colony open for the people, vast tracts of the richest agricultural soil have passed into the hands of the squatters. Various amendments have been made from time

to time in the land laws, all of which were intended to prevent the acquisition of any more land by the great capitalists; and, as the laws now stand, it would probably be impossible for any large extent of the land of the State to be appropriated without the exertion of a considerable amount of ingenuity and the commission of a little perjury. Recent events have however shown that, where there is, on the one hand, land ready to be occupied, and on the other, men with money in their pockets, anxious to purchase it, neither will want of ingenuity, nor unwillingness to swear to a falsehood, or, what is much the same thing, to procure others to do so, stand long in the way of its transfer. There is no question that the squatters have been in some instances hardly dealt with, and that the public faith has not always been kept with them. The best part of their runs have been sometimes taken possession of by free selectors, and they have thus been driven off from lands which they had occupied for so long a time as to have begun to regard them as their own; and not unfrequently portions of their runs have been selected, with the intention of forcing them to buy them back, in order to free themselves from objectionable neighbors. Naturally, this has excited a very bitter feeling in their breasts against the free selectors, a feeling which these latter have been by no means slow to reciprocate. Thus there are two classes in the country, one of which is powerful by its wealth, the other by its numbers, who hate each other with a very bitter hatred; nor is it difficult to see which party will be ultimately victorious in the struggle that is going on between them. In a country where manhood suffrage is established, the continued existence of an aristocratic class can only depend upon the moderation of the mass of the people. And, unless the people of Victoria become gradually corrupted by the teaching of unprincipled demagogues, there is no great reason to fear that they will be guilty of any gross injustice towards those whom they regard as their opponents. It cannot be denied, however, that there do exist elements of danger in so disunited a community, and it would appear that the best means of averting that danger is to maintain as much as possible that feeling of respect for law, which seems to be a distinctive characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon mind. This is a point, of the importance of which the public men of the colony seem to be scarcely sufficiently aware. Not long since, a decision was given by the Supreme Court of Victoria in a case affecting certain mining property, about which there had been a great deal of litigation and some consequent excitement. When the persons in whose favor

the case was decided, proceeding to exercise the rights which the law had conferred upon them, went with a number of laborers to commence operations on their property, they were met by an excited mob, who, without inflicting any blows, jostled and hustled them about, and flung the picks and shovels of their laborers into a pit, thus effectually preventing the commencement of any work. During the time of this violence a body of police was on the spot, but under orders, as it was said, not to interfere; and when some of the ringleaders were brought before the magistrates, the charge against them was at once dismissed. The miners of the colony were not slow to infer from this transaction that the authorities were not inclined to punish them for taking the law into their own hands; and some months afterwards, when, in consequence of what the proprietors of a mine in another district regarded as the extortionate demands of the miners whom they employed, an attempt was made to introduce a number of Chinese miners, a much more dangerous mob assembled; barricades were erected; the Chinese laborers were ill treated; and a considerable body of police, whose attendance and active assistance the proprietors of the mine had in this instance sufficient influence to procure from the government, were beaten back, and some of them severely injured. Some of the ringleaders were fined £5 each for their violence; but their fines were immediately paid for them by a Society or Union of which they were members; and no inquiry has been held, to this day, into the conduct of the mayor of the township in which the riot occurred, who has been accused both of instigating the riot before it took place, and of afterwards, at a public meeting, expressing his approbation of the conduct of the rioters. No one supposes that the members of the administration look with any favor on these lawless proceedings. They are all of them men possessing some stake in the country, although none of them hold any very prominent position in the mercantile community to which they principally belong. They must be, and doubtless are, fully aware of the danger of allowing any class of the community to form a habit of taking the law into its own hands; but a general election is at hand; all these unruly miners have votes; and the ministry therefore dare not provoke them by any display of vigor in repressing their riotous proceedings. It is said that if these transactions had occurred at the commencement, instead of at the close of the triennial period for which the Victorian Parliament is elected, the action of the authorities would have been of a very different character: mean-

while the miners have learned a lesson which it may not be very easy to force them hereafter to unlearn.

GOLD.

From miners and their proceedings, the transition is easy to the metal which is the great object of their search. There is no question that it is the discovery of gold that has made the colony what it now is. It brought an amount of population to its shores, which it would not, without that discovery, have attained for many years to come. There is an idea, very generally entertained by those who are best acquainted with the subject, that the whole quantity of gold that has, up to the present time, been produced in Victoria, has cost more, ounce for ounce, than it has brought in the market. This may be true, and yet it may be shown that the colony has, as regards its material prosperity, gained largely by the influx of capital that has been produced by it. Of the moral effects that have resulted from it, it is necessary to speak with much more caution. Those who have invested money in the search for gold may, as a body, have actually spent more than they gained; but numbers of individuals amongst them have acquired large fortunes. It is, in fact, essentially a gambling pursuit, and numbers are enticed to continue to follow it by seeing the good fortune which their neighbors have met with, although they themselves have been losers; and it must be recollected also that the money, with which they have been enabled to gamble in mining speculations, has, in the great majority of instances, been acquired, either by actual mining, or by the profits which they have made by supplying miners with both necessities and luxuries. They thus spend in paying wages to miners, that money which they have made by trading with them; and the country is none the poorer for this transfer of their profits to the pockets of the miners whom they employ, while it is greatly enriched by the capital which it receives in return for the gold that it exports. And there is another consideration which seems to be overlooked by those who speak of the cost of producing gold being greater than the value of it in the market. A great change has taken place in the manner in which gold is procured. Formerly, it was looked for on the surface. A story is told of a bridge having been carried away bodily, when it was discovered that the stones of which it was constructed contained gold in sufficient quantities to be extracted from it in small nuggets by merely breaking them with a sledge-hammer. Now, the surface of all that

part of the country that is known to be auriferous has been so thoroughly searched, that very little gold can be found without digging deeply for it ; and surface-digging, or *fossicking*, as the colonists call it, is left almost wholly to the Chinese, who frequently contrive to make a livelihood by rewashing the tailings or refuse left by former European gold-washers, who had got as much out of it as they thought it worth their while to seek for. Even in the alluvial diggings, the diggers are now obliged to sink deep shafts, and to put up expensive machinery, in order to extract the gold from the clay, or wash-dirt, as they call it, in which it is found ; but alluvial digging is becoming every day of less and less importance, while quartz-crushing is, on the other hand, as rapidly increasing. This kind of mining cannot be pursued without the investment of a very large amount of capital. The cost of even alluvial gold-mining may be estimated from the account which Mr. Trollope gives of one mine which he descended at Ballaarat.

“ I went down one such mine,” he says, “ called ‘ Winter’s Freehold,’ descending 450 feet in an iron cage. I was then taken 4000 feet along an underground tramway in a truck drawn by a horse. At the end of that journey, I was called upon to mount a perpendicular ladder, about twenty feet high, and was then led along another tramway running apparently at right angles to the first. From this opened out the cross passages in which the miners were at work. Here we saw the loose alluvial grit, so loose that a pen-knife would remove it, lying on the solid rock—on it and under it—to the breadth, I was told, of some four feet ; for, though I saw the bottom of the grit, where it lay on its bed, I could not see the top where it was covered. Here and there, among the grit, with candle held up, and some experienced miner directing my eye, I could see the minute specks of gold, in search of which these vast subterranean tunnels had been made. It seemed to be but a speck here and there—so inconsiderable as to be altogether unworth the search. But the mining men who were with us, the manager, deputy-manager, or shareholders—for on such occasions one hardly knows who are the friends who accompany one—expressed themselves highly satisfied. I was told that £150,000 had been expended on this single mine up to the present time. . . . I was informed that hitherto the results had not been magnificent. There was, however, a good time coming, and all the money expended would certainly come back with copious interest. I hope that it may be so.”

Some of the mines which have been sunk at Bendigo, or Sandhurst, as it is now called, are much deeper than that which Mr. Trollope speaks of having descended in the alluvial district of Ballaarat, and the cost of sinking them must, of course, have been much greater ; but it is not only for the purpose of sinking shafts that capital is required in order to obtain gold from quartz-reefs. Expensive

machinery is necessary, both for raising the auriferous rock from these vast depths, for keeping the mines free from water, and for crushing the quartz when brought to the surface. According to statistics published by the Registrar-General of Victoria, it appears that there were in the colony, in 1872, 7534 machines used in gold-mining, the estimated value of which was £2,098,574. Considering that there were, in 1872, according to the Registrar-General's tables, 1025 square miles of auriferous alluvial and quartz ground actually worked upon, and that there were 3224 distinct quartz-reefs proved to be auriferous, we shall be probably very much under the mark, if we set down the number of mines sunk as not less than 100, and estimate the average cost of sinking each of these at £15,000, or one-tenth of the cost of "Winter's Freehold," which Mr. Trollope descended. We shall thus have a further sum of £1,500,000, which added to the value of the machinery will give a total of upwards of £3,598,000; the whole of which sum, and probably very much more, has been expended in making preparations for the procuring of gold, a great, probably much the larger, part of which preparations are now only beginning to make a return. That the quantity of gold procured by the aid of all these mines and machines will ultimately go far to reduce the alleged excess of the cost of gold-mining in Victoria above the value of the gold procured, seems to be rendered very probable by the fact that it was not until towards the close of the year 1873, that the dividends paid to the holders of mining shares in Sandhurst, the capital of the quartz-mining district, have begun to exceed the amount of the calls made upon them for the working of the mines.

IMMIGRATION AND PROTECTION.

When the alluvial diggings began to be worked out, and the change which has been above described in the manner of obtaining gold, began in consequence to take place, the number of men employed in digging or mining was very much reduced. Many, finding the occupation in which they had been engaged, no longer sufficiently remunerative, sought to return to the trades or handicrafts by which they had supported themselves in their native country. A very natural desire was felt to aid them in their attempt to do so; and it was thought expedient to endeavor to make Victoria, by their aid, a manufacturing country. This was, no doubt, a wise and praiseworthy object; but unfortunately, the legislators of the day were not satisfied to wait for the slow but steady and natural growth

which manufacturing enterprise was sure to make, aided by that protection which was necessarily afforded by the cost of bringing manufactured articles from the other side of the globe. They thought that it was expedient to foster the infant manufactories still further by the imposition of protective duties on all imported articles which they deemed it possible to produce within the colony. Victoria took the lead in this policy, and her example forced the neighboring colony of N. S. Wales to adopt it likewise; as, if she had not done so, the superior advantages held out to artisans in Victoria would have tempted all her population who belonged to that class to emigrate thither. Protection insured high wages to the working man; but it also caused an increased cost of all the articles that he had to purchase; and moreover, in order to maintain high wages, it was the interest of the laboring class, by whose votes chiefly the members of the Legislature are elected, that immigration should no longer be encouraged. Accordingly, free passages are no longer provided to induce laborers and artisans to come out from the mother country. Population, consequently, is nearly at a standstill, and is only increased by the natural excess of births over deaths. The laboring classes find that they can procure higher wages in the towns and at the factories than on the farms, and can only be tempted to engage in agricultural labor on terms which render it impossible for the farmers to employ them. The consequence is, that agriculture cannot be carried on in a proper manner. The farmer sows and reaps. He never manures, because the cost of labor renders it impossible for him to grow root crops or to house-feed his cattle. This process of taking constantly out of the soil and putting nothing in, has already exhausted some of the best agricultural districts in the country, and others are in a fair way to be similarly worked out before long. The cure for this state of things would be to render the country cheaper to live in, by removing the protective duties, and at the same time to reduce the cost of labor by encouraging immigration. Thinking men are beginning to perceive this, and to recognize the fact that the present system is maintained only for the benefit of about 42,000 artisans and 53,000 miners, out of a population of nearly 1,000,000; but these 95,000 working-men all have votes, and are unfortunately the keenest politicians in the country, and they not only give their own votes exclusively for candidates who are pledged to support the protective system, but they also influence a much larger number who are led away by the delusive cry of "protection for native industry." A change is, how-

ever, almost certain to take place ere long. N. S. Wales, which was induced to follow the example of Victoria in imposing protective duties, has recently abolished them. The two colonies are separated only by a river, and it seems hardly possible that protective duties (of 20 per cent. *ad valorem*, on some articles) can long continue to be levied in this colony, on goods which are introduced duty free into the adjoining colony, which is conterminous with it for a length of many hundred miles; and moreover the laboring classes, more particularly the miners and sailors, are beginning to abuse the advantage which the scarcity of labor gives them, and to be so extortionate in the demands they make, that they are forcing on a contest between themselves and the capitalists which must end either in their own defeat or in a revolution. The ship-owners have an easy remedy against the unreasonable demands of the seamen; and some of them are already beginning to have recourse to it. Any number of Lascars and Seacunnies can be procured from the Indian seas and the Straits of Malacca, at a rate of pay greatly below that which ship-owners would be willing to pay to European sailors; and already some of these men have been sent for. The shareholders in the gold mines have also a means of bringing the miners to their senses. They have nothing to do but to suspend the working of their mines, or to continue only to work them so far as may be necessary to prevent their property in them from being forfeited to the State. The miners, who are now driving away, not only Chinese, but even any of their own countrymen who may be willing to work on lower terms than they demand, cannot long hold out when operations are thus suspended; and the result must be that capital will be again victorious, though the victory will be a costly one both to the conquerors and to the conquered.

ARTICLE V.

MONOPOLIES.

THE HON. CHARLES C. NOTT.

THIS word monopoly has always been hateful to English ears. Notwithstanding its Greek derivation and foreign form it has been in common use for three centuries, and the common people of the land know as accurately as though they had studied its etymology that it means the artificial right of one man alone to sell that which all men ought to be allowed to sell. Shakespeare according to Mrs. Cowden Clarke uses the word but once. The reference is to the speech of the fool in Lear, where he avers that he is not the only fool, and adds: "Lords and great men will not let me; if I had a monoplie out they would have part on't." Act 1. Scene 4.

In George Gascoigne's "Satyre" called "The Steele Glas," written before the 15th of April, 1576, there is this passage:

"And master Merchant, he whose trauail ought
Commodiously, to doe his countrie good,
And by his toyle, the same for to enriche,
Can finde the meane, to make monopolyes
Of every ware, that is accompted strange."

And in Holland's Plinie, published in 1601, the word is employed as one commonly understood:

"And in very truth many have gotton great gain and profit by the commoditie and merchandise, and namely with their crafty devise of monopolies that all might pass through their hands only."

Bacon in his advice to Sir G. Villiers says:

"Especially care must be taken that monopolies which are the cankers of all trading be not admitted under specious colours of the public good."

One of the earliest English definitions of the word is to be found in the quaint reading of Sir Simonds D'Ewes' Journals of all the Reign of Queen Elizabeth:

"The speaker gave the clerk a bill to read and the House called for the exchequer bill. Some said yea and some said no and a great noise there was. At last Mr. Lawrence Hyde said, Mr. Speaker to end this controversy because the time is very short I would move the House to have a very short bill read entitled, 'An Act for the explanation of the common law in certain cases of letters patents.' All the House cried, 'I,' 'I,' 'I,' So after it was read the question was to be propounded for the committing of it, and some said commit; some, engross it. At length Mr. Spicer Burgess of Warwick stood up and said, Mr. Speaker: This assembly may be said to be *libera mens* and *libera lingua*. Therefore, freely and faithfully that which I know I will speak to this House: First let us consider of the word monopolie what it is. *Monos* is *unus* and *polis* is *civitas*; so then the meaning of the word is a restraint of anything public in a city or commonwealth to a private use.'"

The deduction of the representative of Warwick was erroneous in attributing the latter half of the word to *πολις*, city, instead of to *πωλεῖν*, to sell, but the definition is excellent—"a restraint of anything public in a city or commonwealth to a private use."

This bill relating to cases of letters patent was debated at length and among others by "Mr. Francis Bacon." The facts brought before the House by the debate may have suggested the advice to Villiers and the averment that monopolies "are the cankers of all trade." Sir Robert Wroth said:

"These patentees are worse than ever they were." "There have been divers patents granted since the last Parliament; these are now in being, viz: the patents for currants, iron, powder, cards, ox shin-bones, train oyl, transportation of leather, lists of cloth, ashes, anise-seed, vinegar, sea-coals, steel, aquavitæ, brushes, pots, salt-peter, lead, accidents, oyl calumet stone, oyl of blubber, fumathos or dried piltchers in the smoak and divers others." . . . "Upon the reading of the patents aforesaid, Mr. Hackwell of Lincoln's Inn stood up and asked thus; 'Is not bread there?' 'Bread,' quoth one, 'bread,' quoth another. 'This voice seems strange,' quoth another; 'this voice seems strange,' quoth a third. 'No,' quoth Mr. Hackwell, 'if order be not taken for these, bread will be there before the next Parliament.'"

Sir Walter Raleigh justified his patent for the monopoly of "Tinn" upon the same ground that state interference with private trade is often now justified.

"Now I will tell you that before the granting of my patent whether tinn were bout of 17s and so upward to 50s a hundred, yet the poor workmen had but 2s the week finding themselves; but since my patent whosoever will work may and be tinn at what price so ever they have 4s a week truly paid. There is no poor that will work there but may and have that wages."

It is previously recorded, however, in the debates that one Dr. Bennett said:

"In respect of a grievance out of the city for which I come I think myself bound to speak that now which I had not intended to speak before. I mean the monopoly of salt. It is an old proverb *sal sapit omnia*; fire and water are not more necessary, but for other monopolies of cards (*at which word Sir Walter Raleigh blusht*), dice, starch and the like, they are (because monopolies), I must confess, very hurtful, though not all alike hurtful."

The extent to which these monopolies were pressed may be illustrated by the case stated in this debate by Sir Edward Hobbie who

"informed the House of the great abuse of the patentee for salt in his country," that "where salt (before the patent) was wont to be sold for sixteen pence a bushel it is now sold for fourteen or fifteen shillings a bushel. But after the Lord President had understanding thereof he committed the patentee and caused it to be sold for sixteen pence as before."

The result of this effort at Parliamentary reform we may also note. On a subsequent day "Mr. Speaker after a silence, every man marveling why the Speaker stood up, spake to this effect," that it had pleased her majesty "to lay the axe of her princely justice to the root of the tree;" that the Queen had sent for him and declared she never assented to grant anything which was *malum in se*, and that as to these monopolies "some should be presently repealed, some suspended, and none put in execution but such as should first have a trial according to the law for the good of the people." Mr. Secretary Cecil then "stood up," and after reviewing the monopolies and rating the House for the publicity that had attended their debates, left this historic attestation of the feeling of the time: "I have heard myself, being in my coach, these words spoken aloud, 'God prosper those that further the overthrow of these monopolies. God send the prerogative touch not our liberty.'"

This being the end of the first battle against monopolies we may now pass to the second.

In the following year, 1602, there came before the Chief Justice (Popham) and all the Judges what has been known ever since as the great *Case of Monopolies*. Edward Darcy, Esq., a groom of the Privy Chamber, brought his action on the case against a haberdasher of London for manufacturing playing-cards, notwithstanding that the Queen had granted one Ralph Bowes a patent for twelve years, declaring that he, and none other, should have the making of cards within the realm; and subsequently the same exclusive*privileges for twenty-one years to the plaintiff. The case was argued with great ability for the plaintiff, and at the head of his array of counsel was

Coke, then Attorney-General. But it was resolved by the Court that the grant to the plaintiff of the sole making of cards within the realm was utterly void, and the reasons given for the decision embrace about all that has since been said by courts against monopolies:

“First; All trades, as well mechanical as others, which prevent idleness, the bane of the commonwealth, and exercise men and youth in labor for the maintenance of themselves and their families and for the increase of their substance to serve the Queen when occasion shall require, are profitable for the commonwealth; and, therefore, the grant to the plaintiff to have the sole making of them is against the common law and the benefit and liberty of the subject.” Second; “The sole trade of any mechanical artifice, or any other monopoly, is not only a damage and prejudice to those who exercise the same trade, but also to all other subjects, for the end of all these monopolies is for the profit and gain of the patentees,” and, “therefore, they are inseparable incidents to every monopoly against the commonwealth. First; That the price of the same commodity will be raised, for he who has the sole selling of any commodity may and will make the price as he pleases.” Second; “After the monopoly is granted, the commodity is not so good and merchantable as it was before, for the patentee, having the sole trade, regards only his private benefit and not the commonwealth.” Third; “It tends to the impoverishment of divers artificers and others, who before by the labor by their hands in their art or trade have maintained themselves and their families.”

Such being the result of these two great battles, legislative and judicial, it remains to be noted that, in 1610, James I. commanded to be printed a Declaration of His Majesty's Pleasure, etc., by which he declared—“that monopolies were things against the laws of the realm,” and, therefore, he expressly commanded that no suitor presume to move him to grant any of them; and that in 1623 there was enacted by Parliament the Act Concerning Monopolies.

This celebrated statute which has continued to be the foundation of the patent law of England to this time is most sweeping in its provision, “that all monopolies and all commissions, grants, licenses, charters, and letters patent,” “of or for the sole buying, selling, making, working, or using of anything within this realm,” shall be “utterly void and of none effect, and in no wise to be put in use or execution.” But it makes several exceptions among which is one for “any manner of new manufacture within this realm to the first and true inventor,” and it bases its distinction upon the philosophical reason that they “be not contrary to the law nor mischievous to the state by raising of the prices of commodities at home, or hurt a trade, or generally inconvenient.”

It also lays the foundation of our modern system of copyright by providing that the statute:

“ Shall not extend to any letters patent or grants of privilege heretofore made or hereafter to be made of, for or concerning printing.”

It is perhaps needless to add that monopolies existed before those times in England and that they have always existed in greater or less degree in other countries. But for the purposes of this Article we are merely referring to the history of monopolies in England, and it may be summed up in saying that while there have been alterations and changes—a going backward and forward in public policy—nothing has been substantially gained, judicially or legislatively, since the “Case of Monopolies” in the 44th year of the reign of Elizabeth nor legislatively since the “Act Concerning Monopolies” in the 21st year of James I.

This class of monopolies (*i. e.* those created by government) is indeed a product of the mediæval condition of society. It was the policy of Elizabeth to raise nothing by direct taxation that could be raised indirectly. Society was then in a mediæval condition both as regards a knowledge of the laws of trade and a respect for the civil rights of individuals. Accordingly the Queen pushed her policy to the utmost, having the double purpose of enriching favorites and deriving revenue. In some of our Southern States we have now a mediæval condition of society—a majority of the people emerging from the barbaric condition of slavery, controlled by a class which has no personal interest in the commonwealth and which lives upon the business of governing as completely as though it were composed of hereditary sovereigns. Hence, it is not astonishing to find in Louisiana as stupendous a monopoly as can be found in mediæval history. The legislature of that State granted to seventeen persons the exclusive privilege of supplying yards, buildings and other conveniences for the purpose of slaughtering all the cattle killed for public consumption in a district of country exceeding eleven hundred square miles and containing over two hundred thousand people. The grant even provides that it shall not be lawful to land, keep, or slaughter any animals, or to have, keep, or establish any stock-landing yards, or slaughter-houses, except those of the monopolists, and in express terms grants to them, “the exclusive privilege of having landed at their wharves or landing-places, all animals intended for sale or slaughter in the parishes of Orleans and Jefferson,” and it actually compels the owner to give to the monopolists a specific portion of the animals slaughtered. This monopoly has given rise, as is well known, to one of the most important cases concerning the intermingling relations of the General

and the State Governments, but the decision of our highest judicial tribunal rests almost exclusively upon constitutional or jurisdictional grounds.

Let us now look at the nature and signification of monopolies. Undoubtedly the term has been applied to many things which are not monopolies. De Tocqueville has grouped together the grievances borne by peasant proprietors in France before the Revolution, and these have sometimes been termed monopolies. A letter which he exhumed, written by one of these peasants to the Intendant, declares that "the whole country is inflicted with rent charges; the greater part of the land owes annually one-seventh of wheat; others owe wine; one has to send a quarter of his fruit." "I know," he says, "strange dues in bread, wax, pigs, wreaths of roses, bunches of violets, gilt spurs, etc." De Tocqueville also enumerates among the grievances that a peasant could not cross a river without paying a seignor toll, and that he could not grind his grain except in the lord's mill. These last are really the only monopolies, for they give the artificial right to one man to do what every man ought to be allowed to do. The others are what the peasant properly terms them—rent-charges—burdensome, vexatious, demoralizing, but still growing out of one man's voluntary relations with another man.

It may also be affirmed against the whole current of English judicial decisions that inventions are not monopolies. We are inclined to think that the idea grew out of the confounding of words with things. For such intangible property as this brain-work the common law had no remedy. The crown, therefore, undertook to assure to a man his right to his own mind-work, and the instrument by which this was done was a patent—the same instrument used to create a monopoly. The courts finding an invention protected by no better instrument than that of a monopoly, fell into the idea that it was one—an exceptional one in being allowed and not forbidden by the statute. But the chief element of a monopoly is wholly wanting in an invention, *viz.*: that the thing sold is one which all men should be allowed to sell. In the case of salt all men had the right to traffic in it, and the patent made the monopoly by taking away the right. In the case of an invention society had no pre-existing right to traffic in it because the thing did not exist. Its constructor, the inventor, has added it to the wealth of mankind, and assuring him of a property in it is merely assuring him of what he has himself produced, and of what no other man ever before possessed. Society, therefore, loses nothing by the patent. In the early English statute

which has been quoted, this distinction is made as plainly as a distinction can be in a statute. The patent must be for a "new manufacture" to the "true inventor," and not "mischievous to the state by raising of the prices of commodities." But the English courts have never made this distinction, and down to the year 1865 have decided that an invention secured by letters patent is a monopoly and not a property. In America, on the contrary, this product of human effort has always had attached to it the character of property, and our highest court, reversing the conclusion of the Court of Queen's Bench, has held that the Government cannot use a patented invention except upon the condition of just compensation which the Constitution imposes upon the Government with respect to all property taken for public use.

By some writers monopolies have been divided into four classes:

I. Personal monopolies, arising from extraordinary talents, skill, or genius. It is said that some persons have something which is not held in common by others, and hence that they have an exclusive right to sell or dispose of it. The terming of such gifts a monopoly is more fanciful than real. They lack the two elements of monopoly, which have been pointed out with regard to inventions; they do not take away the right of other men to the use of *their* faculties, and, they are faculties which the possessor has a natural right to use and sell. The world gains and does not lose by their advent. This application of the word might indeed be pushed still farther and carried from the power of genius to those scenes or subjects which great genius sometimes appropriates and withdraws from the use of ordinary men. Shakespeare has, as it were, left a perpetual injunction which prohibits other men from using the subjects of his greatest works. He has monopolised personages and characters and passages of history so that no one presumes to interfere with his appropriation of them. It is the more noticeable because he paid not the same respect to the prior appropriations of others, and, indeed, took from others some of these same subjects which the world now regards as peculiarly his. The late Mr. Burton retained so complete a property in the little play of "Toodles" while he lived that no one in New York ever presumed to take it from him or share it with him. Mr. Jefferson may be said to be his own Lord Chancellor with regard to the character of Rip Van Winkle, travelling about the country and maintaining his exclusive possession of the character, and restraining other actors from appearing in it. But such speculations lead to no

practical result, and monopolies which rest entirely upon the voluntary consent of mankind are beyond the reach of legislative reform.

II. It is also said that there is a certain monopoly in land. That idea certainly could never have originated on this side of the Atlantic. In America, land is simply a commodity which is bought and sold, which money can always buy and generally at a market rate of value. It is true that land is peculiar and unlike other property, inasmuch as it forms the basis of communities. A community may do without playing-cards, or subsist without salt, but it cannot exist without land. It is not meant by the term community an entire political or geographical community. The Marquis of Westminster, owning but a portion of the land of London, may still be a great and terrible monopolist to its inhabitants. It is not, in other words, necessary that his monopoly extend to the entire city. It is enough that as against several hundred thousand inhabitants he alone has power to sell land; that he can compel them to buy of him at his own price under the penalty of abandoning their homes and trades and employments, and that he can refuse to sell land to a different religious body than his own for a place of worship at any price. To tell people thus circumstanced that they can escape from monopoly by moving to the other side of London is little better than to tell them to escape by emigrating to Australia. Or to tell them that they can buy land for a place of worship several miles from their homes is to tell them in effect that they are not to have a place of worship, however willing they may be to pay for it. But while the fact of monopoly arises sooner when the subject of it is land than when the subject of it is another commodity, monopoly, nevertheless, is not an essential of land; and while he who owns land may have more effective means to effect a monopoly, he does not obtain the monopoly in the land itself.

III. A third class of monopolies has been styled those of combination. They are monopolies not created by law but brought about by the ability or policy of individuals. As we have said, the Marquis of Westminster has acquired an immense monopoly in the greatest city of the world. This is due to family policy. In England, land, through a policy of investment, has fallen into the hands of few owners, which doubtless increases the cost and aggravates the difficulty of procuring a plot of property whereon to build one's house or erect one's factory. But, nevertheless, as the element of combination is wanting, and as lands are everywhere bought and sold, and to a certain extent enter into competition with each other, it cannot be

said that this reduced ownership constitutes monopoly. In commerce monopolies of combination may frequently occur. But fortunately the cost and risk of combination generally outweighs the profits. With the telegraph to invite competition and the steamship or railway to supply the demand, the modern markets of the world are comparatively free from dangers formidable in early times. The monopoly of combination now exists chiefly in that part of the market occupied by speculators in stocks. One of the most extraordinary instances of it was that celebrated attempt of a single house to actually monopolize the circulating medium of the country; that is to say, so to control one kind of money that the other kind of money (that in popular use) for the time being should lose more than half of its value. Yet this attempt was limited to a single city and culminated in a single day. Probably the most formidable monopolies of combination which the modern condition of affairs will allow to exist are those growing out of operations of our great corporations—the pooling of the earnings of railways, the buying up of small companies by large ones.

Undoubtedly such monopolies are great evils. Undoubtedly society has a right to protect itself against them. They are prejudicial to the public welfare; they injure the mass to enrich the individual; they enable one man to acquire wealth solely upon the pernicious condition of reducing all other men's; they add nothing to the wealth of the people and they tend directly to their impoverishment. But unfortunately they for the most part are evils of that nature which are never effectually reached by legislation. The law usually can punish but cannot do that which is needed—prevent. These combinations indeed have largely what might be called the element of unexpectedness. Their success depends upon their not being anticipated, and the same talent which enables the operator to cut-general his astute competitors enables him to overreach the sagacity of the legislature. Punishment may be assigned to such offences, but it will generally be found, like punishment assigned to the offences of usury, to be ineffectual as a means for preventing similar evils.

To these discouraging suggestions it may be answered by many persons that this country is now feeling the first assaults of a monopoly of combination which will speedily affect almost every house and factory in the Northern States, inasmuch as the supply of Anthracite coal is controlled by a combination of only five corporations. The case of this coal monopoly does indeed present some of the

most startling dangers of monopolies and some of the most vexatious impediments in the way of reaching them. It is not merely a question of choice or convenience on the part of the consumer; for the article approaches those termed necessities of life. It may be thought that Anthracite coal is not like salt, for which no substitute exists, and this is true, if the element of time be not taken into account; but for present purposes the people of this country have gradually been led to a position, both in their domestic economy and in their industrial pursuits, which makes Anthracite coal a necessity. They have not provided means for obtaining large supplies of other fuel. They have arranged their houses and churches and places of amusement so as to be warmed exclusively by this form of fuel. Their factories in many cases also depend upon it. The effect goes still farther, for not only are our cooking-stoves and ranges intended for hard coal, but all the stove-foundries in the country are prepared chiefly to manufacture ranges and stoves adapted to this fuel. A modern house has been built so as to be warmed only by its furnace, and its furnace has been constructed so as to be heated only by Anthracite coal. To tell the owner that he may choose in preference to Anthracite coal at monopoly prices any other fuel in the market, is to tell him that he must abandon his furnace and tear his house to pieces in order that he may put in old-fashioned grates and stoves. And this monopoly also presents as sharply the difficulties which lie in the way of legal remedy. Its seat is within a single State. The case is substantially that of a foreign country making money out of the rest of the world by an overcharge on an article which it can alone supply. In other words, the monopolists will be protected in the place where they should be punished. If we pass beyond the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania to that of the General Government, the question immediately arises upon what ground can the General Government interfere? These persons can readily keep all of their transactions nominally within the state, and if the General Government can intervene under its power of regulating commerce between the States, at what point must its interference stop? In short, we have here the embarrassments of free government, of limited government, of general and local government clashing with powers that the ordinary exercise of law cannot overcome, but which, if allowed to go unchecked, may seriously affect the welfare of the body politic.

IV. The last class of monopolies consists of those which are created by law. There is no people who so much need to be on their guard with respect to these monopolies as Americans. Great as may be

the benefits of a limited government it has also inseparable evils. A limited government may be debarred from doing things which it ought not to do, but it may also be debarred from undoing things which it ought not to have done. By the Dartmouth College Case, it was determined that our State legislatures cannot tamper with the vested rights of private corporations. By the Slaughter House Cases, it was determined that the General Government has no power over the corporations created by the States. We may thus find ourselves in a dilemma, having a monopoly which the State cannot reach because there is a vested right and which the General Government cannot reach because it was created by a State. A government of unlimited power can strike down what it has itself built up ; it can take away where it has given ; but ours is so exceedingly limited that the rights of individuals are frequently superior to the rights of the body politic. Most peculiarly do we need legislative precaution and discretion. In their stead we have upwards of five thousand legislators annually at work. The numbers have reduced the quality so that they are for the most part uncultured men, of limited knowledge and no legislative experience, and they have (in the absence of modern constitutional restrictions) power to fasten upon any of the communities which we call States, a monopoly that no succeeding legislature can shake off. Is it not apparent that this subject should receive some study and attention on the part of all thoughtful men?

It may be noted here that the modern theory of legislative monopolies is not that of a grant or favor for the benefit of the recipient but of authorizing one man or a number of men to do something under what Bacon termed "specious colors of the public good." In the Slaughter House Cases for illustration these specious colors were health regulations for the benefit of the city of New Orleans, and however trivial the benefit may be, and however flagrant the monopoly may be, the discretion of creating it is one which is committed exclusively to the legislature.

Of those monopolies which the law creates some may be made such in express terms, such as that of the New Orleans Slaughter House Company, where the right to kill cattle is exclusive for twenty-five years ; such as the New Jersey railways, which alone might transport passengers across the State ; such as the charters of some gas-companies which are assured of an exclusive right to lay pipes in certain streets ; such as the licenses of some ferry-companies which may alone transport passengers between neighboring

towns. More frequently it happens that the monopoly is not expressed, but results from the nature of the case, or is a sequence of the privileges granted. A charter to run a railway on the eastern bank of the Hudson river effectually prevents competition by another railway between Poughkeepsie and New York, though the grant did not purport to be exclusive. A charter to run a railway from London to Liverpool, if not exclusive in terms, would not be so in fact, for competitive roads might be built on a dozen different routes. Formerly such charters were deemed necessarily to rest upon the exercise of legislative discretion. Our present Railroad laws generally throw the privilege of building roads open to any one. The public interest or convenience on which such grants were formerly supposed to depend is now brought down to the simple test of profit and loss. If the road will pay, then the magnitude of its business conclusively shows that a reason existed for its construction. If the road will not pay, then it bears its own penalty; and the tendency of our State constitutional law is rapidly bringing everything to the same test by the substitution of general laws for special legislation. When that shall be fully carried out, this class of monopolies will really have ceased to exist, or rather will have passed over to the preceding class—to those which depend upon energy and shrewdness and combination.

We have thus far been looking at monopolies chiefly from a negative or oppressive point of view, with our Anglo-American prejudices against them, and in the belief that they are the enemies of every household and of every business interest. But monopolies, nevertheless, have their use, and where they properly exist, operate to a reverse result; that is to say, they make things cheaper and not dearer.

There are, indeed, certain things whose cheapness and commercial existence depend upon monopoly. True it is that the monopolist may abuse his position and extort unconscionable profits, yet, nevertheless, we cannot array against him competition without injury to ourselves. Thus we all complain of the high cost and bad quality of the gas which we burn, yet the ability of the manufacturer to furnish it to us at present prices really depends upon his having a monopoly of the street upon which we live. Its costly manufacture and costly means of distribution cannot be doubled with impunity, and competition means doubling them without practically increasing the quantity sold. We have also an illustration of the saying, ascribed to Stephenson, that where combination is possible, competition is impossible, in our telegraph and express companies. There we have had

first monopoly, then competition, then combination, with this invariable result for the public—that the competition compelled the first company to buy up the second, to water its stock, to increase its expenses, and to charge its customers higher rates. In short, throwing open the field to competition, where competition is legal but not practical, is merely opening it to speculators, who, indifferent to the public welfare, or to the real success of a real business, come in for the mere purpose of being bought up by those who are already engaged in working the field. From the facts which exist in this country, we may deduce this law: where the article manufactured is expensive, the consumption general, the quantity consumed by each consumer small, monopoly is a condition to its cheapness. And to this law may be added a second: where competition is not general, it is not real, and results in combination, which is a renewed form of monopoly, augmenting the monopolist's expenses, reducing his profits, and generally effecting increased cost to the consumer in the article produced. Hence the common belief that competition is an unfailing antidote for monopoly is erroneous, and the problem in such cases is not how to introduce competition, but how to place upon such monopolies such limitations and restrictions as shall prevent their abuses without destroying their benefits.

The last monopolies of which we need to speak are those which are in the hands of governments. In our own country the list of these is exceedingly brief, and, indeed, contains but a single item—the Post-Office. Considered irrespective of its connection with government, it illustrates what has been previously said of the resulting advantage of cheapness from monopoly. It fulfils the conditions of the law before stated in every particular: “the article manufactured,” that is the Post-Office system, requires an enormous outlay; “the consumption,” that is the use of the mails, is general; “the quantity consumed by each consumer,” that is the amount of mail matter carried for each person, is small. The result is a system which gives every man an amount of service at an almost fabulously economic rate of cost. We throw a letter into a street-box; it is carried by hand to the Post-Office; it is assorted there, classified, packed, and sent to a city hundreds of miles distant by the fastest trains, traveling night and day. There it is reassorted, reclassified, and again carried by hand to the house to which it is directed; and for all of these services we pay but three cents; less than we would give a boy to carry it to the mail-box.

At this era of political science it is generally maintained and con-

ceded that paternal governments must necessarily interfere with the workings of modern civilization. Assuming this to be so, it is still a fact that there are certain offices which government can do, and does do, effectually for the public good. Monopoly is a test which may be applied to any work which the government assumes to do. Thus it is not the province of the government to make shoes; for it cannot make shoes for every one, to the exclusion of all manufacturers, and, if it does make shoes at all, it brings into the manufacturing field a power which no ordinary manufacturer possesses. It in effect competes with an advantage on its side sufficient to crush any industrial rival, while it is embarrassed with disadvantages with which no other rival is encumbered. Its manufacture of shoes, therefore, must be, on the one hand, injurious to all others in the trade, and on the other financially injurious to itself. The government has no right to enter into such a rivalry against its own citizens, and no industry ought to be wronged by having such a rival brought into its market. But with the mail service there are two plain distinctions. First, the government does not compete; it is exclusive; it injures no trade, no branch of industry or traffic. Monopoly enables it to act for all without acting against any. In the second place, the object of the monopoly is not the acquisition of wealth, but the public good. The government here undertakes to do something for every man which no single man, nor number of associated men, could do so impartially or so well. The profitable and the unprofitable must necessarily enter into the calculations of all those who seek profit. The government, in this matter of the mail service, can, to a certain extent, lay aside the idea of profit, and have for its object the impartial and general dissemination of intelligence.

For the same reason and to attain the same end, namely, the dissemination of intelligence everywhere and with equal impartiality to every citizen, it has been urged that the government should assume the monopoly of the telegraph. It is impossible that this end can really ever be attained or even approached by corporations whose object is profit. They may do much to conciliate the public, but they cannot serve two distinct antagonistic masters. The public which they will serve the most faithfully will be the public which pays their profits. It is therefore supposed by many to be little more than a question of time and of capability on the part of the government whether the telegraph will be thus operated. So soon as it is recognized as an instrumentality for the dissemination of intelligence and not a mere convenience for business men, the conclusion

will be plausible that its operation should be general and impartial. The question of profit and loss and the certainty of loss in secluded districts will be deemed of secondary importance. But here it must be noted that should this business be assumed by the government it must be assumed without destroying the rights which capital has acquired by investment in it already, and it must then be carried on not in competition with any private rival but as a monopoly to the exclusion of all and for the good of all. The project of a former member of Congress to build a competing line between Washington and New York violated every principle which should be maintained between the government and its citizens. It would bring the government into competition with the citizen. It would do this only upon the most profitable route. It would leave the remote and unassisted districts still unprovided for. Its purpose would be to destroy capital already invested and to ruin enterprises which, lawfully begun, are usefully serving the public interests.

If the matter of governmental participation in ordinary industrial pursuits were to be summed up in a general law it would be to this effect :

The government can enter upon the work of ordinary industries only when it can avoid competition with its citizens by exercising a general and absolute monopoly of the work which it undertakes to do. And the object of the monopoly must not be profit but the furnishing of a public benefit with the utmost cheapness. And this benefit must be of the most general nature, so that it comes not to individuals or classes, but in the ordinary course of ordinary life shall reach every member of the community and be a convenience to him. And, finally, when the government enters the field of industrial pursuits it shall extinguish existing interests without destroying them, and like any other body corporate shall be required to justly compensate those whom it supplants.

ARTICLE VI.

JOHN STUART MILL.

NOAH PORTER, D.D., LL.D.

JOHN STUART MILL* has been very frequently brought before the public for criticism. Every book which he has written has been made the occasion for a fresh discussion of some of his opinions either in the way of attack or defense. It would seem therefore, to be almost superfluous to make him the subject of an additional essay. But, now that he has ceased to live, it cannot be improper to attempt in a general way some estimate of his claims as a philosopher, especially considering, that in his autobiography he has furnished ample material of great importance in enabling us more correctly to estimate his claims.

This autobiography has a twofold interest, as it reveals to us Stuart Mill the man, and Stuart Mill the philosopher. Either one of these aspects of a person so significant in his influence would suffice for an extended discussion. We select one only as our theme. It is with Stuart Mill the philosopher that we propose to concern ourselves, leaving Stuart Mill the man entirely unconsidered, except so far as the contemplation of the man may help us to understand the philosopher. The topic is of no inferior interest in view of the high place in which Mr. Mill is held, to a certain extent not undeservedly, by a large number of agile and confident thinkers, and especially in view of the strong opposition which is felt to his opinions and his modes of philosophizing by very many persons whose objections are entitled to a respectful consideration.

The training of Mill was in many respects peculiar. What it was has been recorded by himself, with rare minuteness and fidelity, and the record enables us the better to understand some of the peculiarities of the philosopher who was formed by it. He was subjected from his earliest years to a severe and constant discipline,

* AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOHN STUART MILL. Henry Holt & Co., New York.

under the watchful eye and the rigid hand of his father, who seems to have manifested his fatherly affection less in the ways of indulgence and sympathy, than in those of intellectual excitement and exaction. His education began with Greek and Logic. Logic was taught very rigidly, but for practical ends, with the express and seemingly the sole design to train him to be a clear and coherent expounder and defender of his father's opinions. Although Mill, the father, had very narrow and inadequate conceptions of the importance of logic as a preparation and discipline for the investigation of truth, he had a strong and fervent faith in the necessity of its discipline to an advocate and a partisan. The truths in which he had any faith or zeal were also very scanty in number and somewhat narrow in their range. He believed very positively in matter and very hesitatingly in spirit. He believed very strongly in man and very feebly in God; very earnestly in human government and social organization, and not at all in a divine Providence. He had a faith in democratic institutions which was almost fanatical, and a hatred of every species of theocracy, which was more than fanatical in its positiveness and acrimony. The perfectibility of man through an enlightened self-interest—by means of popular government and universal education, especially in the elements of political economy and in the Malthusian doctrines of population—was the chief article of his philosophical creed. To defend and propagate this creed was predestined by the father as the life work of the son, and it was to make him dexterous and skillful in attack and defense, that the father trained the son so thoroughly and severely, in the school of logical and classical analysis. The effect of this training remained with him through life, and gave a marked character to all his intellectual activities and achievements. He became a clear and patient analyst, learning to delight in precise statements, and in coherent and well-sustained deductions. Refined distinctions and attenuated generalizations became the atmosphere of his intellectual life. He was so thoroughly schooled to patience in labor as to be attracted rather than repelled by any investigation or discussion which required a long continued application of the powers of abstract thinking.

But with all these excellent habits he was not trained to be a philosopher. His father had apparently little interest and less faith in philosophy in the largest sense of the word. Mr. James Mill was an anti-Theist—not so much from intellectual conviction as from passionate dislike to all questions which naturally suggest even those intellectual or scientific relations which lead to God. He was a half-

Manichean, which for a mind trained like his was simply to accept the first makeshift by which to dispose of any questionings or thoughts which might emerge above the horizon of his political and economic dogmas. He eminently exemplified the truth that Atheism necessarily narrows the intellect and shuts it down to a limited sphere of thought and inquiry. He had no metaphysics proper because he steadfastly refused to ask the questions which involve a fundamental philosophy. The necessity of certain assumptions which cannot themselves be demonstrated from truths more fundamental, nor be derived by induction from experiment or observation, a necessity which Plato acknowledged in imaginative myths, and Aristotle asserted in unmistakable and irrefutable propositions, Mr. James Mill never acknowledged, but severely logical as he was, he either failed to follow any suggestions which would conduct to such a goal, or disposed of all such questionings with positive and contemptuous dogmatism.

But it is not easy for a man who thinks at all to dispense with some semblance of, or substitute for, metaphysical philosophy, and the semblance with which Mr. James Mill contented himself was the doctrine taught in Hartley's *Essay on Man*. This treatise had been received by him with almost implicit deference, and Hartley and Hobbes became the supreme authorities in his court of last resort. From Hartley he derived two dogmas which characterized the psychology and in a sense constituted the whole of the metaphysics of both father and son. These dogmas were that nearly all the higher processes of the intellect are capable of being resolved into the so-called association of ideas, and that the law of necessity holds good of the phenomena of spirit as truly as of the phenomena of matter. Neither the father nor the son was a materialist in form or avowal, but they both never ceased to regard and treat the human soul as in all its processes entirely passive; alike in its reception of its impressions from without and in the revival of these impressions from within by memory and imagination, as also, in the interpretations of truth which are gained by generalization and reasoning. The fatal tendency imparted to English philosophy by Locke through his one-sided sympathy with the awakening physics of his times, which was feebly counterpoised by his positive recognition of spiritual phenomena and relations, had taken exclusive possession of Hume and Hartley, and through them passed on to both the Mills, by whom it has been fixed more firmly than ever in the unconscious and the acknowledged methods of many

able and influential schools of the present generation. It is true that James Mill in his *Analysis of the Human Mind* in some important particulars breaks from entire consistency with his own fundamental principles, and that Stuart Mill in his *Logic*, his *Criticism of Hamilton's Philosophy*, and his *Annotations to the Analysis*, steps more widely aside from the narrow path to which these principles should have rigorously held him; but it is also true that neither the father nor the son ever learned to regard the soul as exempt from many of the methods and laws to which matter is subject. While neither of them was an avowed materialist, they never proceeded to a formal disavowal or protest against materialism, and almost uniformly treated the soul and reasoned about it as though it belonged entirely to the realm of matter.

The training of Mill was singularly isolated, even in its intellectual influences. He seems to have had no companionship except with his father and the younger members of his family. But his father was little more to him than the stimulating and overshadowing taskmaster, and over his brothers and sisters he was very early established as a monitor and teacher rather than associated with them as a playmate. Even his walks were occupied in study and recital, and uniformly to his father. From the first to the last he had little or no companionship with youths of his own age. The society which he saw in the household was limited as to numbers, and was singularly limited as to its quality, consisting exclusively of men of his father's way of thinking—hard-headed Radicals who were ostracised in those days, as quixotic or dangerous members of society; men who, in the judgment of the average Englishman, were regarded as fit candidates for a lunatic asylum or a prison, and who revenged themselves by cherishing a hearty if not a prejudiced contempt for every institution which was fixed and every person who was respectable, *i. e.*, aristocratic. The English Constitution and the English Church, which most Englishmen are taught to regard as in some sense permanent and sacred, were uniformly spoken of with ridicule and hatred. Mr. Mill also tells us that from his earliest childhood the religion of his countrymen was viewed by him with pity and wonder. A youth so educated must inevitably have contracted some very unfortunate intellectual habits. We do not care to discuss the question whether Mr. Mill was self-conceited in the special sense of the term. He contends that he never was, although he acknowledges that he was considered especially offensive for forwardness and self-complacence. But his incapacity to conceive self-conceit to have

been possible of himself, is one of many evidences of the singular inaptitude to conceive of himself as he must have appeared to others, which he displays in all his writings, and which can only be accounted for by some original obtuseness of feeling or the extreme isolation of his childhood. Had he been forced by the rude sports and the earnest contests of a school-boy life to confront his own pretensions with the judgments of his peers, and to measure his intellectual strength in debate and conference, he never could have contracted that quiet but persistent dogmatism which is so conspicuous in all his writings; a dogmatism which is redeemed by no absorbing enthusiasm that caused him to forget himself in his interest for his cause, and which seems never to have been shaken by the slightest suspicion that his self-complacency was not fully justified.

The peculiar regime to which Mill was subjected would have awakened some antagonism in a less passive and compliant nature. But his was a mind which was ready to receive impressions from others and yet persistent to retain them; plastic in the hands of others, but unchangeable when left to itself. Its very dependence upon others fixed it in a more dogmatic and determined devotion to the early and oft-repeated inculcations of its early training. It was not so unimpressible, indeed, as not occasionally to feel the force of counter arguments and influences. But Mill's persistent obstinacy would usually enable him to fall back upon the positions which were earliest received and had been deeply ingrained, and to contrive some plausible adjustment between what he was constrained in some sense to recognize and what he was determined not to abandon. No philosopher of modern times can be named who claimed to be so progressive and yet made so little progress, who seemed utterly unable to know when he was fairly refuted,—who would contribute so freely, because so unconsciously, the materials for the exposure of his own inconsistency with himself, and yet was so entirely incapable of looking at a subject from the standpoint of another mind. He seems to have lacked in great measure the capacity to be suspicious of his own positions, or to act the part of a critic upon himself. While he had seen enough of men and read enough in books to be fully alive to the importance of candor, he lacked altogether the spirit of reverence for the gifted minds of the past. His judgments of those of his contemporaries from whom he differed were almost wholly wanting in affectionate sympathy or reverential appreciation. His most honest attempts to be candid were often marred by some misconception of

an antagonist's meaning or some perversion of his fundamental principles.

But the most signal and comprehensive defect in the intellectual character of Mr. Mill was his lack of common sense, or his almost complete incapacity to judge of common things and common events, and their relations to philosophic principles. This was not more apparent in his behavior in respect to some of the most obvious relations of human society and in his failure as a practical statesman, than it was in his discussion of fundamental truths in political and metaphysical philosophy. This defect is not surprising in view of his early training and the subsequent course of his life. No boy not possessed of original obtuseness of judgment or sensibility,—of one or both,—would have tamely submitted to such an isolation from the rest of mankind. No boy, who would allow himself to be passively moulded by it, could possibly escape from one-sided views of man, of nature, and of society, or fail to accept the fancies and conclusions of bookish or secluded theorists in place of those corrected judgments which the experience of life and of men alone can furnish. The lack of common sense is usually accompanied by the incapacity for humor. Scarcely a trace of humor is to be discerned in all of Mr. Mill's writings. Some of his essays and critiques might have furnished occasions for now and then a play of pleasantry or an outburst of merriment, but into either of these moods Mr. Mill never relaxed. A solemn gravity seems to have taken complete possession of his being. A persistent positiveness bears him forward in an even and monotonous course of thought and diction. A mild but determined dogmatism gives impressiveness to his utterances. The self-confidence with which he shuns an issue that seems about to be forced upon him, the calm unconsciousness with which he propounds opinions that are contradictory to one another or to common experience, and the dexterous plausibility with which he imposes on his reader and on himself, are all veiled with a solemn air of supreme self-satisfaction that forbids even a smile. Dissent and controversy are hushed into silence before a self-complacency so complete. Levity cannot find it in its heart rudely to intrude upon such a staid and solemn presence.

It scarcely need be added that these peculiarities were intensified by the flattery which was accorded to Mr. Mill during the whole of his intellectual career. He was predestined from his infancy to labors for reform; he was very early recognized for acquisitions and ability as the foremost young man in the then rising coterie of English Radi-

cal. His earliest essays in debate and through the press were read with attention, and abundantly if not excessively praised. His party grew in numbers and in recognized influence. The books which he published were laboriously and faithfully prepared; every one of them met a public desire and necessity, and if severely criticised was lavishly flattered. After he found himself famous, he was treated with deference and consideration by the parties and men who dissented most decidedly from his principles. He forced into respect for his writings the dons of the universities, the parsons of the church, and the professors of the schools of science, and was at last made rector of one of the oldest of the universities of Scotland, in which the old logic and the old metaphysics and the old theology had been long and deeply rooted. It is not surprising that when he gave himself deliberately to the work of criticising and refuting the metaphysician who had been foremost in reputation in Great Britain, he should have assumed airs which his own well-schooled habits of decorum did not altogether conceal, and should have presumed not a little upon his own inattention or that of the public to the defects of his own philosophical system, in which he had learned by the deference of others to place such implicit and presumptuous confidence.

Two peculiarities of Mr. Mill's intellectual activities contributed prominently to his popularity and influence. The one was that he uniformly devoted himself to the discussion of subjects of practical and present interest. The other that he as uniformly aimed to discuss them in a style which could be readily apprehended and followed by intelligent men, and very sedulously avoided the language and methods of the schools. To both these habits he was doubtless trained by his early and long-continued ambition to be a leader of opinion in matters of political and social reform. Though from very early life he was thoroughly drilled in the methods of formal logic, and accustomed to deal with the conceptions of political and social science, his interest in these sciences was prevailingly partisan. His chief ambition for many years was to be a leader in actual reforms, and to become in the best sense an accomplished and effective tribune of the people. He studied the science of government that he might apply it to the reorganization of the English system. He devoted himself to Political Economy that he might increase and equalize the public wealth. He wrote an extended System of Logic that he might illustrate the application of its principles, particularly those of induction, to the discoveries

of physical science, and the theories of sociology. His criticism of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy was incidental to the metaphysical and psychological discussions involved in his own System of Logic; but even this was conducted in the spirit of applied rather than of pure philosophy. Every one of these subjects, at the time when he treated it, was a topic of present and excited interest. The Reformers with whom he was identified, the Radicals whom he led and the more temperate Progressives with whom he co-operated, were eager to read and ponder whatever he produced. The students of Political and Social Science became more numerous, more eager, and more intelligently wakeful with every decade of his life. The public events of every season, and the proposed financial measures of every session of Parliament gave an increased zest to the public appetite for each fresh article of his upon any topic in Political Economy. By the time Mill was ready to issue his great work on this subject, all Great Britain and America were eager to read it. The splendid career of discovery in every branch of modern physics, which has so distinguished the present century, not only made it inevitable that some writer should treat of the Logic of Induction, but had already prepared the minds of an army of keen-sighted investigators to receive with applause and honor, the writer who should propose to meet and to solve the problems involved. Sir William Hamilton was at the height of his reputation, and his name was surrounded by the halo of reverence with which it was invested by his recent death, when Mill found it necessary to subject Hamilton's philosophy to a bold criticism, if he would save his own system from threatened dishonor. Not a single one of the greater or lesser writings of Mill was untimely in the sense of not meeting a present popular demand, which in many cases was a permanent demand, and made more permanent and more imperative by the excitement of the supply. Not only did Mr. Mill uniformly write upon topics of present interest, but he uniformly preferred the language of common life to the language of the schools. His popularity and influence are largely owing to the circumstance that it was a leading aim with him to make scientific distinctions perfectly intelligible to any man of common intelligence who would lend him patient attention. The liability to diffuseness and repetition, nay, even to tediousness and commonplace, in nowise deterred him from expanding his discussion to as great a length as might be necessary to secure his reader against the possibility of mistake, or of confusion. His diction is uniformly clear in form and apparently coherent and logical in its connections. His style

it must be confessed often lacks the *verve* which comes from the highest kind of enthusiasm. Not infrequently it fails even to hold the attention, and occasionally requires an earnest and somewhat painful effort on the part of the reader. The most serious defect however of this popular and apparently lucid style is, that it leads his confiding readers to overlook his not infrequent deficiencies in thoroughness and consistency. Whatever readers and critics may say of the awkwardness of a precise terminology, and however much they may extol those books of philosophy which are written in the language of common life, it will still remain true that an exact terminology, even if it be scholastic, has the advantage of holding both reader and writer to close and consistent thinking. A philosophical terminology which is borrowed from common life and which is used with the freedom of common speech, may at one time mean one thing and at another time another, and the writer who does not exactly know in what sense he uses a term in one connection, may use it in another sense altogether unconsciously, or if he is pressed with one of his own interpretations, or the inferences which it involves, he may dexterously escape from the consequences by falling back at his convenience upon the larger, or the more limited import, the popular or the scientific. The so-called clear and simple language of common usage, may readily become turbid and ambiguous at the convenience or necessity of the writer. John Stuart Mill would be called by many literary critics, one of the most transparent and consistent of English philosophical writers. We have no occasion to deny that this may be true on the easy passages of philosophy, those places where easy thinking allows easy writing and easy reading, but we do not find it true of Mr. Mill when he is pressed by any special difficulty. In such circumstances he is often eminently unclear even to himself, and eminently evasive and inconsistent when he answers or criticises others. We believe this should to a large extent be ascribed to his use of a popular instead of a philosophical diction, and to his affecting ease and fluency in the elucidation of distinctions which are in their nature neither easy to be grasped nor to be held by the negligent or the untrained mind.

But Mill's habit of writing for the popular ear and in popular language wrought its worst consequence when it led him to abandon the distinctions which he had himself laboriously set up, and to play hide and seek with his own fundamental positions, by appealing to some well-known fact or belief of common sense and common speech,

and thus by a dexterous *coup de main* to relieve his theories from the difficulties and inconsistencies to which they were fairly exposed. It was a favorite trick, which he often played off upon himself, first to adopt positions which offended common sense and true science, and when he was held to logical consistency, to fall back for relief upon the very facts of common sense which his philosophy had set at nought. Even when his attention was called to this inconsistency and apparent self-deception, he was very slow to be convinced, and seemed utterly insensible to the force of what seemed to others a conclusive demonstration that he was playing fast and loose with his own principles.

One of the most striking examples of the ease with which he could thus impose upon himself by shifting from scholastic to popular language is found in the work which is at once his last and his most elaborate contribution to speculative research, *viz.*, his Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy. Chapters XI. and XII. of this work are devoted to an explanation of the belief in an external world on what Mill calls the psychological as contrasted with the intuitive theory, *i. e.*, on the data or postulates of the associational metaphysics. He states these postulates thus: first, the human mind is capable of expectation; second, by the laws of association, similar and contiguous phenomena tend to be thought of together; third, associations by repetition become so rapid as to be indissoluble; fourth, when an association has thus become inseparable, "the facts or phenomena answering to these ideas come at last to seem inseparable in existence." From these postulates he maintains that there are associations naturally generated by the order of our associations and of our reminiscences, which would of themselves generate the belief of the external world, and cause it to be regarded as an intuition.

With this challenge he proceeds to define what we mean when we say that the objects we perceive "are external to us and not a part of our thoughts:" "we mean that something exists when we are not thinking of it and did exist before we thought of it." This he says is synonymous with perdurability or permanence. But permanence is simply "a form impressed by the known laws of association" upon a group or series of sensations which are merely contingent. This is accomplished thus: When I see a piece of white paper in a room and *going out of the room* still believe that the paper exists, what I believe is simply that *when I should return* I should experience the same sensations as before, and that this would happen

should I return at any moment." We have then, first, a belief in the possibility under certain conditions of the recurrence of certain sensations, *viz.*, those which are treated by Mill as the equivalent of what is commonly known as white paper, and next, a belief in the permanent possibility of their recurrence. This is the first step towards the explanation of the belief that white paper is a *non ego*, *i. e.*, is external. We *posit* as the result of the first movement of the associational process, "a permanent possibility of certain sensations." As we stop here for an instant to contemplate what we have gained and the process by which we gained it, we find that with the postulates furnished at the outset nothing is provided for but an expectation that certain sensations will occur in the order in which they have occurred before. Mill would have been more true to his own theory if instead of calling white paper a "permanent possibility of sensations," he had called it a "permanent expectableness of sensations" or a group, *i. e.*, a series of permanently expectable sensations. He should also have added, in order to exemplify what and only what his data provided for, a series of sensations expectable on the ground of frequent and rapid repetition. Mr. Mill does neither of these things, but leaves his data and the application of them entirely unnoticed, and substitutes the language of common life. He talks about "going into another room," and says "when I again place myself in the same circumstances in which I had those sensations, that is, when I go again into the room." One would think that a believer in his own theory as needing only to be stated in order to be self-evidencing, would adhere as closely as possible to the conceptions and data which the theory itself supplies. But this Mr. Mill is careful not to do—we suppose unconsciously, for when charged with resorting to such language because it suggests ideas and beliefs which his theory would not supply, he replies, "it was competent for me to state those facts in the language which was not only the most intelligible, but, to the minds I was addressing, *the truest*," being utterly unconscious of the irony which he played off upon himself in calling popular language "*the truest*."

Had Mill been entirely "true" to his own theory, instead of "going into and returning from another room," he would have said after experiencing a series of varying sensations, I should permanently expect to meet another series, *viz.*, those commonly called white-paper. But language like this would never give an external world. It would forever shut him up to subjective sensations. The grateful substitution of such phrases as "going into another room"

and "white-paper" usher the theorist and his readers at once into the real world, from which the subjective experience of recurring and often-repeated sensations would have forever shut them off.

One word in respect to the phrase "possibility of sensations," adopted by Mill as the equivalent of the external thing commonly called "white-paper." If Mr. Mill's school is distinguished for any excellence, it is for its protest against the danger of *using abstracta* as real things. And yet in the hands of this intense positivist and nominalist the thing "white-paper" is translated into *the abstraction* "a permanent possibility of sensations." This is not all. Expectableness of sensations is indeed as abstract as possibility, but not so convenient "to palter with us in double sense," for the obvious reason that whereas "expectableness of sensations" would represent both the sensations and their relation to the mind as wholly subjective, "a permanent possibility of sensations" suggests more positively the operation of a force "external to ourselves and not a part of our thoughts," and by the very associations inseparably connected with the very phrase. "Possibility," moreover, would admit, if it did not require, the relation of causation, which Mill in the terms of his philosophy should resolve into a time-relation, although, for reasons of his own, he greatly prefers and constantly avails himself of those honest and *truer* words of common life, *cause* and *sensation*. "The possibility of sensations" is a phrase appropriate only to the extreme idealists, and yet it seems to satisfy the utmost needs of this extreme positivist whose philosophy in most of its affinities is closely allied to materialism. It reminds us of the sonorous language of Johnson when seeking a purchaser for Mr. Thrall's brewery, "We are not here to sell a parcel of boilers and vats, but the *potentiality of growing rich beyond the dreams of avarice*."

But let us follow Mr. Mill. When we come back to the white-paper, *i. e.*, to "the permanent possibility of certain sensations," we ordinarily experience but one or two of the group, all of which are possible, and so this group is considered as permanent not merely in contrast with "our bodily presence," a convenient word but not over-philosophical, but in contrast with any temporary sensations, which we may or may not actually experience from it. The series of permanent possibilities thus conceived, is "the idea of substance or matter as distinguished from sensation." We submit that if the conceptions and terms of the associational psychology had been adhered to, we should not have needed the idea of matter at all, as distinguished from sensations. We should have had only the contrast

between a group of sensations, say *ten*, conceived as permanently possible, contrasted with one conceived as actual or more frequently experienced than the rest, but we should not have proceeded a step beyond the world of subjective sensations. The plausibility of Mr. Mill's explanation arises from the ambiguity of the terms which he takes from common life, *viz.*, matter and substance, "bodily presence," etc., as contrasted with sensations.

Mr. Mill completes and clinches his synthesis thus: we cannot doubt that there is an external world, as soon as we find that these possibilities of sensation "belong as much to other human, or sentient beings as to ourselves." "This puts the final seal to our conception of the groups of possibilities as the fundamental reality in Nature." In this climax of his argument Mr. Mill altogether forgets the fundamental postulates of his theory. He does not stay to explain how the associational principles provide for the belief that *there are other minds*. Forgetting his own philosophy, he resorts to common sense. He postulates other minds, a belief in which is not set down among the associational data, and infers that if other minds have learned under similar conditions with ourselves to expect the same possibilities with ourselves, therefore we have the conception and belief of an external world. This may be conceded, but by what authority, or through what application of the associational postulates, we come to the belief of other minds Mr. Mill does not acknowledge the obligation to show.

It is very easy to drop from the thin atmosphere of attenuated abstractions and to indulge for a moment in the plain language of common life. The reader welcomes the familiar terms and arguments; the author indulges him for a moment, but little does the reader dream that the author is enabled in this way to smuggle in some missing link of thought which a rigid adherence to the terms and data of his theory would never have supplied, or to insinuate an argument which a strictly logical procedure would never have derived.

It is observable in Mill's analysis of the conception of an external world, that he makes no mention at all of space relations, and yet the absence of this most important element of the external world is scarcely missed because the terms of common life so readily supply and suggest them.

We contend that it is not unfair to say that by this interchange of common and technical terminology Mr. Mill contrives to muddle almost every subject which he essays to treat with philosophical exactness. It is literally true that when he seems to be the most

clear and convincing, because his terms are familiar and his illustrations are easily followed, he is the most emphatically confusing and disappointing. We need only contrast him with Berkeley to be sensible of his marked defects. Berkeley is not especially technical in his language, but he is never afraid to adhere to his own positions, or to face them in all their consequences. He moves with a steady and an onward tread. He derives from his postulates only those conclusions which their import warrants, and fearlessly applies them in all their legitimate consequences. Whether you agree with him or dissent from him, you cannot possibly mistake his meaning. You not only know what he holds, but you know why he holds it, for his reasons follow one another in a close lock-step in which every foot-fall is distinguished from every other. So far as mere language is concerned, Mill appears to be as simple and as clear as Berkeley. His free use of common terms seems to give a special intelligibleness to his diction. But when you study his diction as a revealer of thought, you find that his definitions are neither lucid nor exact, that his terms are not used in a uniform import, and that neither are his analyses exact nor his deductions rigid. The clearness is superficial and the logical coherence is only apparent. We venture to add, that most of the popular writers of the modern English school who sympathize with Mill's philosophy are open to similar criticism. They affect clearness. They abound in illustrations from common life. Some of them are masters of the art of exposition. They claim to be eminently exact. It is possible they are exact so long as they confine themselves to their special science or art. But when they proceed to the metaphysics of induction or evolution, of mind, matter, or life, the splendid array of illustrations and examples which they marshal before the vision is like a torchlight-procession in a fog; the brighter the lights and the more dazzling the movements, the more distinctly do they reveal the mists which they seem to illuminate, and the more effectually do they confuse and bewilder the spectator. Huxley's Physiology, Bain's Psychology, Darwin's Zoology, and Herbert Spencer's Theology are often plausible because they seem to be clear in statement, and copious in illustration, and strong in facts. Their readers do not always observe that there is no cover so convenient for defective and incoherent thinking as a confident and dexterous use of the manifold ambiguities which are provided in the language of common life, when skillfully introduced in the abstractions of philosophy.

We have dwelt upon this defect of Mill as a philosophic

writer at some length, because we think it has not attracted the attention from his critics which it deserves, and because it is especially fitted to impose upon the incautious student. The single example by which we have illustrated the jugglery with which he seems to impose on himself by the use of illustrations and terms from common life, is by no means solitary. It can be matched by a score which are nearly as striking as this of Mill's peculiar treatment of some of the most important conceptions and doctrines of philosophy, in which he has misled himself and his admirers by the fatal ambiguity of his diction.

What is more surprising, he seems to be almost incapable of knowing when he falls into errors of this sort. He is almost equally insensible to the detection of his own oversights and inconsequences by another, as he is to them when they are discovered and confessed by himself. We find an example of this simplicity in Chapter XII. of the Examination of Hamilton's Philosophy, in which he inquires how far the psychological theory of the belief in matter is applicable to the mind. The Psychological Theory, it will be remembered, is the theory which is founded in the four postulates already cited, all derived from the laws of association. This theory would require us to conceive the mind to be "a series of feelings or thread of consciousness, supplemented by, or with a background of believed possibilities of consciousness, *i. e.*, feelings which are not, though they might be, realized." After defending this theory against the objections that it is inconsistent with the belief in the existence of other minds, of God, and in immortality, he develops certain intrinsic difficulties which he confesses to be insuperable by his analysis. He notices that the experiences of memory and expectation are more than simple sensation, inasmuch as memory involves the suggestion and belief that a sensation of which it *is a copy or representation actually existed in the past*, and expectation involves the belief that a sensation will exist in the future. If, moreover, we speak of the mind as a series of feelings, we are obliged to complete the statement by calling it *a series of feelings which is aware of itself as past or present*. Did ever the hypostatization of abstractions go further than when a *series of feelings is aware of itself*? But nothing moved the author proceeds: "We are thus reduced to the alternative of believing that the mind is something different from a series of feelings, or that something which *ex hypothesi* is but a series of feelings can be aware of itself." And what does the author do under the pressure of this alternative? Does he give up the hypothesis, *i. e.*, the psychological

theory according to which the mind is and must be a series of feelings and nothing more, or does he accept the paradox? Neither. Having fairly confuted himself by reducing himself to the dilemma which he derives so logically and states so clearly, he says the fault is not in the theory but it is in the facts:

"The truth is we are face to face with that final inexplicability at which, as Sir William Hamilton observes, we inevitably arrive when we reach ultimate facts, 'one mode of stating which is so much more incongruous than another, that you cannot state the fact in certain phrases without denying its truth.' 'I think under the circumstances the wisest thing we can do is to accept the fact without a theory, and when we are obliged to describe the fact in terms taken from a theory, to use them with a certain reservation as to their meaning.'"

A reader of these astounding statements might properly inquire whether the writer were sane or in earnest. After all the imposing assurances in respect to the superiority of the psychological theory held by himself over the introspective or intuitional theory as held by Hamilton, after subjecting the last theory to a scrutinizing analysis and testing it by its consistency with facts and its adequacy to explain phenomena, he writes a long chapter to show that the associational postulates fully account for our conception of matter and the external world. He seems to concede that they ought to explain our conceptions of the mind, and he inquires whether they do in fact. He replies in the negative. He even shuts himself up by a dilemma, just as he had a thousand times refuted his antagonists and had been seeking to refute Sir William Hamilton on every page of this critical examination. Not content with refuting himself, he is free to acknowledge that he has done so. He says, in effect, that he has demonstrated the falseness of his own theory by a *reductio ad absurdum*. But what then? Is the theory thus disproved to be rejected? Not in the least; the fault is in the facts, "in the final inexplicability of all ultimate facts." He calls on Sir William Hamilton to attest that this is so. Should we conceive a man, not only to be logically killed, but to kill himself, and not only to kill himself, but to acknowledge that he is killed, and yet to assert that after he should kill himself, or had killed himself, he was still alive, we should have a case that would be parallel to this *felo-de-se* of Mr. Mill.

Mr. Mill goes even beyond this. Such an escapade could not escape the notice of his critics, some of whom expressed themselves very freely in regard to it. In the third edition of his work, he writes a long reply to these critics, as an appendix to the eleventh and

twelfth chapters, in which he expresses in the meekest possible way his unfeigned surprise that they have bestowed any sarcasm upon this failure of his theory as acknowledged by himself, and asserts that he never contended or believed that it could be applied successfully to the soul, and that all that he intended to show was that it was consistent with the belief in God, immortality, and the existence of other beings. We might class a philosopher of this type among the pachydermatous animals, for truly he has shown himself not very thin-skinned, or more properly, we might conclude that he resembled some oriental tribes of the human species, who seem, not only to be able to survive the severest operations of modern surgery, but who show little or no sensibility under inflictions which would extort shrieks of agony from a more sensitive occidental. These are not the only examples of unconscious logical suicide which might be adduced from Mr. Mill's writings. They are abundant and manifest to any critic who is not blinded by a devotion to Mr. Mill's peculiar metaphysics, or by the apparent clearness of his diction when it veils the real ambiguity and incoherence of his reasoning.

One of the most instructive and interesting parts of his autobiography is that which describes "A Crisis in his Mental History," carrying him, as he says "one stage forward." We do not refer to its moral bearings, interesting as it is in this regard, but to the light which it throws upon the subsequent inconsistent and vacillating character of his philosophical doctrines. Before this crisis he was a narrow and devoted Benthamist in his views of government and culture, of morals and philosophy; as the result of it he very essentially modified his principles in every one of these departments of speculation. Any attentive reader of his articles upon Coleridge, Bentham, and De Tocqueville, of his tract upon Utilitarianism and his additions to his father's *Analysis of the Human Mind*, in the edition of 1867, could not fail to detect the evidences of a perpetual conflict between two opposing tendencies and almost contradictory principles. In the articles on Bentham and De Tocqueville almost every characteristic philosophical principle to which Bentham and his father were fanatically devoted, except those technically theological, are deliberately combated. It was only in his devotion to certain practical measures of social and political reform, that Mill adhered to his first teachers and stood fearlessly by their side as an active combatant. But he confesses that his father no longer sympathized with his political writings. Even his Utilitarianism is another philosophy of Ethics from that taught by

Bentham respecting the sources of happiness which are open to man and the duty of spiritual culture for the independent satisfaction and strength which it ministers, although he retains the fatal necessitarianism which is inconsistent with any possible theory of obligation or responsibility. In the article on Coleridge the struggle to adjust a compromise between his traditional theories in respect to metaphysical truth and the new light which had awakened so many misgivings, is manifest in the manifold acknowledgments which he makes of the defective construction of Locke's Philosophy by many, not to say the most of his so-called disciples, and his unfavorable representation, not to say travesty of the so-called transcendental or anti-Lockian metaphysics. It is amusing to observe how when he ventures at last to give in his adhesion to what he calls the school of Locke and Bentham, he skillfully attaches a "rider" to his exposition of their fundamental principle which neither Locke nor Bentham had ever announced, when he says, "we see no ground for believing that anything can be the object of our knowledge except our experience *and what can be inferred from our experience by the analogies of experience itself*," as if under "analogy" and "the analogies of experience," there did not lie hidden a transcendental element, and so to speak an entire system of transcendental philosophy. A similar sensitiveness to the pressure of his obscure convictions, that there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamed of in his own philosophy, is abundantly manifest in almost every discussion in his System of Logic in which there is any occasion to refer to an underlying metaphysics. It is interesting and almost amusing to notice how uniformly in this treatise the author contrives to introduce a full exposition of his own metaphysics in the form and under the title of logical discussions, and avoids introducing the opposite philosophy under the plea that such questions would lead him into transcendental metaphysics. But in all these attempts to avoid grappling with fundamental issues, or to dispose of such questions by shuffling compromises, we discern the hazy unsettled mind which was determined to adhere to its original bent, even against its underlying convictions that its grounds might not have been thoroughly examined, or were not thoroughly trustworthy.

The relations of Mr. Mill's philosophy to that of Auguste Comte have been made the subject of a critical discussion by himself. The subject is not unfrequently referred to in his System of Logic. The deviations from Comte to which he attaches the greatest importance do not seem to be vital. Most of them are entirely consistent with his ac-

ceptance of every principle which is characteristic of and objectionable in the Positive Philosophy. They leave out of the universe the two relations of force and of design, and shut up science to the observation of phenomena, which are dignified with the name of facts, and to the connection of these phenomena by the relations of likeness and of succession, which Comte seeks to elevate by calling them laws. Mr. Mill does, indeed, dissent from Comte by contending for psychological phenomena as equally legitimate and equally worthy of scientific study with those which are sensible and material. He does, indeed, refrain from asserting that psychical phenomena are within the reach and resources of matter. He does not venture to contend that they are cerebral functions or physiological phenomena. These peculiarities, though important, are not in the highest sense vital, and Mill's metaphysics are substantially Positivist, notwithstanding these positions of dissent. But when he insists on using the term causation and those which are akin to it, in preference to those of mere succession, and freely owns that law and orderliness have usually been referred to a mind, and yet fails to follow out with logical courage and consistency the import of the terms which he insists upon employing, we find fresh examples of his tendency to take advantage of the ambiguity of language to conceal from himself and his readers the uncertainty of his own principles and to use vacillating compromises in spheres of thought in which they are the least of all admissible.

One of the most glaring examples of the same characteristic is furnished in Mill's *Analysis of the Philosophy of Induction*. We did not need to be told by Mill himself that the works of Whewell had first aroused his attention to those axioms or fundamental principles which must be assumed as the grounds of every interpretation of nature. The fact is sufficiently obvious from the frequent references to his opinions. Mill might reasonably find it impossible to accept the Kantian dialect and the Kantian metaphysics of Whewell, but he could not so easily evade the conclusiveness of the analysis by which Whewell demonstrates that Induction is more than an observation and registration of facts and requires more than an enumeration and arrangement of similar events or phenomena for the explanation of its sagacious anticipations and its decisive experiments. His characteristic candor bade him state the essential conditions of the process. After this careful and elaborate statement of the problem it excites nothing less than astonishment to find that Mill has the effrontery to contend that the assumptions that are essentially involved in Induction are the product of Induction itself, and in language like the following: "The

uniformity in the succession of events, otherwise called the law of causation, must be received, not as a law of the universe, but of that portion of it only which is within the range of our means of mere observation, *with a reasonable degree of extension to adjacent cases*. To extend it further is to make a supposition without evidence, and to which, in the absence of any ground from experience for intimating its degree of probability, it would be ridiculous to affect to assign it." —Logic, B. III., cxxi., § 5. We are reminded when we read this passage of the bold utterances of a colored preacher concerning a passage in the sacred history of which his recollections were more confident than correct. "And the Lord said unto Moses in the Garden of Eden." Whereupon a brother behind, who was somewhat better informed, caught him by the coat and whispered, "Moses wasn't there." Upon which the preacher corrected himself, "And the Lord said unto Abraham." Upon this followed a similar correction, to which the preacher, growing confident, repeated, "and the Lord said unto Abraham," and the critic whispered more loudly and earnestly, "I say Abraham wasn't there." The preacher, growing excited, reiterated, "I say Abraham was *there or thereabouts*." This is not the sole instance in which Mr. Mill substitutes a *thereabouts* of his own for a *there* of writers whom he follows and from whom he dissents.

Mill's editorial notes upon his father's Analysis of the Human Mind furnish at least one striking illustration of the defects which have been named. Mr. Mill, the father, in his first edition of this work, 1829, had revived the Hartleyan and Priestleyan doctrine that inseparable associations explain the processes of belief and knowledge. In his examination of Hamilton the son confidently sets forth the same doctrine as the only and the all-sufficient solvent for most if not all of the problems of psychology and philosophy, as against the intuitive theory. And yet when he comes to criticise his father's application of the same principle, to explain belief and knowledge, he rejects it as altogether insufficient and writes a long note in support of the position that *belief* cannot be resolved into the operation of inseparable associations. When he had occasion to contend against Hamilton, as in XIVth chapter of the Examination, he urges that the belief in causation can be fully explained by the repetition of the events which are associated as cause and effect; but when he analyses the belief of events that have occurred or will occur, he resolves this into two independent and original processes which he calls Memory and Expectation, leaving our knowledge and belief of

present objects and events to be vaguely classed as feelings or sensations.

We have perhaps adduced too many illustrations of what we regard as Mr. Mill's characteristic defects. His excellencies are manifold. Conspicuous among them is his patience of observation and analysis, and a disposition to be thorough whenever the principles of his own philosophy rendered it possible. We have given our reasons for believing that he was not always perfectly ingenuous toward himself, but that under the pressure of a sharp and urgent necessity he suffered himself to be imposed upon by the ambiguity of popular terms and phrases, which conveniently disguised the difference between a true and a false philosophy.

It is not surprising that a writer who was not always candid toward himself should not be uniformly just toward others. It might seem almost harsh to say that he is not always even fair and generous. He never fails to make a show of candor and impartiality, and doubtless strives to persuade himself that he is so in fact. His *Examination of Hamilton's Philosophy* was indeed a severe test of his mental uprightness. He deliberately grappled with a writer of great learning, unquestioned acuteness, and undisputed preëminence, and he was strongly tempted to put him in fault on every possible occasion. Hamilton was by no means invulnerable. His habits of thinking and writing were not the most cautious. Most of his works were posthumous, and subject to the additional disadvantage of having been composed in parts at distant intervals of time, and under the pressure of immediate necessity. It might be supposed that many opinions which he had hastily formed or had somewhat inadvertently phrased, might not be consistent with those which were maturely adopted, although he suffered them to remain uncorrected in the manuscripts from which he lectured. An antagonist assailed under all these disadvantages certainly deserved considerate and forbearing treatment. We cannot think that he always received either. Whether he did or did not, can be settled only by minute criticism of the several points of the discussion. A superficial perusal of the critique will not fail to leave the impression that Mill's attitude toward Hamilton is supercilious and ungenerous, and that there was little evidence of any magnanimous appreciation of Hamilton's intellectual or personal superiority. Mill's autobiography abounds in judgments concerning many eminent men among his contemporaries. Most of these estimates are unsatisfactory even when they are laudatory. Many of them seem studiously paradoxical and depreciating, and give evi-

dence of nothing so decisively as of a cold and self-centered temper on the part of Mr. Mill. Not a few are evidently biassed by anti-theological and anti-Christian prejudices.

We have designedly avoided in this paper giving any prominence to the relation of Mr. Mill's philosophy to theological opinions in religious belief. It is but simply just to say in conclusion that his philosophy provided scanty room and nutriment for either imaginative idealizations or religious faith. It had as little genuine sympathy with literature as it had with theology, and for one reason among many, that it was conceived in the spirit of partisanship rather than that of research. Mill was a well-trained logician, but he was not an accomplished philosopher. He was an effective advocate and a skillful expounder, but he was neither a broad-minded inquirer, nor a deep-minded interpreter of the constitution of the universe or the soul of man. He tells us very frankly of the striking changes which he experienced in respect to his opinions and aims, in respect to his judgments of literature, of culture, of the affections, and of Political Economy and Sociology. But by his own showing he never freed himself from the narrowness of the principles and habits in which he was trained. He was narrow to the last, narrow even when he strove to be liberal. He was narrow even in the affections of which he made a religion, the ethical fruits of which were cruel to others, however beneficent to himself. He was narrow in his culture, notwithstanding all his aspirations and efforts after beauty, pathos, or grace, in thought and diction, and narrowest of all in the dogmatic and ill-concealed contempt in which he held all those speculations and faiths concerning the Future Life or the Self-Existent God, which have uniformly fascinated even if they have greatly perplexed every truly great thinker of the human race.

BOOKS.

THE INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC SERIES. THE STUDY OF SOCIOLOGY. BY HERBERT SPENCER, AUTHOR OF "A SYSTEM OF PHILOSOPHY," "DESCRIPTIVE SOCIOLOGY," ETC., ETC., NEW YORK. D. APPLETON & CO., 549 & 551 BROADWAY.

THE International Scientific Series is composed of works written by eminent men in different countries. It has been undertaken by a great American Publishing House, unsurpassed in resource and enterprise, and which thoroughly studies the drift of the age in order to meet its demands. As the Series, even if not introduced into our schools, will yet be widely read by our people, there is perhaps no literary enterprise of the day which should be so carefully examined and so fully understood. Parents and teachers have a special interest in it. From the treatises of many eminent writers we have selected the recent work of Mr. Herbert Spencer as strikingly fitted to exhibit the aim and scope of the International Scientific Series.

The volume we propose to examine becomes still more interesting because it is the *avant courier* of a mighty army, drilling and marshaling behind it for the purpose of demolishing fossilized superstitions, and establishing a new era of scientific and social truth. Mr. Spencer is engaged,

"With the aid of three educated gentlemen in his employ, in collecting and organizing the facts concerning all orders of human societies, which must constitute the data of a true Social Science. He tabulates these facts so as conveniently to admit of extensive comparison, and gives the authorities separately. He divides the races of mankind into three great groups: the savage races, the existing civilizations, and the extinct civilizations, and to each he devotes a series of works. The first installment, *The Sociological History of England*, in seven continuous tables, folio, with seventy pages of verifying text, is now ready."

It is not therefore unnatural that we should examine carefully a popular work evidently prepared to announce and introduce the

more ponderous labors of this new Hercules who is to cleanse our world from its old errors.

Mr. Spencer shows in the present volume, by way of illustration rather than of argument, the need, the nature, the difficulties, and the preparations for the study of Social Science. He enters especially into the discussion of various embarrassments—objective, and subjective—intellectual and emotional—arising from the bias of Education, of Patriotism, of Class, of Politics, of Theology, and then shows the peculiar discipline necessary for the mastery of his subject, and particularly the knowledge of Biology, and Psychology which it requires. His conclusion is a compact summary of all that precedes in the volume.

If we have really succeeded in penetrating to the heart of the great enterprise contemplated by Mr. Spencer, we would say that its design is to develop a new Social Science from the theory of Evolution. We understand him as asserting that the System of M. Comte was fundamentally defective in its ignorance of this doctrine. He says in regard to the French Philosopher:—

“Nor did he arrive at that conception of the Social Science which alone fully affiliates it upon the simpler sciences—the conception of it as an account of the most complex forms of that continuous redistribution of matter and motion which is going on universally. Only when it is seen that the transformations passed through during the growth, maturity, and decay of a society conform to the same principles as do the transformations passed through by aggregates of all orders—inorganic and organic—only when it is seen that the process is in all cases similarly determined by forces, and is not scientifically interpreted until it is expressed in terms of these forces—only then is there reached the conception of Sociology as a Science in the complete meaning of the word.”

From this and other passages of Mr. Spencer's book it is to be clearly inferred that his whole system is to be based on the conception that from force and matter have been evolved all individual and all social life. Now surely a Philosophy of Society intended for the practical guidance of men should have for its foundation only established truth. Can our English sage demonstrate that from force and matter have been derived the units and the aggregates of social phenomena? Will he show us in his promised volumes whence sprang the elements of the universe? Or given to him their existence and their motion, will he affirm it to be proven that they could arrange themselves into forms exhibiting an infinite beauty, and variety, and wisdom? Does he undertake to say that all the questions discussed by the Oriental, and Greek, and Roman Philosophies

during ages, and which, where the Bible is not accepted, excite the modern world just as they agitated the ancient, are so absolutely put to rest by his arguments, or his dicta, that the old Materialism shall be a basis for the new Sociology? To convince our times on this point is the first step in the gigantic labor he has imposed on himself. This alone we should consider a work sufficient to occupy a philosopher during all his days. It is no slight task to demonstrate that from force and matter have been evolved design, order, life, thought, emotion, will—the universe. It is no slight task to suppress the very protests of the human soul. The man who makes this first Herculean labor a mere preliminary of his enterprise must be in his own estimation a young god.

Nor when the universe has been developed and arranged is Mr. Spencer willing to permit anything but the powers of nature to carry it forward in its vast and complicated movements. He brings Mr. Gladstone to an account for venturing to speak of a Providence. We do not propose to discuss the question whether all things are created and conserved by the ordinations of a personality infinite in being, and power, and wisdom. To avow our Atheism would, in many circles, add to our influence. This much we may dare to affirm without overwhelming criticism—there are yet two sides to the question. And we may ask what are we to think of a Sociology in an International Series, to be taught in our schools and to be read by our people, which is to expel from the world the very notion of a Providence? Practical Social Science should rest on admitted truth. Is it admitted truth that there is no superintending Deity? Has Mr. Spencer determined that question? Are his dicta sufficient without his arguments? If our author were content to meet the issue by patient investigations rather than by sneers and assertions, he might find that a second Herculean labor would be needed to construct the very threshold of his edifice.

But we are also forced to the painful conviction that Christianity in any fair acceptance of the word, is to be eliminated from the new Science. This follows from the scheme of Evolution indicated as the germ from which all is developed. If we comprehend the drift and spirit of this book, it takes for granted that Christianity, except possibly in its moral teachings, is an exploded superstition. It is insinuated or asserted that its great central truths are to be ranked with the myths of the ages. Again and again they are treated with the most undisguised scorn and contempt. Does Mr. Spencer believe that the supernatural in Christianity is accepted without

proof? Does he imagine that the long line of the philosophers, and scholars, and statesmen of England, some of whom are possibly his equals in genius and learning, have believed the Bible as a mere tradition of their ancestors? Does he not know that all men of intelligence who receive the Scriptures ground their faith on their arguments? Their appeal for proof is always to their Reason. A mighty system of Evidences, around which has been gathered so much British intellect and scholarship, is not to be set aside by mere sneers. Will Mr. Spencer found his Sociology on conceptions at eternal war with the Scriptures, and venture no reasoning whatever on a subject so nearly touching mankind? Would not investigation here drive him into those fields of Theology he so much dreads, and of which he is so mournfully ignorant? Might it not pile on him a third Herculean labor, and defer indefinitely the appearance of his ponderous volumes? If he does not believe that there were giants in the past days, he certainly thinks there is one giant in his own.

But suppose Mr. Spencer has succeeded in his introductory task. Let it be granted that he has demonstrated that the universe has been evolved from force and matter. Let it be granted that the whole scheme of things is carried forward, not by a divine personality, but by natural powers. Let it be granted that Christianity has been sneered, or ridiculed, or argued into a childish myth to be rejected by the manhood of our world. All this being accomplished, there remains a fourth Herculean labor—also merely preparatory to the great work—sufficient to startle any mortal but a Spencer, or a Comte.

Our author points out with unexpected clearness the subtle influence of distorting prejudices, arising from the intellect, and the emotions, traceable to education, to patriotism, to class, to politics, to theology. He exhibits the discipline necessary to the mastery of Social Science. He sketches the advantages for its study to be derived from a knowledge of Biology and Psychology. Indeed the principal part of his book is occupied with illustrations, often loose, remote, and inapt, of the monstrous discouragements in the pursuit of the new philosophy. Never have we traveled over more dismal and arid wastes; sands, rocks, mountains piled into the heavens. If so much preparation is required by the disciple, how mighty must be the accomplishments of the master! In that conquest of prejudices he describes as essential to a correct Social Science, our author would require a life prolonged through a century, with the daring of an Alexander, the powers of an Aristotle, and the sincerity of a Paul.

The truth is Mr. Spencer has attempted impossibilities, and seems

amusingly ignorant of the immense difficulties of his task, and his own incompetency for its accomplishment. The work he contemplates is both a Cyclopædia in the area of its facts, and in the extent of its principles a Universal Philosophy. It embraces all history, all science, all theology. It comprehends man in every individual and social relation. It would set aside God, Creation, Providence, Christianity. It would formulate and tabulate every phenomenon of body and of spirit in equations of force and matter. It implies the mastery of all subjects, abstract and concrete, within the possible range of the human intelligence. The audacity which could conceive such a work is stupendous. The credulity which can glorify such a teacher is astounding.

It is refreshing to know that Mr. Spencer has no faith in the practical success of his own efforts. To attempt to abolish God from the universe, and religion from the consciousness; to divest man of his responsibility and of his immortality; to resolve all phenomena, even of life and intelligence, into modifications of force and matter; to change the beliefs, the hopes, the motives, the customs, the laws of millions of mankind, our author, in a lucid interval, perceives to be no slight undertaking, even for himself. We cannot but infer this universal wreck to be his aspiration, if not his expectation, and we are confident that most disastrous would be the result to thousands of our people, if the International Scientific Series should succeed in obtaining a wide circulation for the works of Herbert Spencer alone. If we might use an expression which is a seeming contradiction, we would say that his book was the forerunner of a Gospel of Atheism. Can the author prove it otherwise? He shall have an opportunity in the pages of this Review.

But as we remarked, Mr. Spencer, after all, despairs that his designs can be accomplished. We think he will achieve more injury than he imagines. We will, however, let him speak for himself:—

“The only reasonable hope is that, *here and there one* may be led, in calmer moments, to remember how largely his beliefs about public matters have been made for him by circumstances, and how probable it is that they are either untrue or partially true. When he reflects on the doubtfulness of the evidence which he generalizes, collected hap-hazard from a narrow area—when he counts up the perverting sentiments fostered in him by education, country, class, party, creed—when, observing those around, he sees that from other evidence and sentiments partially unlike his own, there result unlike views; he may occasionally recollect how largely mere accidents have determined his convictions. Recollecting this, he may be induced to hold these convictions not quite so strongly, may see the need for criticism of them,

with a view to revision, and, above all, may be somewhat less eager to act in pursuance of them."

This passage—like water after flames—proves the practical inefficiency of Mr. Spencer's philosophy in producing in its author the modest and magnanimous spirit implied in his smooth words. Had this been the happy effect on himself, he would never have rushed forth on his *Rozinante* to conquer superstitions in so loose an armor—not the *Hercules*, but the *Don Quixote* of his age. M. Comte, a few years since, rode into the lists equally confident and equally encumbered. We venture to predict that with him Mr. Spencer will eventually figure on the pages of some Cervantes of scientific romance.

The Positive Philosophy of M. Comte was to be perpetuated by a sort of Scientific Hierarchy. All nationalities were to be dissolved, and from Paris, as a center, three Bankers were to rule the world, while a Grand Pontiff of Philosophy was to give Positivism as a law to mankind. When we travel over the monotonous wastes of the book of Mr. Spencer; when we mark his attempts to sweep away from our world all that ennobles human existence; when we notice his efforts to grasp all knowledge and impose his dicta on mankind, we cannot but think the Papacy of Materialism has transferred its throne to London. We decidedly prefer the French savan to the English sage. M. Comte centred the authority of his system in an organization embracing others. Mr. Spencer seems to be the sole oracle and the sole lawgiver.

If we examine that part of his book relating to Discipline we have a key to his mental peculiarities. The only studies he recommends are the Abstract and the Physical Sciences. Man—with all his hopes, desires, passions, yearnings, aspirations—with his mighty impulses and his infinite capacities—is to be contemplated simply from the stand-point of the Mathematician and the Physicist, and to be formulated like an atom or a force.

However we may differ from Mr. Darwin and Mr. Huxley, we recognize in them original genius and a mastery over special subjects. Mr. Spencer, however, in his efforts to acquire everything, has mastered nothing. His powers of suction are enormous. Illustrations drawn from a wide circle of knowledge flow from his pen with the facility of oil, and with something of its diffusiveness and opacity. But he is no exception to the law that what is gained in breadth is lost in depth. He staggers under the burdens of his acquisitions,

wandering uncertainly amid the mazes of the universe without any guide but his own puzzled spirit, and eager to drag others into his darkness. After all he will have to learn that only a specialist can be a vigorous and independent thinker. Hundreds of obscure men in the domain of politics and theology smile at his crude ignorances. A few years at the Bar or in the House of Commons would make him ridicule the absurdity of his own grand attempts. He may, with the assistance of three clerks, or a dozen clerks, compile his Cyclopædias, and set the world in a doze, but he will never be the founder of an original and enduring Social Science.

We may say in conclusion that never had atheism such an opportunity. Christian publishers give to the world its theories of materialism. Christian booksellers vend them. Christian people buy them. How generous and sublime this confidence in the truth! The occupants of the citadel furnish the artillery for its overthrow. That particular battery we have been examining consists of guns which, under the flying colors of Popular Science, have been during a year making their monthly discharges.

THE STORY OF EARTH AND MAN. J. W. DAWSON, L.L.D., F.R.S., F.G.S. *Principal and Vice-Chancellor of McGill University, Montreal.* AUTHOR OF "ARCHAIA," "ACADIAN GEOLOGY," ETC., NEW YORK. HARPER & BROTHERS, FRANKLIN SQUARE.

SUCH is the extent of knowledge in our age that the gifts of thorough analysis, simple arrangement, and clear statement are invaluable. Many minds lose themselves in the vastness of the areas around them, and above all things require a reliable guide. More than half the errors of our times arise from hasty observations, and inductions, crude generalizations, and slovenly statements. Our intellectual digestion is not equal to the demands upon it, and hence springs forth this interminable brood of sores, humors and diseases deforming the noblest age our world has ever seen.

We are glad to meet a book free from the blemishes we have indicated. Mr. Dawson undertakes to tell the story of Earth and Man as read in the light Geological Science, and in a modest but manly way he accomplishes his task. Every part of his work evinces a mind in love with truth, excellently disciplined and balanced, enthusiastic yet always restrained, never mistaking fancies

for facts, speculations for truths, or theories for laws. We do not believe the ascertained verities of Geology could be more lucidly arranged, or expressed in a more correct and pleasing style.

Dr. Dawson inclines to the nebular hypothesis as the way in which the creative energy first displayed itself, describes our world as a vast vaporous glowing comet, gradually contracting towards its center into a revolving globe of fire, and then in the long processes of its transformations exchanging its girdle of flames for an abyss of waters. He exhibits with the touches of a master the great geological cycles, extending through the Eozoic, the Cambrian, the Silurian, the Devonian, the Carboniferous, the Permian, the Mesozoic and the Neozoic ages, until the earth is prepared during millions of years in the laboratories of the Creator for the residence of man, at once its child, and king. We have no where seen any similar work which, in point of real ability, solid learning, and popular but thorough treatment, we could more cordially commend to reading people generally, and especially to the youth of our age.

And now the writer must ask pardon of his brother critics for a digression from the immediate consideration of this excellent book.

No man can study the explorations of modern Geology, and not be convinced that all the facts tend to prove that this earth was millions, or even billions of years in passing from its primordial condition to its present state. Nothing but a blind, and narrow, although it may be a sincere, bigotry can shut its eyes to the conclusion. All interpretations of the Mosaic genesis which would crowd into six natural days the evolutions of cycles just next to infinite, cannot but seem forced and unnatural.

On the other hand we cannot marvel at the sensitive shrinking of theologians from yielding the plain meaning of the very first chapter of the Bible. Its style is that of historical narrative. If you turn this to myth, you may turn everything to myth, and you are logically hurried to the conclusions of Strauss, which leave scarce a fact, not a miracle, not a mystery to Christianity. It is not strange that a Miller in striving to leap the mighty chasm between the scientist and the believer dizzied over the darkness, and fell with a sad cry of despair into the gaping and terrible abyss.

Dr. Dawson wisely in the popular treatment of his subject steers clear of the difficulties between Scripture and Geology, contenting himself simply with battling against the materialistic conclusions of modern Evolution, and asserting constantly a manly faith in a personal Creator. We hesitate to pass into the field he has so prudently

avoided, and yet feel constrained to state a theory which to ourselves reconciles the literal interpretation of the extremest orthodoxy with all the latitude the most confident scientist can desire.

Let it be understood that our object is to approach the Theologian who believes in a God as the cause and conservator of the universe, and to reconcile him to the inevitable conclusions of the Geologist.

First, we say to him the revelations of the Scripture were often in vision. Isaiah saw the divine glory in vision. Ezekiel saw the Jewish history, and Daniel saw the Gentile history in vision. John saw the whole future of our world through time and eternity in vision. And we believe Moses saw its past in vision, and that what he saw truly he described literally.

Let us explain more minutely. Each vision occupied a natural day, and at its conclusion the narrator, beginning where his mind left off beholding, described the day as the evening and the morning, and not, as would be otherwise most natural, the morning and the evening. Moses may have seen brought into existence the nebular elements of La Place, first diffused over space, and then in obedience to the creative power and wisdom, forming into bright gaseous globes, whirling about their centers, and throwing off their satellites, and gradually assuming the present relations of planets and suns in innumerable revolving systems. If he beheld this, however, he has not recorded it. He first describes what was exhibited to his mind—our earth in that geological era when it was robed in darkness—a black chaotic globe, like a vast spot on his vision. He hears the words—"Let there be light," and suddenly from one part of the dark sphere burst forth flames, representing precisely the period so vividly painted on the page of Mr. Dawson. The spectacle lasted a day. It was literally what Moses described, and yet just as truly stands for the mighty era of the scientists.

On the second day the seer beheld our globe, with the fire and water about it, in a furious contest of gases and vapors, until at last it is encircled by the clear expanse of heaven. Again Moses narrates what he saw. Yet his vision also figures that geological epoch when our atmosphere, during the physical and chemical processes of ages, was assuming its present form, and settling into those proportions of oxygen and nitrogen which fit it to sustain the lives of its inhabitants.

On the third day Moses saw a representation of the rising mountains, the sinking valleys, the gathering oceans, and the collecting

streams, with the creepings forth of vegetable life, describing literally what was present to his soul, and yet what typified another epoch which the reader may also find substantially depicted by the glowing pen of Dr. Dawson.

On the fourth day, for the first time, appeared to the mental eye of the prophet the lights in the firmament of heaven—sun, moon, and stars in the expanse above—and on the fifth day the swarming life of rivers, seas, and oceans, with the fowls flying from the waters, all really visible, and really recorded, yet representing cycles of evolution, as long and as various as even Mr. Darwin could desire.

So on the sixth day, Moses saw in vision the beasts rising from the ground, and man formed from the dust of the earth, and described what he witnessed, and yet what also typified mighty periods of the developments of animal life, stretching over cycles protracted enough to satisfy the demands of Mr. Huxley, or to soften possibly the contempt of Mr. Spencer.

Here is a system of interpretation at once literal and figurative, in conformity with the whole genius of the Scriptures, which seems in harmony, with the plain facts of the Geologist, and yet in no degree disturbs the orthodoxy of the Theologian. We simply, yet hesitatingly, suggest it, hoping it may give to some other mind the relief it has afforded to our own. If it be correct, on the one hand, we have Moses in the past describing the whole formative history of our world to the beginnings of being, and, on the other hand, St. John, in the future, describing the whole onward history of our world through eternity itself.

Asking pardon for our detention and digression, and also for our own boldness, we would suggest further, if this scheme should prove true, we perceive how entirely the simple, the brief, the sublime record of Genesis accommodated itself to the infant conceptions of our race, without any sacrifice of fact, while, in these marvelous developments of Modern Science, it harmonizes with every discovery, anticipating the future, and containing in itself the germs of all the knowledge which the admirable researches of physicists will ever develop in the progress of our race.

We also venture to add that the more the original text of the first chapter of Genesis is studied, and especially the peculiar, grand, almost rhythmical structure of the language, the more thoroughly it will be found in harmony with the theory we have unfolded. Thus also is accounted for, that impression of sublimity produced at the

beginning of our Bibles, and arising from the fact that the writer had pictured to his soul scenes vast and awful, beyond the scope of words, and yet communicating through words a felt mysterious power.

THE LIFE OF CHARLES DICKENS. BY JOHN FORSTER. VOLS. I, II, AND III. PHILADELPHIA: J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.

WE approached these volumes exposed to all the prejudices which could be excited by the severe censures discharged against their author when the plan of his biography first became known to the public. The impression left by a careful perusal is that he has been most unjustly blamed and most strangely misunderstood. It appears to us that no man living could have performed the task better. We believe that he has been conscientious, industrious, discriminating, and delicate, and if he has not given us a true portrait of Charles Dickens, socially and intellectually, as far as the nature of his relations permitted, then is a faithful picture impossible.

The career of Mr. Dickens is in some respects a phenomenon in literature, and we should be thankful for such ample means of studying it. He shot up into a sudden, wide and brilliant popularity in the very glow of his young manhood, and maintained his position until long after the period of middle life, exciting, probably, more persons of all ages, classes, and nations to tears and smiles than any writer who has ever lived, except Shakespeare, and possibly, Sir Walter Scott.

Mr. Dickens was certainly a shrewd judge of men and things, and knew perfectly well what he did when he took Mr. Forster to his heart, entrusted to him his autobiography, consulted him about all his writings, and for thirty-three years continued with him the most sacred and intimate confidences of friendship. The result is a minute picture, not by a weak, toadying, and garrulous Boswell, but plainly by a man who could admire without idolizing, and point out the faults of a genius to whom he was enthusiastically devoted. Such a faithful friend is more invaluable to a writer than a writer can ever by any possibility be to him. And if there are certain passages of Mr. Dickens's life suppressed in these volumes, we are relieved from stories of scandals over which the veil had better rest at present, and perhaps forever.

Mr. Forster has aimed to present all the most important events in the intellectual life of Mr. Dickens, to trace the history of his works

as they grew in his own mind, to give his opinions and impressions as they flashed forth in his correspondence, to explain why he withdrew so large a portion of his life from his authorship for his readings, to describe his habits, motives, labors, and draw for the world a portrait of one he so long knew and so warmly admired. Our author had as a basis for his work a sketch of the early years of his subject from his own inimitable hand. Then, in addition to conversational communications, were innumerable letters to himself and others. The former were more than sufficient for many volumes, and he had to determine whether to gather his material chiefly from these, or largely also from a mass of promiscuous correspondence. A decision under such circumstances was most trying. The letters to Mr. Forster began in young manhood, extended through more than thirty years of the life of Charles Dickens, and seem to have been the very outpourings of his soul without the least reserve. They were dashed off at the whim or the impulse of the moment, and, sparkling with their spontaneity, are really bright miniatures of genius penciled unconsciously by itself. Never was there such an opportunity for biography. We think Mr. Forster was right in taking advantage of it, even at the risk of censure for imputed egotism by persons disappointed of an expected notoriety, and at the peril of tempests to be discharged against him by the relentless republic of literature. To have shirked the responsibility would have been cowardice. Whatever was the motive of Mr. Forster, his decision was correct. As a consequence, and the best thing in the book, we have a view of each of his most distinguished works, germinating in the mind of Mr. Dickens and proceeding through all the stages of their youth from the forming bud to the full flower.

Next to the touching events which saddened the life, and shaped the character of the future novelist, and to the records of his brilliant literary triumphs, and to those matrimonial troubles from which the veil is only slightly lifted, our interest attaches to that period of hesitation when he was balancing between consecration to his authorship and the fascinations of his readings. At this crisis was revealed the inherent weakness of the man. We do not think that Mr. Dickens was much influenced by the love of money. Possibly his avarice may have grown as it was fed. Possibly there may have been more criminal excitements which stimulated unrest. We are seeking now the intellectual cause which occasioned such a change in the pursuits of Mr. Dickens. Authorship was with him an instinct and a joy. His soul was in the creations of his genius. He lived

and walked and talked with the characters he called forth, and which were to him far more intense and real than to the thousands weeping and laughing over them in pictured words. Such a world, however, like the paint and glare and tinsel of the stage, will lose its charms. The hard condition of the novelist is a reaction from his dreams back to sharp, and often terrible realities. Mr. Dickens was no exception to the law. We have no doubt that the exhaustions, caused by his convivial habits, intensified in his case the recoil. Besides, excessive production had plainly made invention flag and composition less a delight. Fancies and plaudits failed to satisfy. And when excitements from without and from within were expending themselves, Mr. Dickens, greatly we fear from his own fault, had no solace in his home. Never has been presented a more pitiable spectacle of inner misery in the very blaze of unexampled success. Mr. Dickens should have conquered himself. He should have stood by his wife—the mother of his ten children. He should have been faithful to his gift as a writer. But he yielded. Plunging into the excitements of his theatricals and his readings, he won brilliant yet transient triumphs at the price of over-taxed and wasted energies, and with the catastrophe of a sad and final overthrow, when his powers should have been in the very glory of their strength.

Precisely the place in literature Mr. Dickens will occupy no man can yet predict. The whole success of his delineations was certainly in the lower spheres of life, and nearly all his works smell of the street, the garret, and the den. He seems to us the Hogarth of novelists. But if his domain was narrow, within it, his creations were exhaustless and he reigned supreme. If he often exhibits sameness and sometimes, in his latter days, even poverty, yet we believe his best characters will live while our language lives, and continue to excite the smiles and tears of future generations.

It is sometimes said that Mr. Dickens never presented any high and noble ideals of life. But did Homer? Did Shakespeare? Did even Sir Walter Scott? The successful master in the art of fiction, who finds a place in the hearts of men, must paint human nature as it is, not as it ought to be, and idealize facts rather than fancy perfections.

That Mr. Dickens was a sincere believer in Christianity may no longer be questioned. How far his faith controlled his life and was operative in his character, we may safely leave to Him, whose infinite love and justice and wisdom can alone decide the momentous issues of our mixed and complicated probation.

A curious question is suggested by the sensitiveness of Mr. Dickens to criticism. He appears generally to have avoided reading the opinions expressed concerning his works. Once, however, a severe comment of the Times inflicted a fearful wound. Should an author having a mission with his pen shun or study the judgments of his critics? To avoid them seems weakness, and may make him more sore and vulnerable. Besides, much may be gained even from enemies. On the other hand, what a waste of time, possibly of patience, to peruse dismal stupidities, and become familiar with a brood hatched by envy, jealousy, and hatred! Every writer of sense will welcome a manly criticism, which seeks his good and that of others by pointing out both beauties and faults, and giving judgments according to fair standards. The world of letters resembles the world of nature. There are lions of criticism, and creatures elephantine in their solemn ponderosity. There are also wolves, and bears, and tigers, and even hyenas, and jackals. Or passing into the domain of wings, there are owls with wise blinkings and wild hootings, and bats, darting round deviously in their stupid blindness. Nor must we overlook the vultures in their noble work of purifying our world, nor the jays, and sparrows, and woodpeckers, indispensable to orchards. Even insects, with their buzz and sting, have a grand moral and scientific use. They educate patience, while living, and when dead form the most brilliant specimens of cabinets. In fixing the place of a writer of merit, who can survive the assaults of critics, their brochures are as precious as fossils to a geologist.

Whatever may have been the wit and the frailty of Charles Dickens, we must remember, to make any fair estimate of his character, that beneath the sparkle, and the fun, and the tragic horrors of his tales there was often a deep purpose to correct old abuses, which helped forward reforms in schools, and hospitals, and prisons, and even in society and in government, and left a mark for good on our age. It is this new function of Fiction which redeems it from its demoralizing tendencies and saves it from a deserved banishment by the State, such as that decreed for it by Plato in his Republic.

RECENT ITALIAN PUBLICATIONS. *Reviewed by Prof. Angelo De Gubernatis, Florence.*

Chronicles and Statutes of the City of Viterbo. Compiled by Ignazio Ciampi. Florence: Viensseuxy. One vol. This work, the result of twenty-five years of research, comprises the chronicles of Viterbo, in part re-arranged from the preceding chronicles of Gottifredo, Lancilotto, and Geronimo di Viterbo, and in part continued from those of Nicola della Tuccia, a writer of the 15th century. The chronicles of Nicola della Tuccia are followed by fragments of those of Giovanni di Iuzzo for the years 1475 and 1477, and by the records of the Sacchi family of Viterbo. The chronicles are enriched by Signor Ciampi with numerous notes, as are also the important statutes, which latter extend back to the year 1251.

Industrial Italy. Studies by Prof. Alberto Errera, made with special reference to the Countries of the Upper Adriatic: Maritime Industry. Rome: Turin: Florence: Loescher. Signor Errera is one of those few writers who consider history as a continuous record of life, and life as something which is demonstrated in history; therefore, in recording the maritime enterprises of the Venetian Republic, he has presented the alterations in the political and social conditions of the people, as well as those of the country. The present work is divided into two books; the first treats of the history of industry, and is destined to serve as an introduction to a series of special monographs which Prof. Errera proposes to write, the first of which, referring to maritime industry, with its accompanying notes, occupies the entire second volume. The author being a Venetian, and living at Venice, has naturally a predilection for Venetian industry, which serves as his starting-point, and also as his *point de retour*.

Spagna. Edward de Amicis. Florence: Barbera. Signor de Amicis is a young Piedmontese officer, and one of the most sympathetic of our prose writers. He who reads this book, fascinating for the beauty of its descriptions, and its poetical enthusiasm, will, however, doubt somewhat whether it is the exact reflection of that Spain which De Amicis has seen with his own eyes, and will be inclined to think that the author owes much to the glamour of preconceived ideas, and to his desire to maintain in the mind of his readers a large portion of that illusion with which he himself started out on his travels. Although the author's rich imagination

leads him to describe his own fancies rather than the reality of the things he sees, his book contains, notwithstanding, many characteristic and instructive pages.

Art Essays, by Francesco Dall' Ongaro. Posthumous Edition: with a brief Biography by G. Mongeri. With Illustrations, and a Portrait of the Author. Milan and Naples: Hoepli. This is a book which can be confidently recommended to American readers, as showing how much Dall' Ongaro has labored in the cause of contemporaneous Italian art. Love for art had become in him a species of religion; it was his great object to acquaint himself with whatever of the beautiful, artistic Italy produced. Himself a distinguished poet, he communicated to his writings an ideal character, and his criticisms are always poetical and in good taste.

Statutes of the Commonwealth of Padua from the Year 1200 to the Year 1285. Padua: Sachetto. These statutes belong to the most glorious portion of our mediæval history, and reveal more than anything else, the politics and practical sense of the Italians, and their especial aptitude for self-administration, without the protection of either national or foreign rulers. Of these statutes, the most important is that of the year 1275, relating to the downfall of the tyrannical family of the Ezzolini, and referring in a great measure to the republican statutes of the 12th century; the first of its articles, for instance, being intended to limit the power of the mayor. Additional importance is given to these statutes by the numerous instructive notes of Prof. Gloria, as indicating, from the Latin in which they are written, that the Paduan dialect had suffered from the influence of outside barbarism.

The Jesuits and the Republic of Venice. Diplomatic Documents collected by Professor Giuseppe Cappelletti. Venice: Grimaldo. Of the documents which Professor Cappelletti has copied from the archives of the order at Venice, one series alone unites in itself the history of the Venetian Republic to the year 1606. These documents form an edifying work for those who desire to penetrate the mystery of the lives and politics of the Jesuits. The appendix provides other documents referring to their return to Venice (from the papal brief of Alexander VII. extending them his grace, to that of Pio VII. recalling them after their expulsion by Clement XIV.), and also several rare and hitherto secret manuscripts which will be consulted with interest in any proposed history of the Jesuits—that great work yet to be written; as neither the infamous libels nor the

numerous apologies issued as influences for or against them, can pretend to the name of history.

Italian Independence. A History by Cesare Cantù: divided into three Periods: French, German, and National. Turin. Two volumes only have as yet appeared; a third is in course of preparation. Cantù has already written a history of the last hundred years, but it was general, and narrated only their most important events. In the present history of Italian independence, the account is confined to Italy alone in our own century, and its public events are illustrated by many anecdotes, some of them being derived from secret sources by Cantù's diligent researches among the Italian archives, and others being the result of his own personal observations, or those of the many prominent personages with whom the historian has been acquainted. The events narrated are almost all curious and important, and the relative judgments are impartial and temperate.

Unpublished Letters of Ugo Foscolo. Edited by G. S. Perosino. Turin: Vaccarino. This work contains nearly two hundred letters, the majority of which are written in confidence to his family. The affection displayed is remarkable. The love of Foscolo for his mother, his tenderness towards his sister Rubina and his little brother Giulio, glow in these pages with all their sweet purity. The notes with which Signor Perosino accompanies the text of these letters, add nothing to their value, and are superfluous as attempting to increase their educational efficacy, which is already very great.

Notes and Memoirs of an Economist. Gerolamo Boccardo. Genoa: Sordo—Muti. This elegant volume contains forty-two different articles by the great and gifted Genoese writer and economist, which were hitherto scattered through divers journals and pamphlets, and as now collected furnish an agreeable and instructive work, giving at the same time popular expression to those important economic ideas of the wise author which tend to solve several minute problems of practical life. He is a distinguished scientific scholar, who studies to investigate the truth of principles and facts, and who illumines them through the medium of that eloquent language of which his eminent literary culture has made him a master. He is especially competent to treat of purely economical questions, and it may be assumed that his opinions on such subjects will be met with great interest and consideration. His treatment of other matters indicates his versatile genius, which causes him to give expression to new and often useful ideas.

Eva. A Narrative by Giovanni Verga. Milan: Treves. We have here the loves of a ballet-dancer recounted with that force and imagination of style of which we already have an example in the Jacopo Ortis of Foscolo. We are brought, perhaps, in contact with too much rude realism; but the author, after having described the orgies of vice, in which both reason and faith forsake the soul of the artist, still mercifully reserves to it, as its only remaining attribute, remorse. The soul inhales the breath of evil, but fortunately escapes its actual contagion. Had it yielded to the weakness of temptation, Signor Verga, instead of following the lead of Foscolo, would have run the risk of imitating Dumas fils, a fact that would neither have augured well for the author nor for Italian literature.

Italian Glossological Archives. Edited by G. I. Ascoli. Turin: Loescher. This is a publication which will give additional importance to Italian science. The whole of the first volume, which is intended to classify the second, is not yet issued. It is the work of Prof. Ascoli, and contains his admirable essay on the Sardinian dialects, which extend from Coira in the Swiss Canton of Grigioni to the boundaries of Friuli. No dialect has ever been examined with greater minuteness than these by Ascoli, bringing to light as he has done the essential characteristics of a whole family of Italian dialects. The second volume contains some special linguistic monographs; one by Prof. Ascoli himself, on the German dialect; one on the Modenese dialect, by Prof. Giovanni Flechia; and "De Vulgari Eloquio di Dante," by Prof. D. Ovidio. The "Italian Glossological Archives" of Prof. Ascoli are warmly recommended to the attention of all American philologists.

We may include among other recent Italian publications worthy of recommendation, the following:

Illustrious Italians. By Cesare Cantù. Milan: G. Brigola. The biographical sketches are numerous and interesting.

La Vita Nuova di Dante Aligheri, revised from the manuscripts, and printed additions, preceded by a study of Beatrice, and enriched with illustrations. Edited by Alessandro D' Ancona. Pisa: Wistri Bros. An elegant edition.

Donnina's Treasure. A Romance by Salvatore Farina. Milan: Lombarda. Distinguished by the poetic grace of the descriptions and characters.

New Poems by Enotrio Romano (Giosuè Carducci). Imola: Galeati. Remarkable for classic elegance of form and vigor of imagination.

Why Italian Literature is not Popular in Italy. Critical Letters by Ruggiero Bonghi. Milan: Valentiner & Mues. Containing numerous witty and just observations.

Studies in Literature and Art. By Tullo Massarani. Florence: Le Monnier. The style is vivid, the language spirited and fine, and the observations profound and original.

Dante According to Tradition. Researches by Giovanni Papanti. Leghorn: Vigo. Interesting for its many curious notes.

Moral Progress, Civil and Literary, as manifested in the Works of Alessandro Manzoni. 2 vols. Milan: Legros. These volumes abound in information, at times somewhat prolix.

The Poems of Hesiod. Translated by Dr. Pozzuolo. Milan: Bernardoni. Distinguished for its careful erudition.

In Youth. Verses by Domenico Mitelli. Cantanzaro: Author's Press. Fresh and original.

Physiology of Love. By Paolo Mantegazza. Milan: Bernardoni. Remarkable for originality of observation and warmth of expression.

A Life of Filial Sorrow. Translated from the Japanese by Carlo Valenziana. Rome: Barbera. An excellent work well translated.

The Nuptials of Mark Antony. Altieri. A work of the 15th century. Published by Enrico Narducci: Rome. Interesting for its accounts of the customs of the ancient Romans.

POEMS OF CONSOLATION. NEW YORK: A. S. BARNES & CO.

ONE feels as little like being coldly critical over this beautiful volume, as he would among the gravestones whose simple emblems tell of the love and grief of bereaved mothers.

The publishers have entrusted the selection of its contents to one unnamed, but of such exquisite taste and poetic feeling as to raise more than a surmise in our minds that the compiler must be a true poet.

In a range so extensive and varied that the fewest lovers of the divine art can fail to find something from their favorite authors, certainly nothing short of the infallible instinct perhaps of unborn poesy, could have preserved the editor, as we must admit to be the case, from the commission of any serious literary mistake in so delicate a task.

Mrs. E. Browning's limited and exclusive circle of admirers will find her well represented here—in "A Child's Grave at Florence"

—not indeed in the usual shadowy veil of mystic and occult meaning, which she loves too well to cast over plain Saxon speech until it needs an interpreter as much as unknown tongues or the symbols of the Rosicrucians, but in words of simple and tender maternal feeling, which find a response in every sorrowing human heart. We wish we had space to give some of these pure pearls of song, brought from such deep, dark seas of human anguish, as none, save herself in the almost diseased sensitiveness of her strange, sublime genius, has ever fathomed. Here from the inmost sources of that heart, so sorely stricken by domestic sorrows, Longfellow gives us the parable in song of the "Reaper and the Flowers" and "Resignation"—the latter, in its soft melodious flow of thought and rhythm, beginning so sadly, but heightening as it goes away from the shadow of personal grief into a tender gladness in the light of Christian hope, reminding us of a spring born in the hillside, beneath the gloomy shade of overhanging weeping-willows, but soon gliding amid grassy meadows into summer sunshine. Under this potent, universal spell of parental sorrow, mellowing, purifying the most rugged natures, even Russell Lowell hides the ever keen and ready blade of his wit in its sheath, and with the gentleness of the true poet, which is nearest akin to the mother's own, sings softly, we fancy in the twilight, to the little Mabel on his knee, of the other sister under her snowy shroud. But among so many sweet flowers of poesy, the difficulty is in selecting even a few to specially commend to those addressed by the "Poems of Consolation." Some of the most exquisite among them are by anonymous writers, or writers comparatively little known. We feel, however, constrained to pay a passing tribute to the wonderful beauty of T. Aldriche's "Baby Bell," which somehow brought up before us a vision of a white lily of the Nile, born of the dark river and nursed on its bosom into the most perfect thing among flowers.

We trust this charming volume will find an open way to the hearts and homes of the great multitude of mourners, for whose consolation it is meant.

PROBLEMS OF LIFE AND MIND. THE FOUNDATIONS OF A CREED.
BY G. H. LEWES. BOSTON: J. R. OSGOOD & CO.

WE can only conceive of Mr. Lewes as, intellectually, a born rebel. In nursery and school-room his career must have been attended with

an unwonted ferment and hubbub of revolutionary ideas. After various minor adventures of the quill, prophetic with dash and daring, his first marked appearance in the literary arena, in that immature, but clever and piquant society-novel, "Ranthorpe," gave a sharp jar to sundry well-established conventional proprieties, owing to opinions which his later life has proved to have been not the reckless ebullitions of youth, but genuine convictions. Following other graver efforts, indicative of the new tendency of his mind toward science, his profound treatise upon the "Physiology of Common Life" placed him conspicuously among that small but daring coterie of Positivists, who shake so fiercely and resolutely at the foundations of existing belief. His bare name, therefore, upon the present volume, prepared us for something revolutionary and original in the realm of matter. Even the title, "Problems of Life and Mind," did not startle us into expectation of finding aught beyond his ordinary vein; but when the "*Foundations of a Creed*" were added, we discovered that even Mr. Lewes was capable of giving us a surprise. This is certainly the crowning deed of an audacious intellectual career. In truth, we had invested H. Spencer alone with the sublime self-centered poise and oracular utterance adequate to such an enterprise, and had anticipated the crystallization of *his* philosophy into a creed. But he has been forestalled—not by a bolder, but a more impetuous ambition. Not even the wreck of Comte and his cultus—just over the channel—was a sufficient warning as to the possible doom of the founder of a new creed. There is a mingling of awe with our lighter thoughts as we gaze upon it! What if this *should* prove—the Bible of modern Science—the religion of the Future? *Væ victis!*

Mr. Lewes puts in no claim—to borrow a legal phrase—for *novelty*, in respect to the principles or methods of the new dispensation. His use of "universal experience" as the touchstone of knowledge—which is to his whole system what the crucible is to the chemist—is essentially the same as that with which Hume wrought so effectively among established beliefs. Spencer, Huxley, and Buckle have familiarized our minds with the application of the scientific methods in their several departments.

The novelty is simply in the re-adjustment of the old method to a *new object*. That object is metaphysics; and it is in treating metaphysics as though it were physics that the grand result of a new creed is to be attained. By this means the hitherto irreconcilables are, to the peace and joy of mankind, to be brought into ultimate

and eternal harmony. Upon the foundation of this sacred union, the religion of metaphysico-science is to be reared. This is the keynote of the book. It is the new scheme of Reconciliation, and Mr. Lewes is its mediator. But Mr. Lewes' is a brain, which even at such an awful elevation, is not made dizzy.

One thing, for a moment, seems to discompose the nerves of Mr. Lewes in his new position. On the threshold of his undertaking his fancy paints a vision of metaphysicians and scientists, for once joined in asking, is "Saul also among the prophets?" And all his English reserve cannot wholly conceal his uneasiness in a situation so consciously equivocal. On page 59 it finds expression, if until then with difficulty suppressed :

"There has probably," Mr. Lewes says, "arisen in the minds of some readers a feeling of uneasy distrust, and in others a feeling of surprise, at finding *me* advocating the study of metaphysics. '*Timeo Danaos*' will be the remark of the former. 'He has relinquished the Positive Philosophy' will be the remark of the latter. The first suspicion I cannot remove. The second can be easily answered."

We candidly think Mr. Lewes has good reason to feel the distrust "he cannot remove." And it does not arise from his antecedents—for to every man a change of belief is possible—so much, as from his own previous words, which reveal a consciousness of something which must strike others as suspicious, if not insincere, in his apparent relation to metaphysics. It is true that he declares that his present position is "not a retreat, but a change of front," and that the point of his assault now is the metaphysical method, and not the very existence of metaphysical truth. But after speaking with the most bitter scorn of the metaphysical tendency in the human mind, he abandons the idea of wholly eradicating it by open attack, declaring, in angry despair, "No array of argument, no accumulation of contempt, no exhibition of the fruitlessness of its effort, has sufficed to extirpate the tendency toward metaphysical speculation." And it is in this vein of hopelessness that he adds, with a significance of which he seems unconscious: "The continuance of metaphysical inquiry is, for the *present at least*, inevitable." It is impossible to resist the impression that, as a mere *superior's concession* to the absurdity and stupidity of human nature, he is willing to be "all things to all men, that by any means he might win some;" that, temporarily and for an end, he is ready to assume a part, even at the sacrifice of the candor that might be expected in the founder of a true philosophy. In this plasticity to the hour and

the audience, one is reminded, not of the sacred author of the words just quoted, who never, for any temporary object, yielded an essential truth, but rather of the old Jesuit policy in India, when to win the Bramins its missionaries put on the garb of the Bramins, and adopted the ideas and rites of Braminism, so forming a curious cultus, of which the centaur might be the fitting symbol. It suffered the deserved fate of a compromise with fact—some might say of imposture.

Such a grave charge as unreality in Mr. Lewes' sudden conversion to metaphysics should not be made without evidence. We think it is found beyond doubt, in even a brief examination of the nature and, with emphasis, of the *inevitable result*, of the scientific method as applied by Mr. Lewes to metaphysical philosophy.

As we have remarked, the foundation of Mr. Lewes' discovery rests upon the "Experience" of the father of sensational philosophy, Hume. They differ only in this, that while the latter formulates it into an argument against miracles only, the former extends its arena to the whole cosmos, as it relates to man. "Experience," to condense his elaborate definition into its substance, "is the sum of the accumulated knowledge of individuals and the race, susceptible of verification by the scientific method," which Mr. Lewes dogmatically embodies in certain tests and rules. As to every object of research, the question arises on the threshold, can it be admitted into this sacred circle of the past and present experience of mankind? Mr. Lewes has fifteen fixed inexorable rules, by which to determine this question; the most important of which to our immediate purpose are the first: "No problem to be mooted, unless it be presented in terms of experience and be capable of *empirical* investigation;" and rule fourth: "No agent to be admitted unless it has a *sensible basis*, nor any agency unless it be verifiable or calculable" (that is, capable of mathematical or experimental demonstration, like a theory in geometry or a law in chemistry). We can best see the drift and design of this method in specimens of Mr. Lewes' own illustrations. Say the object of investigation is the "Vital Principle" of certain physiologists. In this, and every question, there are three factors. 1st. The unknowable. 2d. The speculative or hypothetical, but knowable. 3d. The knowable. The first division, under the first rule, dismisses at once all the vague fancies and current beliefs not based on research, into that infinite limbo which Mr. Lewes terms "a morass of uncertainty where all footing yields and all tests fail." The second rules out all hypotheses, however ingenious and plaus-

ible, which may be true, but yet await verification. In this particular case of the "Vital Principle," according to Mr. Lewes, at this stage the work is done, the "vital principle" resolved into a shadow, and under the third head the residuum is *nothing*. As respects the "vital principle," we have no solicitude, but the *process* of reduction has other significant applications, and may have a like result in regard to objects of belief dearer than life—nay, we assert, it undeniably *will*, if left to Mr. Lewes—that all the "higher problems of life and mind" touching the infinite and eternal, God, the human spirit, immortality; the supra-sensible, in a word, in every shape, reduced in this new retort, will dissolve like puffs of vapor in the gloom of night, amid the impenetrable shadows of that abysmal chaos, the *unknowable*. But lest we should seem to misapprehend or misrepresent, we prefer to let Mr. Lewes take the smiling mask from the grim death's-head of his *Atheistic Positivism* with his *own* hand.

In discussing the "spiritual hypotheses of life and mind," Mr. Lewes says:

"This hypothesis (of a spirit as a separate entity from organism but associated with it) is simply a re-introduction of an *unknown* kind of matter to serve as the substance in lieu of the *known* matter which is presented by *organism*."

Again, on page 145:

"It is an imaginary hypothesis; it is the introduction of the unknown to take the place of a knowable."

The introspective method of the metaphysicians deals with no object of investigation so largely and constantly as *Consciousness*. But what is Consciousness after resolution by Mr. Lewes' process? As the basis from which the "whole organism arises" we have "The Bioplasm," "which is constituted out of the fluids that bathe the tissues." We have then, as Mr. Lewes' explanation of the higher moral nature of man, "the Psychoplasm," which is nevertheless but a *higher differentiation of matter*, being "the mass of potential feeling *derived* from the sensitive affections of the *organism*, not only the individual but ancestral *organisms*." And *Consciousness* is the product of the "nervous system",—of what Mr. Lewes terms "the neural tremors of the Psychoplasm," or the above "mass of potential feeling derived from organism." These "tremors" of the nerves, he calls "neural units, the *raw material of consciousness*." "Consciousness is the mass of stationary waves of *neural tremors*." We would

like to see the expression on the face of Dr. McCosh, or Dr. Hopkins, as Mr. Lewes presents to them this specimen of his new method of reconciliation.

Mr. Lewes' process applied to man terminates in this: "The mental life of man has two sources: 1. The animal *organism*; 2. The social *organism*. Man, apart from society, is simply an *animal organism*." (This is also the theory of Darwin, who has never yet been suspected of metaphysical tendencies, and who will be surprised as well as gratified to find the doctrine of evolution capable of reconciliation with those of his old antagonists.) "We have no need of an imaginary agent to explain what can perfectly be explained by a *real agent*—the *Social Organism*."

We have no space for further quotation. One thing, however, may be considered proved. *There is but one invariable result of Mr. Lewes' method.* There is with him but *one knowable fact.* ALL the problems of life and mind terminate in *Organism*. Let the metaphysician—with the wisdom of the fox of Esop, who being invited kindly into the lion's den, declined, observing that all the preceding foot-tracks *pointed in*—note this inevitable fate of every question submitted to Mr. Lewes' ingenious process for the conversion of metaphysicians into positivists, without change of name or nature. Or would it not be nearer the facts to admit that if this "Greek Horse" is ever successful as his sanguine hope against the moss-grown battlements of his metaphysical Troy, and peace ensue—it will be for the same reason that peace came to the leveled city of Priam—*there will be no metaphysicians.*

Again: Mr. Lewes is constrained in his new *rôle* of metaphysician to admit and account for the existence of "moral types and ideals" in the human mind. This he attempts by the somewhat paradoxical conception of them as *true fiction*—as, for instance (if we may interpret his dark sayings), a romance may contain higher truth than the fact on which it is founded. According to Mr. Lewes, moral types and ideals are but projections by the magic-lantern of imagination, from the brain of the human organism upon the clouds, or elsewhere, as you please, of its own transfigured and illumined thoughts of goodness or of beauty—which, it will do no harm at least, it *may* do good—for said organism to call God, or religion, or any other pleasing name. Surely the most ardent Idealist will acknowledge the magnanimity of this concession and be grateful. For he might not have even spared these visionary shadows on the

sky, but have laughed to scorn and blown to the winds the love and worship of the organism toward its own vain dreams.

At least two-thirds of Mr. Lewes' volume is devoted to "The limitations of knowledge." This is ground beaten to dust by the unceasing march and counter-march of Idealists, Utilitarians, Intuitionists, Positivists, since the era of Philosophy began. We do not think Mr. Lewes has done much to sprinkle the dust of conflict. Indeed he has but stirred it up into more blinding clouds. Nor have we time nor courage now to follow him through the field of his earnest and ingenious efforts at a reconciliation, which seems only a bewildering name, to plain thinkers, for *destruction*.

We do not affect a cold and passionless critical spirit in this notice. It rarely we believe fails us; but it *does here*. To us an icy chill as of death breathes from Mr. Lewes' system, and our forced smiles, with an insincerity not meant to deceive, have illy covered the sickness of horror in our very soul, as we pictured his (we trust, impossible) success in giving a creed to humanity. For, with his fair face and his fatal purpose, Mr. Lewes reminds us of the master of the coolie slaver, who recently, amid the sunny isles of the South Pacific, painted his fearful craft into the semblance of the well-known ship of the good Missionary Bishop, and mimicked the air and attire in which he had become so dear to his pagan flock, only that he might consign the natives whom his stratagem might thus beguile to a slavery worse than death. To embark with Mr. Lewes in his present enterprise, allured by the false colors which he flies at his mast-head, is to bid good-bye to the happy shores which God and Religion bless, and sail straight for that new world of the Positive Philosophy, more dreadful than some ice-bound planet lost to its sun, where no lips breathe, where no hearts adore the name of the ever-living, ever-loving Father of men.

But a moment's reflection casts our fears to the winds. Mr. Lewes' system is in its nature esoteric. It can never pass beyond the *elect* circle—in this case, of eccentric thinkers—like himself. The giver of this new Law, which, if true, were more terrible than that of Sinai, is too high-seated upon the lonely peak of his intellectual ambition, too wrapped also in the cloud and fume of his own Positivist crucible, in which nothing remains after his analysis of life and mind but mere matter, to be visible to the common crowd beneath. And if visible to the far-reaching eye of Philosophy, which he would reconcile, it will be but as the mediator of a false gospel, with no commission, unless it be his own or from the under-darkness.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

VOL. I.

NEW YORK, JULY, 1874.

No. IV.

ARTICLE I.

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT AND HIS WRITINGS.

RAY PALMER, D.D.

AT a date quite within the memory of many now living, our country had nothing that could fairly be called a literature. As our ancestors brought with them not a little of the learning of the fatherland, and at once laid the foundation of educational institutions, there had been from the first a certain kind and amount of intellectual culture and a remarkable degree of intelligence among the people generally. Men eminent as thinkers and respectable for scholarship had made the American pulpit known and respected in other lands. In the legal and medical professions, among the educators in the colleges, and conspicuously in the ranks of statesmanship, there had been men who had won and enjoyed a world-wide reputation. But in the department of belles-lettres, little or nothing had been produced that could claim and keep a place in the elegant literature of the world. It resulted necessarily from the condition of a newly settled country, that a class who could devote themselves to the production of works of taste and art should be something to be waited for till the foundations of society and institutions should have been well laid.

* POEMS. BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT. D. APPLETON & Co.—ORATIONS AND ADDRESSES. BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT. G. P. PUTNAM & SONS.

VOL. I.—28

So sudden and rapid have been the rise and growth of American literature, that it would be difficult for those who have but lately come upon the stage to conceive how strong was the desire, in the earlier years of the present century, that something worthy of that name might be produced, nor with what enthusiasm the stars that rose one after another till they formed the brilliant constellation on which we now are wont to look admiringly, were greeted as they appeared. Washington Irving, born in 1783, Richard H. Dana, in 1787, James Fenimore Cooper, in 1789, William Cullen Bryant, in 1794, James G. Percival and Fitz-Greene Halleck, in 1795, were the most prominent of the group of writers who first attracted the attention and won the favor of literary critics beyond the ocean. Of these, Mr. Dana and Mr. Bryant alone survive; the former feeling, not very severely we believe, the infirmities of age; the latter retaining to an extraordinary degree his vigor both of body and mind. The success of these writers who earliest ventured into the literary arena of course encouraged and quickened others; some of whom have already passed away, some are bringing forth the ripe fruits of mature age, and some are in the freshness and promise of life's best years. The accomplished and lamented Prescott was born in 1796; George Bancroft, who still lives and works, in 1800; Nathaniel Hawthorne, in 1804. Mr. Longfellow was born in 1807; Mr. Whittier the same year; and Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1809. Along with these, many others, the dead and the living, have won honorable positions in the various departments of authorship, and are read as classics wherever the English language is spoken. The most sanguine could hardly have hoped to see so soon what the last fifty years have wrought.

Its great authors are the glory of a nation. A man in whom true genius is developed and made practical is a mighty power. When such a man consecrates his rare gifts to good and useful ends, when he gives himself to the work of contributing to the elevation, refinement, and happiness of his fellows, and through a course of years reaches them with fresh and stimulating thoughts, making them half forget their cares and sorrows, and moving them to love what is purest and to aspire to what is highest and most worthy, he deserves to be regarded as a benefactor of the world. His influence reaches far beyond the limits within which it is distinctly recognized; and like fragrant odors that fill all the air, it refreshes thousands and makes their lives richer and better than they could otherwise have been. No people, therefore, are true to themselves who do not reverently

cherish and honor the names of those who have entertained and instructed them ; who do not sacredly guard their reputations and endeavor to perpetuate their power. Our countrymen will not, we trust, be wanting in this great duty.

In proposing it to ourselves to direct the attention of our readers to the writings, more especially the poetical writings, of William Cullen Bryant, we by no means assume that any thing need be said to enhance their value in the estimation of those who have enjoyed them as they successively appeared. But the generation that eagerly read his most admired pieces as they came fresh from his pen, has now almost passed away. New claimants for popular favor and new forms of poetic composition are making large demands on the time and interest of readers ; and it may not be a wholly useless service to remind the far more numerous generation that is now advancing, how great treasures are within their reach. When a writer has furnished models of pure thought and polished style enriched with the graces that attract and charm, he has contributed materially to the education of the popular judgment and taste. His works become classics ; and the duty is then imposed on all who desire to advance true culture and to maintain a healthful and elevated tone in literature, of doing what may be done to direct the attention of new successions of readers to the standard so presented. A strong tendency has of late revealed itself towards the formation of a school of poetry in which there is little of the beauty that is chaste and simple, much that is obscure, overwrought, and inharmonious, and more that is morally, as well as esthetically, pernicious. It would be a great benefit conferred on the readers of such poetry could they be recalled to the study and love of such a writer as Mr. Bryant. *Rien n'est beau que le vrai*—it is finely said by Racine—Nothing is beautiful but truth ; and it may be added with equal positiveness, nothing that is false—false in substance or in taste—will endure the test of time.

The principal incidents in Mr. Bryant's early life have found their way, some years since, into the biographical dictionaries. In some of these summaries, however, there are material inaccuracies, while some of the more significant facts are altogether omitted. For these reasons, and also because some knowledge of an author's personal antecedents and experiences is almost necessary to a full appreciation of his genius and the best understanding of his writings, we shall preface our estimate of Mr. Bryant's position in the literature of his country by a brief biographical sketch.

He was born in Cummington, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, in 1794, as already stated. His father, who was a practicing physician, must have been a man of more than ordinary intelligence and sagacity. He early recognized and skillfully developed the peculiar genius of his son. It is related, on the best authority, that when on one occasion William read to his father an elegy that he had written on some distinguished person who had died, his father's comment was: "There are just four lines of poetry in the piece, and all the rest is tinsel." The young poet had been reading Darwin, and had unconsciously caught something of his florid style. Quite probably the father's criticism may have helped to form that severity of taste which made mere verbiage impossible to him in after years. The boy appears to have found himself—that is to say, to have become conscious of his own powers—even while yet in childhood. There was nothing, however, in this of the morbid and half-monstrous precocity that sometimes excites astonishment, and awakens expectation only to disappoint it. His surroundings as a boy on a rough country farm were well fitted to give him both physical and intellectual vigor; and though his first efforts at poetical composition excited surprise by the maturity which they exhibited, they were yet chaste and natural in their style and spirit. The picturesque and varied scenery of Hampshire must needs have acted strongly on the sensibilities of one constitutionally so susceptible; and doubtless it was very much by his familiarity with this from childhood that he acquired that minute knowledge of nature and sympathy with all her moods for which he has been so distinguished in later years.

At ten years of age he wrote and declaimed in school a piece in verse. There was nothing remarkable perhaps in this circumstance, except that it was the first revelation of the poetic nature that was in him; but that at thirteen he should have written a political satire so reflecting the spirit of the time that it was not only published in 1808, but went to a second edition the next year, 1809, was certainly significant. At fourteen he commenced the study of Latin under the care of his maternal uncle, the late Rev. Dr. Thomas Snell, of Brookfield, Massachusetts, where he remained eight months. At fifteen he commenced the study of Greek with the Rev. Moses Hallock, of Plainfield, Massachusetts, and at the end of two months had read the Greek Testament entirely through! For his board at Mr. Hallock's—alas, for those halcyon days!—he paid one dollar the week, Mr. Hallock insisting that this was all it cost!

After leaving Mr. Hallock's he studied by himself awhile, and

then entered Williams College a sophomore, at about sixteen, in 1810. He had hardly time here to distinguish himself as a scholar, for he remained but two terms, and not two years, as has been stated in some of the sketches of his career. For some reason he decided, with others of his class, to complete his course at Yale; but this involved additional expense, and at this point his father was unable to assist him. The result was that he pursued his college studies no further, but after a few months at home commenced the study of the law with Judge Samuel Howe, of Worthington, in Hampshire County, where he remained two years. After this he went to Bridgewater, where he completed his legal studies with the Hon. William Baylies; and was then, in 1815, admitted to the bar at Plymouth. His first attempt to establish himself in his profession was at Plainfield, where he had studied with Mr. Hallock; but he remained here only for one year, and then removed to Great Barrington, where for the nine succeeding years he practiced law, relieving, however, the professional routine by the indulgence of his poetic tastes. The "Thanatopsis" had been written so early as 1811, that is in his eighteenth year. Before writing this, his poetic ardor had been somewhat intensified by reading the "Memoirs and Select Remains of Henry Kirke White" and Blair's "Grave;" the sombre character of the latter not repelling him, but apparently harmonizing, to a certain extent, with the serious thoughtfulness of his own temperament. It was not until some time after "Thanatopsis" was written that the manuscript came into the hands of his father. It was at length, in 1817, taken by him to the editors of the North American Review, published in that journal, and at once recognized as indicating the advent of a poet of rare promise. The lines "To a Waterfowl" were written in 1815, when the author was in his twenty-first year. The piece called "The Ages" was written in 1821, and was delivered on Commencement week at Cambridge, before the Harvard Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. It was at this time that, by the earnest advice of Richard H. Dana, Prof. Edward T. Channing, of Harvard College, and Judge Willard Phillips, Mr. Bryant was persuaded to publish a small volume containing "The Ages" and other poems. This was very favorably received, and increased his reputation; we may say, indeed, established it.

It was during this year, in which so much that stood related to his future had been accomplished, that Mr. Bryant was married to Miss Fanny Fairchild, of Great Barrington. One is ready to regret

that neither Clio nor Euterpe, neither history nor song, has revealed to us any thing concerning the experiences of the youthful poet, while passing through those delicious days that have lent inspiration and tenderness to so many of the sons of the lyre. Was he ever intoxicated with the sweet delirium that breathes in the numbers of Burns and Moore and Byron?—ever tempted to write such passionate rhapsodies as they delighted in? We do not believe he ever was. His nature was too deep and calm to effervesce after such a fashion. It was nevertheless rich in tender emotions, and must have felt, however quietly, the raptures of early and reciprocated love. This makes it the more remarkable that in all his poetical writings that have been published there is so little directly relating to that passion which has been almost the chief theme of so many novelists and poets; and almost nothing that can be taken as a transcript of his own emotions. There is a single piece that may very well be imagined to have been addressed to the object of his personal affections, especially as the stanzas ascribe to the “fairest of the rural maids” a love of nature so intense, and tastes so congenial with his own.

“ Oh, fairest of the rural maids !
Thy birth was in the forest shades ;
Green boughs and glimpses of the sky,
Were all that met thine infant eye.

“ Thy sports, thy wanderings, when a child,
Were ever in the sylvan wild ;
And all the beauty of the place
Is in thy heart and on thy face.

“ The twilight of the trees and rocks
Is in the light shade of thy locks ;
Thy step is as the wind, that weaves
Its playful way among the leaves.

“ Thine eyes are springs, in whose serene
And silent waters heaven is seen ;
Their lashes are the herbs that look
On their young figures in the brook.

“ The forest depths, by foot unpressed,
Are not more sinless than thy breast ;
The holy peace, that fills the air
Of those calm solitudes, is there.”

Mr. Bryant's domestic life appears to have been eminently happy. For forty-six years he rejoiced in the wife of his youth. On the 27th of July, 1866, she passed away in peace. She was regarded by those who knew her best as a woman of rare excellence. Naturally sympathetic in her disposition, her manners were gentle and prepossessing. She was kind, hospitable, ready to good works, and her whole life was pervaded by a tranquil religious spirit. While altogether ingenuous, she was yet endowed with a good share of practical sagacity, to which her husband gratefully acknowledges himself to have been often indebted. Although, as we have said, with the exception, perhaps, of the piece above quoted, we have nothing relating to their early love, the virtues of the wife, and the depth and beauty of their mutual affection, are tenderly and exquisitely set forth in the poem entitled "The Future Life," addressed to her in 1847, twenty-six years after marriage. We quote a few stanzas :

"How shall I know thee in the sphere which keeps
The disembodied spirits of the dead,
When all of thee that time could wither sleeps
And perishes among the dust we tread?

"For I shall feel the sting of ceaseless pain
If there I meet thy gentle presence not ;
Nor hear the voice I love, nor read again
In thy serenest eyes the tender thought.

"Will not thy own meek heart demand me there?
The heart whose fondest throbs to me were given—
My name on earth was ever in thy prayer,
And wilt thou never utter it in heaven?

* * * * *

"The love that lived through all the stormy past,
And meekly with my harsher nature bore,
And deeper grew and tenderer to the last,
Shall it expire with life and be no more?

"A happier lot than mine and larger light
Await thee there, for thou hast bowed thy will
In cheerful homage to the rule of right,
And lovest all, and renderest good for ill.

* * * * *

"Shalt thou not teach me, in that calmer home,
The wisdom that I learned so ill in this—
The wisdom which is love—till I become
Thy fit companion in that land of bliss?"

One is reminded, in reading these touching words, of the splendid eulogium of his wife and acknowledgment of her influence over him for good by Sir James McIntosh, which has been so much admired. Many of the greatest of men have been proud to own their indebtedness to the half-angelic influence of noble wives. The poem entitled "The Life that Is" was also addressed to Mrs. Bryant, after her recovery from a long and dangerous illness at Naples, whence in her convalescence she had been taken to Castellamare for change of scene and air. Over the whole aspect of the world there seemed to be spread a new glory to her husband's eye, as he saw the dear invalid daily regaining the power to enjoy the charms of nature and share with him the social hours once more. There is also an allusion to her in one of his latest pieces, written since her death, entitled "May Evening."

In 1824, Mr. Bryant was engaged by the publishers of the United States Literary Gazette, a semi-monthly then published at Boston, to contribute a poem each month throughout the year. With the steadiness of purpose which has always characterized him he fulfilled the engagement, and received as a compensation the sum of two hundred dollars! "Green River," "Walk at Sunset," and "The West Wind" were published in Richard H. Dana's "Idle Man." He did not, however, suffer his literary pursuits to interfere materially with his professional duties. He steadily rose in his practice as a lawyer in the courts of the country, and promised to attain a high position. But in 1825 he was induced to remove to the city of New York, where he edited the New York Review for one year, and became connected with the Evening Post, a position in which he still remains after nearly half a century, the patriarch of the editorial staff.

During this long period, Mr. Bryant has lived in the living world. Instead of withdrawing from the practical affairs of life and declining its stern contests, he has manfully borne his part in them, and yet has kept the sacred fire burning serenely on the altar of Apollo. His intellectual activity has been constant, and his reputation has steadily advanced with years. He has repeatedly visited Europe, and even extended his travels to Syria and Egypt, remaining for considerable periods at the more important points, and studying men, manners, and the languages and literature of the principal countries, as well as art and objects of historic interest. In his own country, too, he has traveled widely and observed with a careful eye. His published letters, describing his observations both at home and abroad, have been

such as might have been expected from such a man, and have been widely read. A volume of orations and addresses furnishes perhaps the best specimens of his style as a prose writer. It contains commemorative discourses, delivered by special request, on his distinguished friends, Thomas Cole, the artist, James Fenimore Cooper, Washington Irving, Fitz-Greene Halleck, and Gulian Crommelin Verplanck, with other interesting addresses. The commemorative discourses are models in their kind, equally creditable to his intellect and his heart. The style is simple, chaste, pellucid, elegant. In the delineation of character and genius there is nothing vague and general, but, in the case of each subject of discourse, the nicest analysis and the most judicial discrimination. It is so common a thing, unfortunately, to see men who are eminent in the same line of effort misunderstand, or for other reasons, such as prejudice or jealousy, depreciate each other, that there is true moral beauty in the honest heartiness, the generous pleasure, with which Mr. Bryant does full justice to the names and works of his illustrious compeers. This rare magnanimity in his appreciation and treatment of other men has been a habit of his life. He has had his reward. Now in his eightieth year, he receives such frequent proofs of the veneration of his fellow-citizens, and is so often called on fitting occasions to public services, that it is quite manifest, not only that his personal character is loved and honored, but also that his literary reputation rests on an enduring basis. It has seldom happened that a great poet has discharged so steadily and so well the practical duties of ordinary life. Admired and honored as a writer, he has been equally admired and honored as a man.

That Mr. Bryant's earliest pieces in verse were recognized as true poetry we have already said. But what constitutes true poetry? It has often been attempted to settle this by definition. The attempt is an absurdity. One might as well propose to express in an exact definition the aroma of a garden. A rightly endowed nature, a sensibility finely strung, feels it and well knows what it is; but no explanation can give the knowledge to one who has not felt it. Poetry, when written, transfers what one poetic sensibility has felt, to others who have felt the same in some degree, or are capable of feeling it, by presenting, in fit words and harmonies, the objects and images that are suited to awaken poetic sentiment and emotion. While one cannot define to a friend the fragrance of a garden, he may carry to that friend a bouquet of flowers and so convey to him a conception of the sweets. The effect of poetry depends, of course, both on its form

and substance. The genuine poet adopts the form of his verses commonly, not in obedience to any rules, but by a nice inward sense of what befits the material he would embody. The material itself is born out of his own soul, as occasions have occurred. It results from this, that some good degree of poetic sensibility and insight is absolutely necessary to a full appreciation and especially to a just criticism of poetic composition. It was Mr. Bryant's good fortune that from the first he received the endorsement of really competent judges. He was thus saved the necessity of contending for public favor against a conceited captiousness, or an unappreciative dullness, exalted to the critic's chair. His earlier poems, when republished in England, at the suggestion of Washington Irving, in 1832, were noticed in a kind and favorable manner in Blackwood's Magazine, by the distinguished editor himself.

We believe that the function of the critic is legitimate. A careful and discriminating estimate of a particular poem, or of the entire works of an author, may very materially help to educate the public taste. The whole history of literature shows, nevertheless, that in a great many instances—we had almost written, in a majority of instances—the original judgments of professed critics on the writings of aspirants to poetic honors have been wrong, and have been ultimately reversed. Professed critics are often narrow. They have some particular theory to maintain, and whatever does not fit their Procrustean bed is at once condemned. Or they are rendered incapable of impartial judgment by their relation to some party or opinion. Or they are persons who have not only lacked themselves

“The vision and the faculty divine,”

but have wanted even the power of conceiving the thing in any good degree; who have judged poetry on substantially the same principles that they would apply to the Principia of Newton. Without imagination or feeling, they have subjected products purely esthetical to the dissecting scalpel of cold intellect. Still further, these astute critics have often overlooked the fact that the possible diversities of true poetry are infinite. As if a man should insist that some one particular sort of tree—an oak, a maple, an elm, a fir, or a palm, for example—was the one only true realization of the ideal of the thing. So it has happened not rarely that criticism has flagrantly blundered and made itself ridiculous in its *ex cathedra* decisions on the merits of poetry and poets. Men whose works have taken strong and enduring hold on human hearts have been

met at the outset by ferocious onslaughts. The great Wordsworth was doomed to literary annihilation by Jeffrey, with his "This will never do!" Kirk White and Keats were pierced to the heart by the javelin of the reviewer. Byron was gored into madness and a signal revenge by the attacks on his first volume. Mr. Tennyson's first publication was so severely handled that he kept silent for many years thereafter. The writer of a review in one of the Quarterlies* of Mr. Longfellow's "Evangeline," at present a favorite at home and abroad alike, would probably—should certainly—be ashamed now of his article, full of false criticism and ending with this ludicrous burst of wrath: "Such is the production which a grave scholar, a man of genius and ripe years, has, for reasons best known to himself, thought proper to pass upon the American public. Will the scholars and writers of this nation sit tamely and submit to such an imposition?" So the "Hiawatha" of the same author, one of his most admired pieces to-day, was ridiculed and travestied without measure when it originally appeared. Not long since the Eclectic republished—we suppose as a striking specimen of literary lunacy—an article in which a critical wiseacre, whose name we happily do not know, asserted and endeavored to maintain that Cowper's immortal poem, "The Task," which for almost a century has awakened the admiration and delight of thousands, is, in fact, nearly or quite destitute of poetic merit! The late Prof. Wilson, however, the Christopher North of Blackwood, after affirming that neither Crabbe, Montgomery, Moore, Burns, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, or Scott had produced a great poem, affirms that Thomson's "Seasons" and Cowper's "Task" *are* great poems; the highest critical authority, in this case, and the common voice of intelligent readers, uniting in one verdict.

It must be admitted, then, that no inconsiderable part of what passes for criticism is simply the dogmatical expression of individual taste, whim, prejudice—the mere personal like or dislike of the writer. Its influence is, therefore, transient. What it condemns to-day, is found to be pure gold to-morrow. What it praises to-day, is to-morrow discovered to be worthless. It is not chiefly by current criticism that the merit of an author, of a poet especially, must be tested; but by a higher tribunal carried in the hearts of men. It must be judged ultimately by its manifested power to reach and move the finest sensibilities of the soul. The work of poetic genius that touches the profoundest and best affections of those who intel-

* New-Englander, vol. viii., 1848.

ligerly read it, kindles their imaginations, and raises them above the coarsely materialistic and tamely conventional, and brings them into contact with the ideal and transfigured, is sure in the end to find and to keep a place, not only in the libraries, but in the love and the memories of appreciative readers from generation to generation. It is well said by Dr. Samuel Johnson, that "all claim to poetic honors, after all the refinements of subtilty and the dogmatism of learning, must be finally decided by the common sense of readers uncorrupted by literary prejudices." Poems, however intellectually splendid in conception and brilliant in their finish, that are not in chime with the deeper experiences of humanity, and do not touch the richest chords of sympathy, or that embody the corrupting and the false, however charmingly wrought up, will not be permanently read and praised. On the other hand, the poet that is true to external nature, to the nature of man, to the reality of things past, present, and future so far as that is open to the seer—whose aim and the tendency of whose writings are to elevate and refine, to quicken and to urge towards the best possibilities, is the poet who will be least affected by the ever-changing caprices of the day, and will most deeply root and most enduringly maintain himself in the affections and memories of mankind. His reputation will rest on no mere critical opinions, nor any thing factitious, but on what is most fixed in the constitution of the human soul and in the truth of things, and therefore will abide.

Mr. Bryant is a poet of this class, and his place in the literature of his country and the world has long since been determined. At home and abroad alike, the position assigned him is in the front rank of the poets of his time. Yet he has never been the poet of the million. He is a poet of his own order; an order requiring a certain refinement and culture in his readers for the true appreciation of it, and therefore subject to some limitations. To that class of readers whose perverted taste delights in extravagance, grotesqueness, and obscurity, or those who relish the sentimental, the passionate, the voluptuous, he may have seemed to lack poetic fire. The sagacious censor of Cowper to whom we have above referred might perhaps even deny him poetic genius. Compared with the writers which such judges admire, he is like a grand antique statue, divine in its severe simplicity, when placed beside the product of some French chisel, hung about with fantastic robes and bedizened with stars and gilding. Mr. Bryant has sometimes been called the American Wordsworth. That he resembles Mr. Wordsworth in his

intense sympathy with nature and with man, and in the moral purity and elevation that pervades his writings, may be admitted. But if it be meant that in developing his own poetic power he has sought to be, even remotely, an imitator of that great writer, we are confident that such has not been the fact. He is eminently original; and all the more original because in a high degree subjective. Some writers have been fond of choosing such themes as required the author in treating them to go wholly out of himself, and to place himself by an effort of imagination in the condition of others; and by the success with which they have been able to reproduce, whether in lyric, epic, or dramatic form, the thought, feeling, and action which others in the given circumstances must be conceived to have exhibited, they are disposed to measure their own poetic rank. But we cannot help thinking that poems so written will be less likely to be original, and at the same time less likely to take a deep hold on the hearts of men, than those that have in them more of the living personality of the author. Mr. Bryant, if less versatile than some of his compeers, has yet taken a wide range of subjects. He has seized on any striking object or aspect of nature, or any notable incident of history, or a passing occurrence of the day, or even a theme capable of being treated in burlesque; but it is with the light and coloring of his own personal thought and feeling, to a remarkable extent, that he has invested his composition, whatever form it may have taken. Endowed with a nature singularly tender and receptive, and an intellect clear and keen in its perceptions, he has presented to his readers a transcript of what he himself has seen and felt—of what is richest, purest, highest, in his own inward life—a life of marked characteristics and diversified experience. To such an extent is this true, that the number of his pieces not bearing distinctly the impress of his own personality is very small indeed.

A calm and meditative temperament, a delicate sensibility, a rich but chaste imagination, a profoundly serious thoughtfulness in the presence of the mysteries of nature and of human existence, a settled faith in God and his providence, in the immortality of man and the truth of the Christian religion—these are the leading characteristics of the man, as revealed in the general tenor of his poetry. That they were distinctly revealed at so early a period of his life, is one of the most remarkable facts in Mr. Bryant's history. That a youth of seventeen should have chosen such a theme and produced a poem in such a spirit as the "Thanatopsis," is a phenomenon not

to be regarded without wonder. This piece forms a fit prelude to his collected poems; for in it may be found the germs of thought which later appeared in their more complete development, and the keynotes of harmonies which were afterwards breathed forth in all their richness. The very first lines disclose that exquisite accord with Nature and power to interpret her many voices, which has so eminently characterized all his subsequent productions.

“To him who in the love of Nature holds
Communion with her visible forms, she speaks
A various language; for his gayer hours
She has a voice of gladness and a smile
And eloquence of beauty, and she glides
Into his darker musings, with a mild
And healing sympathy, that steals away
Their sharpness ere he is aware.”

Here is the same inspiration that afterward was yet more richly breathed forth in the “Inscription for an Entrance to a Wood,” the “Forest Hymn,” the “Summer Wind,” “An Evening Revery,” and so many other pieces. It is worth noting as illustrating the depth and fervor of Mr. Bryant’s love of nature, that more than half his entire poems, so various and severally so fresh in their thought and treatment, were directly founded on, or suggested by some object, phenomenon, or aspect of the natural world. It was clearly an inborn gift, or passion. To a soul so endowed, material order, beauty, motion, change, and hue, are vivified, transformed, made symbols of ideal loveliness, and suggestive of an exhaustless variety of emotions that are sweet, spiritual, and elevating to the soul. It is because of its own peculiar and constitutional susceptibility, that such a soul finds in nature what the greater number neither see nor feel, and enjoys a real communion of which they are quite unable to conceive.

We find, too, in this early poem, what so rarely reveals itself in the period of youth, the profoundly serious impression of man’s mortality and the transitoriness of his pleasures and his hopes. The feeling so disclosed is rational and healthful. It very often gives tone to Mr. Bryant’s utterances; but always appears, not as the overflow of bitterness or melancholy, but as a reflective and sympathetic tenderness expressing itself in

“The soft sad music of humanity.”

In some parts of this poem the strain rises into an impressive gran-

deur, which gives it all the effect of a solemn and pathetic chant resounding through the lofty arches and dim aisles of some old and vast cathedral.

“ Yet a few days and Thee
 The all-beholding sun shall see no more
 In all his course ; nor yet in the cold ground,
 Where thy pale form was laid with many tears,
 Nor in the embrace of ocean, shall exist
 Thy image. . . .
 . . . The hills :
 Rock-ribbed and ancient as the sun,—the vales
 Stretching in pensive quietness between ;
 The venerable woods—rivers that move
 In majesty and the complaining brooks
 That make the meadows green ; and poured round all
 Old Ocean’s gray and melancholy waste,—
 Are but the solemn decorations all,
 Of the great tomb of man. The golden sun,
 The planets, all the infinite host of heaven,
 Are shining on the sad abodes of death
 Through the still lapse of ages.”

Then in the closing lines, there is a recognition, less clear and pronounced than the author would probably have made it in later years, yet quite intelligible, of the truth that it is only in an “unfaltering trust”—by which, from the whole tenor of his writings, it is plain that an unfaltering Christian faith is meant—that one can approach the grave with cheerful calmness and lie down in it in peace. The poem, as a whole, was, when written, prophetic ; revealing the great currents of thought and feeling that were to flow through the writer’s soul in coming life, and that were to place him as a poet among those who, in moral elevation and dignity, stand on the highest plane. It indicated also that nearly faultless taste in the choice of language, and that ear for the nobler harmonies of verse, which lend such purity and dignity and sweetness to all Mr. Bryant’s poetry. As if instinctively, he has habitually used good Saxon English in giving form to his poetical conceptions. He has selected words that clearly and precisely expressed his meaning, as every clear thinker may, whether in poetry or prose. There can hardly be a greater error than that of those who fancy that obscurity is either poetical or profound. It betrays either a poor affectation, or a weak brain that produces half-formed thoughts. Not only do Mr. Bryant’s words express his meaning clearly ; they express it generally with such felicity, with such discrimination of the nicest shades

of thought, and with a fitness so chastely elegant, that meaning and expression seem to have been born together and to be parts of the same unity. His blank verse, in sustained strength, flexibility, and sonorous sweetness, rivals the best passages of Wordsworth, and is surpassed by that of no other English poet, unless it be Milton himself. His pieces in rhyme exhibit great simplicity, as well as great variety in their measures, and a perfection of rhythmic movement that pleases even a fastidious ear. From the "Thanatopsis" to his latest pieces, he exhibits a high degree of constructive skill. It would be difficult to find any where in his pages an unpoetic word or an inharmonious line.

The piece entitled "To a Waterfowl" exhibits a combination of some of Mr. Bryant's best characteristics. It has always been a favorite. It is an example of that refined and subtle imagination which is one of the highest gifts of any poet, and which is displayed to an eminent degree in many of Mr. Bryant's pieces. Nothing more exquisite can be conceived than the picture it presents to the mental eye of the imaginative reader. The melody of the verse is as sweet as it is simple. The choice of language is perfect. Made up very largely of monosyllabic words, the stanzas are clear and strong. Then, while the eye is following the solitary figure as it seems to "float along," till fading to an atom it vanishes in the far-off heaven, comes the suggested thought of God's all-embracing providence guiding it on its trackless way—a fine illustration of the faith which seems so inwrought into the heart of the writer that spontaneously it seeks expression on every fit occasion.

"There is a Power whose care
Teaches thy way along that pathless coast—
The desert and illimitable air—
Lone wandering, but not lost.

* * * * *

"Thou'rt gone, the abyss of heaven
Hath swallowed up thy form ; yet on my heart
Deeply hath sunk the lesson thou hast given,
And shall not soon depart.

"He who from zone to zone
Guides through the boundless sky thy certain flight,
In the long way that I must tread alone.
Will lead my steps aright."

The longest of Mr. Bryant's poems, entitled "The Ages," was

written six years after the above. Like that and "Thanatopsis," it bears throughout the impress of the author's genius. It is well wrought, thoughtful, and suggestive. But like most poems written for delivery on a literary occasion, it has, when read apart from that, somewhat of constraint, and less that seizes the attention and speaks directly to the heart than many of the minor pieces. Still it is poetry of a high order, and deserves to keep its place with the collected poems. But to know Mr. Bryant in his highest power, it is necessary to read and re-read carefully such pieces as "A Forest Hymn," "A Hymn to Death," "A Winter Piece," "The Prairies," "Among the Trees." These with some others of similar character best exhibit the peculiarities of thought and manner for which he is distinguished. They illustrate that mastery of blank verse to which we have referred. In common with many of the greatest of English poets he has felt this to be best suited to the embodiment of his grandest thoughts and highest inspirations. Not only these, but his lesser efforts as well, show conclusively how entirely he has done himself what in one of his latest pieces, "The Poet," he has prescribed to others.

"Thou who wouldst wear the name
Of poet mid thy brethren of mankind,
And clothe in words of flame
Thoughts that shall live within the general mind—
Deem not the framing of a deathless lay
The pastime of a drowsy summer day.

"But gather all thy powers,
And wreak them on the verse that thou dost weave,
And in thy lonely hours
At silent morning, or at wakeful eve,
While the warm current tingles through thy veins,
Set forth the burning words in fluent strains.

* * * * *

"Yet let no empty gust
Of passion find an utterance in thy lay,
A blast that whirls the dust
Along the howling street and dies away;
But feelings of calm power and mighty sweep,
Like currents journeying through the windless deep."

Mr. Bryant has published nothing that has not been wrought with the greatest care, and yet he has preserved in all an air of

simple naturalness; this as truly in the more elaborate pieces of blank verse to which we have just referred, as in the least pretentious piece that he has written in rhyme. Take as an illustration the opening lines of "A Winter Piece":

"The time has been that these wild solitudes,
Yet beautiful as wild, were trod by me
Oftener than now; and when the ills of life
Had chafed my spirit—when the unsteady pulse
Beat with strange flutterings—I would wander forth
And seek the woods. The sunshine on my path
Was to me as a friend. The swelling hills,
The quiet dells retiring far between,
With gentle invitation to explore
Their windings, were a calm society
That talked with me and soothed me. Then the chant
Of birds, and chime of brooks, and soft caress
Of the fresh sylvan air, made me forget
The thoughts that broke my peace, and I began
To gather simples by the fountain's brink,
And lose myself in day-dreams."

Or take from "A Forest Hymn" the following passage, in no-wise better than every other line of the whole poem:

"Thou hast not left
Thyself without a witness, in these shades.
Of thy perfections. Grandeur, strength, and grace
Are here to speak of Thee. This mighty oak—
By whose immovable stem I stand and seem
Almost annihilated—not a prince
In all that proud old world beyond the deep,
E'er wore his crown as loftily as he
Wears the green coronal of leaves with which
Thy hand has graced him. Nestled at his root
Is beauty such as blooms not in the glare
Of the broad sun. That delicate forest flower
With scented breath, and look so like a smile,
Seems as it issues from the shapeless mold,
An emanation of the indwelling life,
A visible token of the upholding love
That are the soul of this wide universe."

Mr. Bryant's power of enjoying nature has been equaled by his power of accurately describing her, even to her minutest features. In turning over his pages and reading his descriptions of the wide range of natural objects, from "The Yellow Violet" and "The Fringed Gentian" to "Monument Mountain," "Hymn to the North

Star," "The Firmament," and "A Hymn of the Sea," one finds every where not conventional commonplaces, but freshest and finest touches at every point; a painting with the fidelity of close familiarity and passionate admiration; as a lover might sketch the features of the object of his love, the minutest expressions of her face being deep graven on his heart. But mere literary accuracy of delineation might, after all, be tame. It is by the magic power that idealizes nature, that links her beautiful things into the associations of the soul and makes them draw forth its endlessly varied emotions and waken its noblest thoughts, that the descriptive poet rises to the heights of art. Every where Mr. Bryant displays this power. This is the charm of his most characteristic pieces, that the pictures he presents, admirable as they are in themselves, owe their chief interest for the reader, their quickening and motive power, to the fact that they come before him glowing with the intellectual fire, vitalized with the warm emotion, and illuminated with the supernatural light of the writer's own spirit. The thing described is but the temple. It is because the priest, the worship, the shekinah are within, that it makes itself felt as something exalted and, in a sense, divine.

The originality of Mr. Bryant's communings with nature, as embodied in his poems, is made the more conspicuous by the fact that it is the objects and aspects of American nature distinctively—the scenery peculiar to his own country, so unlike that of the Old World—over which he has thrown the charm and coloring of his pure imagination. It was quite natural that our earliest American poets, educated by the study of the English writers who had become classical, should unconsciously be to a considerable extent imitators; and should describe natural objects rather after the fashion of their models, than in a manner which was the result of personal and careful observation. But from the very beginning of his career, Mr. Bryant seized on the scenery, the life, the local traditions and legends of his own country, and found in them at once the inspiration and the embellishments of his poetic thought. His mountains, forests, rivers, valleys, prairies, his vegetable and animal life even, are all such as his own eyes have seen in a country not yet disenchanted of its primeval glories. He has so not only pleased his own countrymen by investing the things with which they are familiar with romantic associations and the purple light of poesy but has commended himself at the same time to his readers in other lands by presenting to them much that had all the effect of novelty

In "The Indian Girl's Lament," "An Indian Story," "An Indian at the Burial Place of his Fathers," and "A Walk at Sunset," he touches the chord of sympathy with those interesting races, which, with so many fine capabilities, have yet steadily wasted away before the advancing arms and vices of a civilization that but partially deserves the name. When the rapid changes that are now taking place shall have gone on for two or three generations more, and our country shall present widely different features from those exhibited in the past, the peculiarly American characteristics of Mr. Bryant's poetry will doubtless be even more highly appreciated than they have been hitherto.

Among the shorter pieces of Mr. Bryant there is found a great variety, both in the subjects and the versification. "The Massacre at Scio," "The Greek Partisan," "The Greek Boy," and one or two other pieces, attest the classic enthusiasm with which he watched the bloody struggles of the land of Homer for independence. While in many a strain the love of liberty and sympathy with the suffering and the oppressed find utterance, in such pieces as "Italy," "Our Country's Call," "The Death of Lincoln," and "The Death of Slavery," the voice rings out loud and clear. He had full faith in the ultimate triumph of truth in the great conflicts of the world; and has hardly written a finer stanza than the following, which occurs in a piece called "The Battle Field." It has often been quoted as a gem:

" Truth crushed to earth shall rise again ;
The eternal years of God are hers ;
But Error wounded, writhes in pain,
And dies among his worshipers."

Such gems as "The Death of the Flowers"—

" The melancholy days are come, the saddest of the year,
Of wailing winds and naked woods and meadows brown and sere"—

and the lines to "The Evening Wind"—

" Spirit that breathest through my lattice, thou
That cool'st the twilight of the sultry day"—

and many others of the same type, are familiar to all readers of good poetry, and have been recognized as rarely equaled in felicity of conception and in the polished elegance and sweetness of the verse. The power to write in a humorous vein when so disposed is well

illustrated by the lines "To a Mosquito," and "A Meditation on Rhode Island Coal," and one or two other pieces. The translations from the German and from the languages of Southern Europe, are beautiful alike in subjects and execution; and it is impossible to read them without an assurance, from internal evidence, that they breathe the spirit and preserve the charm of the originals. In several instances popular legends, historical or local, and incidents such as in the days of ballad-writing would have furnished materials for that style of composition, are wrought up with excellent effect. But the highest art in ballad writing seems to be well-nigh lost in these later days, which have demanded that words should be used so daintily in verse that it has become very difficult to reproduce the rough Saxon strength and naked simplicity of the charming old English ballad style. Nor does Mr. Bryant's peculiar poetic power seem to have declined with advancing years. Some of his later pieces, such as "The Song of the Sower," "Sella," "The Path," and "A Day Dream," are marked by his best characteristics.

In 1865, that is in his seventy-first year, Mr. Bryant set himself to the formidable task of adding another to the English translations of the Iliad. The work occupied what time he could command for the next four years. In 1866, he took it with him to Europe and wrought on it while abroad. During this year he was overshadowed by the great sorrow of his life. Mrs. Bryant was taken from his side. But under the weight of grief he applied himself the more closely, rather than with diminished resolution, to his literary labor, finding some measure of solace in the constant occupation of his thoughts. The Iliad was finished in December, 1869; and the Odyssey was immediately begun. This was finished in December, 1871. His entire period of labor on Homer, therefore, covered about six years and advanced him to his seventy-seventh year. Few men have had the courage, or the power, to achieve at such an age so great a work. Of the comparative merit of these translations it is perhaps yet too soon to speak conclusively. There has hardly been time sufficient for the careful comparison and judgment which are necessary to a mature and well-weighed verdict. Like Mr. Bryant's other works, however, these have been very favorably received. The highest authorities at home have pronounced this version of the Iliad the best reproduction of the grand old Greek bard that has yet appeared; while the Saturday Review in England, on a comparison of it with the recent translation by the Earl of Derby, prefers it to the latter. Mr. Bryant's rendering is far more literal than that of

Pope ; his language more choice and his versification more harmonious than those of Cowper ; and if his version as a whole seems less brilliant and less elaborately wrought than that of Lord Derby, it will probably on this account appear to be more in the spirit of the original. It was a worthy consummation of the literary labors of a long life to present this epic of the ages to English readers in a form so well adapted to give them a just idea of the characteristics in which lies its peculiar fascination. That translations, recognized as at least equal to any made before, of Homer, Dante, and Faust, have almost simultaneously been produced by American writers, is one of the many signs of advancing literary culture in our country.

There is one class of Mr. Bryant's poetical pieces which as yet we have not noticed, but to which we must refer before we finish. He has written quite a number of distinctly Christian hymns. Only four or five of these are published with his other poems ; but a small volume, containing nineteen hymns, was printed for private circulation several years since. These all bear the marks of the author's style and genius. Three or four of them seem to have been written for special occasions. Others are expressive of various forms of religious thought and feeling. The stanzas

" Oh, deem not they are blest alone
Whose days a peaceful tenor keep,"

have long been found in our manuals of worship, and are often sung in the churches. Others well merit such a place and use. The following, for example, as a hymn for the close of worship :

" When this song of praise shall cease,
Let thy children, Lord, depart
With the blessing of thy peace,
And thy love in every heart.

" Oh, where'er our path may lie,
Father, let us not forget
That we walk beneath thine eye,
That thy care upholds us yet.

" Blind are we, and weak and frail ;
Be thine aid forever near ;
May the fear to sin prevail
Over every other fear."

We add two stanzas from a hymn founded on the saying of Mary the mother of Jesus at the wedding in Cana of Galilee :

“ Whate’er He bids, observe and do ;
Such be the law that we obey,
And greater wonders men shall view
Than that of Cana’s bridal day.

“ The flinty heart with love shall beat,
The chains shall fall from passion’s slave,
The proud shall sit at Jesus’ feet,
And learn the truths that bless and save.”

We wonder that the following spirited and effective hymn has not found its way into the manuals. It is the last we shall transcribe—the theme the Supremacy of Christ :

“ O North, with all thy vales of green ;
O South, with all thy palms !
From peopled towns and fields between,
Uplift the voice of psalms.
Raise, ancient East ! the anthem high,
And let the youthful West reply.

“ Lo ! in the clouds of heaven appears
God’s well-beloved Son ;
He brings a train of brighter years ;
His kingdom is begun ;
He comes a guilty world to bless
With mercy, truth, and righteousness.

“ O Father ! haste the promised hour,
When at his feet shall lie
All rule, authority, and power,
Beneath the ample sky :
When He shall reign from pole to pole,
The Lord of every human soul :

“ When all shall heed the words He said,
Amid their daily cares,
And by the loving life He led,
Shall strive to pattern theirs ;
And He who conquered Death shall win
The mightier conquest over sin.”

That Mr. Bryant has been a life-long believer in the truth of the Christian religion, and has been intellectually and morally to a great extent molded by its influence, no careful reader of his poetry can

doubt. That in the progress of his life and under the experience of its Providential disciplines his religious feeling has grown steadily deeper, richer, and more practical, and has taken more decidedly the form of a living Christian faith, we cannot but think his writings afford conclusive evidence. There is less of the pensive, the almost melancholy tone in the strains of his later years, and more of the serene light of cheerfulness and hope, as if flowing in from the purer and happier world to which Christian faith steadily looks forward. He seems to have profoundly apprehended the words of the Son of God—"He that liveth and believeth in Me shall never die!"

We have done what we proposed. Regarding Mr. Bryant's position as already fixed, we have attempted nothing in the way of criticism, but have simply sought to illustrate the justice of the verdict that has enrolled his name on the list of eminent poets. He has published no long original poem—no epic, no drama, no metrical romance. Short pieces written in the rare intervals of release from the urgency of editorial toil—written not so much for the sake of literary reputation, or with the desire of producing works of art to be admired, as to express the thoughts and emotions that were born within his own breast and demanded utterance—make up the not very large collection of his poetical writings. It should be borne in mind that he has not been a man of literary leisure, able to devote himself to poetry almost as a profession. On the contrary, as connected through the larger part of his active life with a first-class metropolitan newspaper, and necessarily engaged to so great an extent in ungenial and prosaic occupations, the marvel is that he has enshrined in beautiful and fitting forms so many high ideals, and has taught so many to love and study nature, and listen to her soothing and instructive voices. To a man of positive beliefs, like Mr. Bryant—one whose faith in God and in the supernatural enables him to see in the great universe around him a grand transparency, illuminated within by a divine glory which is ever streaming forth—there is far more to awaken those forms of poetic thought and imagination that deeply move and permanently delight a refined and healthful sensibility, than there can be to one who recognizes in all that he beholds no infinite Mind, no will, no intelligence, no love. The souls of those even who fill the ordinary ranks of life carry in them, very generally, the consciousness of something great, mysterious, almost awful, in their being and its relations. They are restless and full of yearnings for sympathy, for truth, for something that may lift them into clearer light and help them to

rise to higher and more real pleasures. It is only the poet that is able by his peculiar gift to let in upon such souls, in his interpretation of nature and of life, an illumination that is felt to be divine—to produce convictions of truth that authenticate themselves in consciousness, and aspirations and affections that elevate and purify and give some genuine content—who fulfills truly the poet's mission, and is loved and honored as a benefactor of mankind. That Mr. Bryant has done this, we think has been clearly shown.

Nor is it a slight thing that he has given to his country models of terse and elegant language and of rhythmic harmonies that are worthy to be studied. It is largely by the study of such authors as he that the simplicity and purity of the classical English language and style are to be preserved, when so many causes are combining to corrupt them. After contact with the cockneyisms of Dickens and others of his type, and observing how ready many young and ambitious writers are to adopt from them words and idioms by which good English is transformed into an inelegant and distasteful jargon, it is like a draught of cold water to the thirsty to come back to an author of chaste and healthful vigor. We trust that, in spite of the fashion of the hour, there will still be found among the young and gifted writers of our country, both in prose and verse, those who, instead of bowing the knee to Baal, will make themselves familiar with the great masters of pure English, of whom happily there are so many, and so will preserve and perpetuate the true dignity and power of our noble mother tongue.

ARTICLE II.

COAL AND ITS SUPPLY.

PROF. E. B. ANDREWS.

THE fables of mythology have it that Prometheus, aided by Minerva, desiring to give the newly-created human race the highest possible gift, went up to heaven and lighted his torch at the chariot of the sun, and brought down fire to man. With this crowning gift man overcame all obstacles. By it he fashioned weapons of war and the chase, implements of husbandry, gold and silver coin, and warmed his dwelling and made himself comfortable. Fire was the great civilizer and introduced the golden age, which afterward degenerated into the iron age. The fable of the ancients becomes the veritable history of to-day, for now fire is the prime factor in our highest material civilization, and our iron age is a golden age.

But fire is a fearful consumer, and the growth of modern forests does not keep pace with the demand for fuel. "It is calculated," says Simonin, in *Underground Life*, "that the whole of Europe, if covered with forests, would scarcely furnish every year, in cut wood and charcoal, a quantity equivalent to the annual consumption of coal." Fortunately, some old forests of the carboniferous and later eras have been stored away in the earth, and from this store man must draw his chief supply. How came such stores of fossil fuel where are they, and how long will they last, are questions therefore of the first importance.

The existence of coal was known to the ancients, although very little use was made of it. Theophrastus, the pupil of Aristotle, in a *Treatise on Stones*, says: "Those fossil substances called coals, and broken for use, are earthy; they kindle and burn like wood-coals. These are found in Liguria, where there is also amber, and in Ellis, on the way to Olympus over the mountains. They are used by the smiths." Probably, even before this, coal was used by the Chinese, for their mines are undoubtedly very ancient. The old

Britons are supposed to have used coal in a very small way. Cinder heaps left by the Romans during their occupancy of Great Britain would indicate the use of coal. But the Romans are not supposed to have used it elsewhere, for in some of their conquered provinces aqueducts were cut through seams of coal without apparently arresting any special attention; at least there is no evidence that mines were anciently wrought at any of these localities.

Prof. H. D. Rogers, in the *Geology of Pennsylvania*, has gathered many instructive references to the early use of coal in England. In A. D. 853, the Saxons, then dominant in England, were familiar with the use of pit-coal, for in a grant of land made by the Abbey of Peterborough, among other reservations of payment of goods in kind, is mentioned "sixty cart-loads of wood and twelve of fossil or pit coal." In 1239, King Henry III. granted the privilege of digging coals to the "good men" of Newcastle. After this the use of coal was pretty well known. In 1307, mention is made of the transportation of thirty cart-loads to the residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. In the *Household Book* of the fifth Earl of Northumberland, in 1512, coal is mentioned as used in his establishment, but only in union with wood, "because colys will not byrne without wodd."

For a long time coal had a desperate struggle to gain acceptance and popularity in the large cities, especially in London. The citizens of the capital repeatedly protested against its general introduction. As early as 1306, Edward I. issued a proclamation forbidding the use of sea-coal in London and its suburbs, on account of its smoke and sulphurous smell, and enjoined the use of wood. As late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the use of coal was prohibited in London during the sitting of Parliament, lest the knights of the shires should suffer during their residence in town. In 1649, Blythe, an agricultural writer, says: "Not many years since, the famous city of London petitioned Parliament against two nuisances, or offensive commodities, which were likely to come into great use and esteem, and that was Newcastle coal in regard to the stench, and hops in regard they spoyle the taste of drink and endanger the health of the people." It is almost needless to say that both coals and hops have won so signal a victory, that it would to-day cost the good Queen Victoria her throne to attempt to enforce a prohibition of either in her mighty capital.

The coal-fields of Belgium were also wrought at an early day, but probably not until after those of England. The introduction of coal

is attributed to a blacksmith named Houillos, of Plérevaux, near the beginning of the twelfth century. The tradition is that the blacksmith was very poor, and in a despairing mood on account of the high price of charcoal, but was told one day by an old man with a venerable white beard to go and dig in a neighboring mountain, and he would find a substitute for the charcoal he was too poor to buy. He had faith enough to go and dig. He found coal, and after him coal is called *houille* on the continent to this day. The miners of Liège say that it was an angel who revealed the location of the coal, but the author of *Underground Life* quite mars this pretty fable by intimating that the mysterious visitor, sage or angel, was no other than some vagrant English miner!

In America, where the coal-fields are so extensive, and where in ravines and on hillsides thick seams of coal have been in plain sight, doubtless from an indefinitely remote period, there is no proof that coal was ever used by the Indians, or by the mound-builder race before them. The mound-builders were once very numerous in the Ohio valley, and built the vast earthworks, which show unity of plan, and also the ability to organize labor, an ability never shown by the Indians. We find in their altar-mounds ashes and charcoal, but no coke of the bituminous coal often very abundant in the neighborhood. They obtained native copper from Lake Superior, and left copper ornaments in the mounds, but they never smelted any ores. In the very extensive excavations on Flint Ridge in Ohio, by far the most extensive and difficult ever made by this race in the United States, from which they obtained flints for weapons and knives, we have found no evidence that they used fire in breaking the rock. They were less indebted to Prometheus for the stolen fire from heaven than almost any other ancient people. It was reserved for the European settlers in America to introduce the use of coal. This use, however, came in slowly, for fuel from the forest was abundant, and the Pennsylvania coal-fields proximate to the great Eastern centers of population contained only anthracite, a variety of coal quite difficult of ignition by the old and simple methods. In 1820 the first considerable shipment of anthracite was made. Before this, however, bituminous coal had been mined and used on the Upper Ohio, and Pittsburgh was becoming cloudy and dark from the smoke of its rising manufactories.

The origin of coal is now well understood. It is simply a modified form of buried vegetation. A careful observer will often see the distinct remains of leaf, trunk, root, and fiber of the old flora in

the very coal itself, all changed to perfect coal. We may sometimes see in a seam of coal large numbers of the trunks of *Sigillaria*, with distinct bark-markings, lying in all directions like enormous jack-straws, each contributing a flattened layer of coal to the common stock. In the roof shales generally found directly above the seam of coal, we find, in beautiful preservation, all the forms of leaves, fronds, trunks, and fruit that belonged to the old-time vegetation. These were the latest growth on the surface of the ancient marsh, and in the subsidence of the area below the water they were buried by mud, now changed into shale or slate. The microscope also reveals, through all the coal, the traces of vegetable structure. To understand the origin of seams of coal we have only to imagine vast marshes or savannas skirting the carboniferous seas, in which grew a luxuriant, self-perpetuating vegetation, and that this vegetation was ever falling and accumulating in various stages of change and decay in the wide bog. Mr. Lesquereux aptly compares it to the accumulation of vegetable matter in the Dismal Swamp. The plants would generally lose, in the maceration and decay, much of their original form. In limited areas all was converted into vegetable mud or muck, which, when afterward buried and compressed and bituminized, became *cannel* coal. If the accumulating vegetation was buried before the plants had been to any great extent subjected to surface decay from the oxidation of the carbonaceous matter, we have a bright, resinous, highly *bituminous caking coal*. If the bog surface was alternately wet and dry, and thus the vegetation underwent a sort of leaching process, there would be much decay, and the vegetation would be brought into a fibrous condition. The coal thus formed would be *splint coal*, a firm variety, splitting into tabular plates, and breaking with a splintery fracture. These varieties, as would be expected, pass into each other by almost imperceptible gradations.

As a rule, we find under each seam of coal a layer of clay, called the under clay, which formed an impervious and retentive bottom of the marsh. Through these marshes there extended water-courses and bayous, and by these the marshes were occasionally inundated, and a deposit of sediment left, which sometimes formed a band or slate-parting in the coal-seam, or, if inconsiderable in quantity, merely increased the earthy matter or ash of the coal. Such slate-partings, often not more than an inch in thickness, have sometimes a wide horizontal extent. In the slates associated with seams of coal we not seldom find the evidences of marine overflow

in fossil organisms—shells, fishes, etc. The same are found in cannel coal which was formed from vegetable mud in the lagoons or shallow ponds in the general marsh.

After the lapse of ages during which the many generations of plant and tree had been adding to the accumulating vegetable debris, there was a slow subsidence of the whole coast line below the sea-level, and the buried marsh began to be covered with mud or sand brought from the adjacent land. These materials would necessarily be spread by the waters in horizontal strata over the submerged flats. The sediments, now forming the shale directly over the coal, would necessarily bury and preserve whatever plants and trees were growing on the surface of the marsh at the time of the subsidence, unless strong currents of water should sweep them away to be buried elsewhere. It is in these roof-shales that we find the finest and best-preserved coal-plants. Let us follow the exact history of the formation of a few feet in the vertical series of our coal-measure strata, taken from an actual geological section in Ohio. At the bottom is a layer of under-clay, which, before the subsidence, was the impervious floor of a vast bog. The vegetable matter of this bog, now changed to coal, rested upon the under-clay. Over the coal is a foot or more of shale containing remains of the last plants which grew in the marsh. Upon the shale, when it was a mere ooze of clayey mud, there was deposited a bed of calcareous matter, made up of mollusks, crinoids, etc., with which the shallow and quiet waters on the flat swarmed. This bed now forms a stratum of fossiliferous limestone. On the limestone was laid down a foot or more of mud charged with carbonate of iron. This now forms a layer of ore. Then followed a period of muddy water, from which were deposited fifteen feet of clayey sediment, now constituting shales. Upon this sediment was deposited one of finer character, now an under-clay, which was evidently dropped from very quiet water. This last deposit filled up the shallows to the surface of the water, and thus a new broad marsh was formed. Here was a new growth of vegetation, and the accumulation of new material for a seam of coal. This, after a time, was submerged by the slow subsidence of the land, and so, little by little, the coal-measure series grew. The subsidence being exceedingly slow, there would always be, along the shore, at favorable spots, fringes of vegetation—enough to preserve the existence of genera and species during the intervals of time between the grander growth in the great coal-producing marshes. These fringes would sometimes produce a

mere trace of a coal-seam, but more generally the plants were scattered, to be buried in the sands or mud along the shore, in which we now often find them. Vegetation thus growing in exactly the same latitude and longitude, and at the same water-level, under the same conditions of soil, moisture, climate, etc., should show, if we follow it through the immense period of time which intervened between the lowest and highest seams of coal, changes on the one hand, or permanence on the other, which should have special value as bearing favorably or unfavorably upon the theories respecting the origin of species now before the scientific world. Some of the workers in our coal-fields are carefully making collections of plants with reference to their stratigraphical distribution, in hope that some generalizations may be reached which will bear directly upon such theories.

Each seam of coal having been formed along horizontal shore-lines, each seam representing at the time a proximate water-level, we should expect the seams of the whole series to show a well-marked parallelism. Thus we should have in our coal-measures a system of parallel planes. There might be introduced afterward a small deviation from such parallelism, where the intervening space between two seams had been filled in, at different points, with materials of different degrees of compressibility—the mud, now forming shales, being more compressed by the immense weight of the subsequently superadded strata than the sand, now forming sand-rock. This reasoning of course presupposes that the subsidence of that part of the continent was even and uniform. Recent geological researches in several of the States containing coal-fields show very conclusively such uniformity of subsidence and parallelism of coal-seams. In the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania, and perhaps in Nova Scotia, it is possible that the subsidences were attended with more or less oscillations of level, these regions being within lines of greater disturbance than those of the Western coal-fields. But as a general rule the parallelism is most marked, and gives a beautiful order and symmetry to our several fields. Such symmetry, however, requires for its best showing the gathering and grouping of a large number of very carefully measured geological sections. One or two sections may mislead, for at the place where such sections may be taken a seam may not be found at all, not even a trace of it, in its proper horizon. Such barren places simply represent those portions in the old coal-producing marsh where were channels or bays or other water space of some kind, or, more rarely, places

where the seam of coal after its formation had been eroded and its place filled with sand or other water-borne materials. We sometimes find in the strata between coal-seams fragments of perfect coal, sometimes angular, and sometimes rounded by attrition into small boulders, thus proving that coal-seams were subject to the destructive force of current or wave. Such fragments of perfect coal imply, furthermore, that in some cases at least, the whole process of compression, bituminization, solidification, and division by polished semi-crystalline vertical planes, had taken place in a seam of coal before the next seam above was formed. If such changes are among the slowest in nature, as many believe, we must give for the formation of the whole series, often including a very large number of seams, an almost incalculable period of time.

All coal was at first bituminous in character, but in regions subjected to subterranean heat, the coal has been baked, so to speak, and the volatile or bituminous portion driven off. The extent of this metamorphic action varies in different districts, and the coals are consequently semi-bituminous, anthracite, and graphitic anthracite. In Western Pennsylvania we have the normal type of unchanged bituminous coal; at Broad Top, and at Blossburg, as also at Cumberland, Maryland, we have a semi-bituminous coal; in Eastern Pennsylvania we find the usual anthracite, while in Rhode Island is found a graphitic anthracite. Sometimes bituminous coals have been locally changed into anthracite by contact with melted trap or other igneous rocks.

The different varieties of coal have special adaptations and uses. Cannel coal is very rich in gas of very high illuminating power, and is used, though not exclusively, in gas-works. It also makes a very brilliant fire in the parlor grate. Charles Lamb appears not to have reached the luxury of gas-light and of a cannel-coal fire when he thus eulogized candle-light:

"Man found out long sixes. Hail candle-light! without disparagement to the sun or moon, the kindest luminary of the three; if we may not rather style thee their radiant deputy, mild viceroy of the moon. . . . Wanting candle-light, what savage, unsocial nights our fathers must have spent in caves and unilluminated fastnesses. They must have lain about and grumbled at one another in the dark. What repartee could have passed when you must have felt about for a smile and handled a neighbor's cheek to see if he understood it."

We, with our brilliant gas-light and bright cannel-coal fire-light, may indulge in a quiet smile that Lamb with his "long sixes" should

be so happy by contrast. The author of Elia in his noble devotion to his sister may have had a sunnier soul than any of us, and there may also have dwelt in the dark old ancestral caves, heroes of still nobler spirit and of nobler achievement.

The highly bituminous or cementing coal, of which the English Newcastle coal is a type, is used for a large number of purposes, but it is distinctively valuable for the hard coke to be made from it. The value of the coke makes this a profitable coal for gas-works. The non-cementing splint coal is adapted to many uses, but its distinctive use is as a furnace coal, it not requiring any previous coking. Such coal is now used in the raw state in furnaces in Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana. Anthracite coal is very rich in carbon, it being merely a compact form of coke, and has great heating power. It is used in blast furnaces and in all other cases where, a hot but dull and blazeless fire will answer.

We have in North America large areas of coal-fields of the true carboniferous era, besides other large areas of a more recent geological age. Of the former, beginning at the extreme East, we find the coal-fields of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. In Nova Scotia, according to Dr. Darwin and Sir William Logan, the carboniferous formation is of enormous thickness, greatly surpassing, in this respect, any other coal-field of the world. The amount of available coal, however, is relatively very small. The Cape Breton field is generally regarded as the most valuable of all these Eastern fields, both as it regards the quality and quantity of coal. It is nearer Great Britain than any other American coal-field, a fact that may be of consequence in the future. Coal from all the provinces named is shipped to the United States, chiefly to the New England States. From New Brunswick comes a highly resinous mineral called *albertite*, not a true coal, but quite resembling it, which is used in the manufacture of gas. It resembles the grahamite of West Virginia, which is found in a large vertical fissure. The latter is sent to Eastern cities for gas purposes.

Entering the United States from the East, the first coal-field we reach is found in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. This is a poor field, indeed; its thin and treacherous seams show that it was poor from the first, and the subsequent change of the coal by heat to a semi-graphite has well-nigh ruined it. As our most refractory crucibles are made of graphite, it may well be inferred that this kind of coal is not of ready combustion. A mine was opened on the island of Rhode Island as early as 1808, but we conclude that the coal has

not been very popular from Bryant's curious defense of it in his Meditation on Rhode Island Coal:

"Dark anthracite! that reddenest on my hearth,
Thou in those island mines didst slumber long;
But now thou art come forth to move the earth,
And put to shame the men that mean thee wrong.
Thou shalt be coals of fire to those that hate thee,
And warm the shins of all that underrate thee.

"Yea, they did wrong thee foully—they who mocked
Thy honest face, and said thou wouldst not burn;
Of hewing thee to chimney-pieces talked,
And grew profane—and swore in bitter scorn,
That men might to thy inner caves retire,
And there, unsinged, abide the day of fire."

This coal is nevertheless used in manufacturing establishments in the neighborhood of its production.

Pennsylvania is the next State westward containing fossil fuel, anthracite being found in the northeastern part, while bituminous coal abounds in the western, with small patches of semi-bituminous coal between. The anthracite coal-fields of Pennsylvania are undoubtedly the finest of their kind in the world. They lie in a remarkable series of flexures and plications which characterize that portion of the State. Many of the seams of coal are very thick, and generally the quality of the coal is excellent. From these anthracite mines the Northern Atlantic States and cities derive their principal supply of fuel. It is often shipped to quite remote parts of the country. Mr. Macfarlane, in *Coal Regions of North America*, gives 472 square miles as the total area of the anthracite fields or basins, of which there are three, classed as follows:

1. Southern or Schuylkill Basin and Mine Hill..... 146 sq. m.
2. Shamokin, 50; Mohoney, 41; and Lehigh Basin, 37... 128 "
3. Wyoming and Lackawanna Basin..... 198 "

The lower seams of coal yield generally a white or light-colored ash, while that of the superior seams is red. The red color is to be attributed to the iron in the coal in the form of bi-sulphide, which in burning is oxidized and reddened.

The typical Lehigh coal is very rich in carbon, and having less tendency to decrepitate in the fire than many of the other anthracites, is of great value for metallurgical uses. It is difficult of ignition, and for this reason less popular for many purposes than the softer varieties of anthracite.

In the Southern or Schuylkill Basin is to be found the great seam near Mauch Chunk, reported to be 55 feet thick, with 40 feet of good coal. This was mined in an open quarry at the once famous Summit Hill Mine. This mine took fire in 1857, and may be burning still.

The Northern Basin is the largest, and is in the shape of a crescent. It contains Carbondale, Scranton, Pittston, and Wilkesbarre, and an immense coal traffic has grown up in it. The Wyoming Valley, celebrated for its beauty of scenery and for the tragedy of an Indian massacre of the early settlers, is in this coal-field.

The total number of tons shipped from the whole anthracite district of Pennsylvania for the year ending November 20, 1873, is reported at 20,025,019. It is claimed by the editor of the Engineering and Mining Journal that in from

“Ten to fifteen years from the present time the maximum output of anthracite will have been attained. The limits of our anthracite fields are very well known, and the amount of coal they contain has been greatly over-estimated; it is certainly not one-half as much as we see stated in the current coal literature, and it is very certain that before many years the price of anthracite will only be limited by the price of bituminous coal which can in a great measure take its place.”

Were one to look at a modern map he would see several great lines of transportation—railroad and canal—leading out of this anthracite district in various directions, chiefly toward tidewater and the great Eastern markets. This would imply competition in freights. Knowing, furthermore, that coal is generally mined by independent mining companies, he would also expect competition in the price of coal delivered upon the roads or canals. But the whole anthracite coal district is to-day virtually owned by the great transportation companies, who mine the coal as well as carry it to market. If these companies were competing giants the consumers of coal might still be safe. But from a confidential circular, published in the Engineering and Mining Journal for February 7, 1874, it appears that these giants have learned that combination is better than competition, and now they have an absolute control of the fuel supply of the Eastern States. It is the most magnificent “corner” in a business interest ever devised in the United States; and if in coming years they do not avail themselves of it, it will be the first instance where parties so situated have not improved their opportunities.

The limited coal-fields of Blossburg and Broad Top are midway between the anthracite on the east and the bituminous coal of the

west, and partake in the character of their coals of the nature of each, being semi-bituminous and semi-anthracite. Farther south in Maryland, in the same geographical and geological range, is the Cumberland coal-field, also semi-bituminous in character.

The traveler going westward through Pennsylvania over the great Pennsylvania Central Railroad will remember the ascent of the Alleghany Mountains west of Altoona. After climbing around the most marvelous curves and up the most marvelous grades, he finds enjoyment in the mountain scenery and in the pure mountain air. If he has an eye to the rocks, he will notice that he is passing into the coal-measure sandstones and shales, and soon the coal itself is reached. *He has now entered one of the largest and most interesting coal-fields of the world.* From this point the coal-bearing strata extend westward without break almost to the middle of Ohio, a distance of from 250 to 300 miles. Northward the coal-field extends 100 miles, with a raveled edge stretching still beyond. To the southward he may travel on one continuous coal-field through West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, to Tuscaloosa in Alabama. It is a field not to be measured by acres or square miles, but by great States.

If the United States possessed only this coal-field it would be an endowment of incalculable munificence. In all the six States named are to be found seams of coal of the finest quality, and of great horizontal extent. The well-known Pittsburgh seam, the basis of the manufacturing prosperity and wealth of the city from which it derives its name, is found in fine development in the three States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia, and will doubtless be identified in Eastern Kentucky. Ohio is rich in coal of the finest quality; so are West Virginia and Kentucky. Many of the coals of Tennessee and Alabama are also reported to be excellent in quality, and of equal promise in the industrial future of these States. The coal of this great field is of the bituminous class, but includes cannel and splint. Of the latter, there is much coal excellently adapted to the blast furnace. The location of this field in the center of that important and prosperous portion of the country which lies east of the Mississippi River, the very superior quality of much of its coal, the ease and safety of mining, the abundance of iron ores easily available for the manufacture of iron to an almost unlimited extent, the wonderfully fertile lands which skirt the western margin of the field, adequate to the food-supply of a vast mining and manufacturing population, all unite to show its

vast importance, and to convince us that it will play a grand part in the industrial progress of the nation and of the world. The field is too large to be noticed in detail. The coal of Western Pennsylvania has long been noted for its excellence. The Ohio portion of the field is rich in coal of the finest quality. Such coal is found in the Mahoning valley, and in Jackson County; and the district composed of Perry, Hocking, and Athens counties, with its very thick seam of very superior coal adapted to iron-making and all the higher uses, is, perhaps, the most important and remarkable in the whole Alleghany coal-field. West Virginia abounds in excellent coal, but sadly needs a thorough geological survey for its best exposition and authentication. Cannel coal is more abundant in this State than in any other in the United States. Kentucky has good coal, and much of it is used for metallurgical purposes at Ashland, Iron-ton, Portsmouth, etc. Some of the coal of Tennessee is of great purity and value, and the same may be said of some of the coal of Alabama.

Passing west of this great Alleghany coal-field to the western side of Indiana, we reach another of vast extent, lying partly in Indiana, but stretching westward over nearly all the broad prairie-land of Illinois, with a projection southward into the State of Kentucky. Illinois is almost one continuous coal-field. The general quality of the coal of this great field is inferior to that of the Alleghany field, but in many places the coal is excellent, and adapted to the higher metallurgical uses. Such good coal is found in Clay and adjacent counties in Indiana.

Crossing the Mississippi River, we find another large coal area in Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, and Kansas. In this field the seams are relatively thin. The quality of the coal is less good than in the more eastern fields, and the field is of less national importance. It is, nevertheless, of the highest consequence to the States possessing it. Almost but not quite connected with this field, on its extreme south, is the Arkansas coal-field, destined hereafter to play an important part in the material development of that State. In Northwestern Texas, on the Brazos River, is a field of unknown extent. Coal has been mined at Fort Belknap in this field, and is reported to be of fair quality.

Another small field belonging to the carboniferous era lies in Michigan, proximately in the center of the lower Peninsula. It has not yet authenticated itself as a field of much importance.

This is a brief summary of the principal coal-fields of North

America belonging to the carboniferous era. It is entirely beyond the power of geographer, geologist, and practical coal-operator, singly or all combined, to tell the aggregate available quantity of coal in all these fields. The amount of coal, even in a very limited district, can only be a matter of guess.

The mind unconsciously attaches itself to the thick places in a seam, and the thin places are ignored. All seams of coal have thin places, and often are wanting altogether over considerable areas. Another difficulty comes from the fact that in most fields much of the coal has been removed by erosion since the carboniferous period. With no subsequent formations over our coal areas to protect them, they have been, from the time of their elevation above the ancient ocean, a prey to all the forces of degradation and waste. Valleys, often very broad, intersect the seams of coal. Probably one-third of all the coal originally above the lowest lines of present surface drainage has been thus removed. But these eroded valleys are generally included in the areas of our coal-fields; indeed, they could not be excluded without the aid of minute topographical surveys, such as few districts have had.

One writer gives for the United States an area of productive coal-measures of 225,000 square miles, with an average aggregate thickness of coal of fifty feet. The area is doubtless over-estimated, and the real average thickness must be less than a third of fifty feet, and may be even less than a fourth. There are in our bituminous coal-fields very large areas, constituting districts of high repute, where there are not more than ten feet of available coal, and often not the half of it. These matters are not quite well understood. Figures are often given showing an almost incredible quantity of coal to exist in a given area, sometimes no greater than that of a single county. This coal is reckoned as worth a certain definite sum per ton, and the gross value or supposed present worth of the whole is millions of dollars, enough to pay the national debt with a handsome surplus. *The estimated quantity is almost always too large, and the estimated value also.* Companies who own large areas of land, say from 50,000 to 100,000 acres, in our bituminous coal-fields, may, in most cases, advantageously revise their estimates of quantity.

But if the quantity is so enormous, and enough to meet all demands for many centuries, as the owners claim, that portion of it which will not be mined for two centuries or more becomes very expensive to purchasers, who buy it, *at any price*, to hold for such future working. If it should cost no more than a cent per acre, this

insignificant sum, if it should through interest and taxation double itself once each decade, would at the end of two hundred years amount to the sum of \$10,485.76, a very large sum to pay for an acre of coal. A company might better pay \$500, or even \$1,500 per acre, for coal immediately available, and allow coming generations to take care of themselves. It is, of course, a great thing for the country to possess these vast stores for future use, but no individual or company can afford such an investment. But, to return from this digression, if we make every allowance for over-estimates, it will remain true that the aggregate quantity of good coal in our country is so vast as to make the fear of exhaustion very remote. When we take into consideration the probable future development of the United States, these great coal-fields could not have been better located. In the light of the broadest generalizations of industrial and political economy they are located just where they should be.

Thus far, however, we have only noticed the fields belonging to the true coal-measures. If our inventory should end here, it would be very incomplete. We have, besides, vast stores of coal of more recent age. The most eastern of these fields, is that near Richmond, Virginia, supposed to belong to the triassic formation. It has been but indifferently developed and wrought. Mining coal and consuming it in manufactories were unsuited to the tastes of old Virginians. Besides, the poor fellows who worked in the mines were slaves, without heart or hope, and without even the poor privilege of "striking"! Wendell Phillips once defended a hearer, who had rashly hissed him, from expulsion from the hall, by declaring that "the right to hiss is as sacred a right as the right to applaud." So the right to decide as to his own labor should belong to the miner as a freeman, although the right, under the pressure of unwise combinations, has often been exercised stupidly and to his personal disadvantage. This Richmond coal-field was worked at a pretty early day. Mr. Macfarlane predicts that "it is yet to see its best days."

In North Carolina are two small coal-fields—the Deep River and the Dan River fields; both supposed to be of the triassic age. They are relatively unimportant. Beyond the Mississippi, and in the path of western empire, are vast areas of lignitic coal, which, according to the able researches of Lesquereux, the palæontologist and botanist, belong to the tertiary formation. Lewis and Clarke, in 1804, traveled for hundreds of miles through one of these coal-fields far away on the Upper Missouri River. Dr. F. V. Hayden, the

eminent United States geologist, who has spent many years in the far West, estimates this field to be 400 miles in length by 150 miles in width. Many of the seams of coal are thick enough for easy and profitable working.

Farther south, along the line of the Union Pacific Railroad, coal is found at various points in Wyoming Territory, and as far west as Evanston in Utah. The principal mining points on the railroad are Carbon, Hallville, Van Dyke, Rock Springs, Evanston, and Coalville, five miles south of Echo Station. The Wyoming Coal Company at Evanston has produced about 10,000 tons a month, and the Union Pacific Railroad consumes about 90,000 tons a year. The Rocky Mountain Coal Company is said to mine about 500 tons daily, and supplies the Central Pacific Railroad. When the railroad to the Pacific was first seriously talked of, it was thought by intelligent railroad men that the want of fuel along the line would be an insuperable obstacle to the successful working of such a road. But the fuel was there in the mountains, safely stored away, awaiting the time when it should be needed. South of the Union Pacific Road is another large coal-field, from which the Kansas Pacific Road obtains its supplies, and also Denver and the mining district of Colorado. Still farther south in New Mexico there is another coal-field, 300 miles long. This is in the path of the Southern Pacific Railroad, and will be of incalculable value to that portion of our country. Some of the coal of this region is reported to be of superior quality.

In California, on Mount Diablo, twenty-eight miles east of San Francisco, is a field of lignitic coal, but not of the best quality, which is wrought to a considerable extent.

On the southern part of the Oregon coast, at Coos Bay, is a field of lignitic coal, finely situated for easy mining and shipment. This coal is sent by water to the San Francisco market.

There are coal mines at Seattle, in Washington Territory, eight or ten miles from Puget Sound; and at Bellingham Bay, in the north-west corner of the same Territory, is another important coal-field. North of this, on Vancouver's Island, in British America, is another fine field, from which much coal has been shipped to San Francisco.

The much-abused Territory of Alaska is reported to contain lignitic coal at several points, and at Cape Beaufort a thin seam of true carboniferous coal has been found. In this remote and dreary region our enumeration of American coal-fields must end,

although we might find many other fields, especially in Central British America.

We now know that the aggregate area of coal-fields belonging to the United States is immense, and the contained quantity of coal simply incalculable. If stated in tons, the array of figures would be like those astronomers sometimes give us of sidereal distances, so great as to convey to the mind only an indefinite idea of vastness. Astronomers often resort to comparisons to aid them, and so must we. If we first look at the coal areas of Europe, and then compare them with ours, we shall gain something by the contrast. Of the European areas, that of Great Britain is the largest. It contains, according to one estimate, 4,500 square miles; and according to another—that of Prof. Ansted—12,800 square miles. The coal is chiefly bituminous, although there is considerable anthracite, but the latter is less popular than in the United States, the amount produced being only 0.55 per cent. of the production of the kingdom.

Prof. Ansted gives the following areas of the coal-fields on the continent of Europe, in square miles: France, 2,000; Belgium, 520; Spain, 4,000; Prussia, 12,000; Bohemia, 1,000. These, added to the British fields, give a total of 32,320 square miles. Of the coal-fields of the true coal-measures in the United States, Macfarlane, the most recent authority, gives 192,000 square miles. Some estimate the area more, others less. Prof. H. D. Rogers computes it at 196,000 square miles. This is more than six times the European area. But the latter will contain a larger average number of tons to the square mile; and making a reasonable allowance for this, we probably have from three to four times as much coal as in all Europe before any of the latter had been removed. Sir Morton Peto, in *Resources and Prospects of America*, says that "the coal-fields of North America are thirty-six times the size of those of Great Britain, or nearly three-fourths of the coal areas of the principal coal-producing countries of the world." He also quotes the following from Prof. Rogers: "The relative amplitude of the coal-seams of our own and other countries may be made appreciable by taking the amount of workable coal in Belgium as our unit; then that of the Britannic Isles becomes rather more than 5, then that of all Europe 8½, and that of North America 111."

No reliance, except in an extremely general way, can be placed upon estimates of this kind. The coals of formations more recent than the carboniferous are not included. The area of such coal in the United States is immense, and the quality is believed to be

much better than that of similar coals in Europe, which exist there but in more limited quantities.

The English estimates of the quantity of coal in the United Kingdom appear to be especially discrepant. Those recently made by the Coal Commission include all seams of coal over twelve inches thick, found at depths not more than 4,000 feet. When the English are compelled to mine seams of coal less than two feet thick from 3,000 to 4,000 feet below the surface of the earth, it will be at such expense and under such thermal difficulties that their supremacy as a great coal-consuming and manufacturing people may be considered as ended. If we consider the uniform temperature of the earth at 50° of Fahrenheit at a depth of 50 feet below the surface, and the increase that of 1° for every 55 feet of descent, we have at 3,000 feet below the surface a temperature of about 104° . This is altogether too warm for continued and strenuous exertion like that of mining. At 4,000 feet the heat would be 122° , which would be utterly unendurable. A writer in the British Quarterly, July, 1872, declares that "as far as our present knowledge and means extend, the limit to which coal can be extracted before we commence a steady increase of cost may be taken at 1,700 feet, and the limit of practical extraction 1,000 feet lower." The same writer asserts that "while little or none of the coal below 1,700 feet has been extracted, a large proportion of that between that depth and the surface has been consumed." His estimate of the remaining coal above 2,690 feet, where the temperature is at blood heat, is 39,000,000,000 tons, and that below this depth, "which can only be extracted at a cost gradually augmenting from present rates to that of the limit of commercial impossibility," at 22,000,000,000 tons. According to the method adopted by some of assuming the rate of consumption to increase in the future in the same ratio as in the past, the 39,000,000,000 tons of the more available coal will be exhausted in seventy-two years. This leaves, however, 22,000,000,000 tons of less available and higher-priced coal, which could not last very long unless its cost should greatly retard the use. This subject of the possible falling off in the coal supply of Great Britain has given great alarm to the thoughtful men of the kingdom. This possibility was pointed out by an eminent American statesman, Hon. Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, as early as 1856; but little heed was given to the matter until after the appearance of an English work entitled *On the Coal Question*, by Prof. W. Stanley Jevons. He showed that "*if* the population continues to increase in the future in the ratio of the past, and *if*

the coal-consuming industries keep pace with such increase of population," the whole of the coal now available would be exhausted in 110 years. This result contained but two unknown quantities, in the two "ifs" which we have italicized. The Coal Commission, appointed to eliminate all elements of uncertainty, and thus allay the alarm of the nation, only muddled the question still more, and to Prof. Jevons' x and y added a z of their own. This they did by confusing the whole question of the quantity of available coal. They sent the hopes of a mighty manufacturing nation to swelter in telluric heat 4,000 feet down, while charming them with dreams of wealth from paltry seams of coal scarcely more than a foot in thickness.

Prof. H. C. Farnsey, Director General of the Geological Survey of the United Kingdom, in the last edition of his work on *The Physical Geology and Geography of Great Britain*, gives three estimates of the duration of the coal, according to three different hypotheses, as follows:

"The first is that the population and manufactures of the country have very nearly attained a maximum amount, or will merely oscillate without advancing. In this case our coal may last 1,273 years, an opinion to which Mr. Hunt, of the Mining Record Office, still adheres. The second, according to Mr. Price Williams, is this: The population of Great Britain in 1871 was 26,943,000. According to a given law of increase, in the year 2231 it may be . . . near 132,000,000, or rather more than five times the present number. It is hard to realize this crowded population in our little country; but allowing the assumption to be correct, in a hundred years from 1871 the population of Britain would be nearly 59,000,000, and the home consumption of coal 274,000,000 tons a year; in which case our coal will only last 360 years. A third view is, that adding a constant quantity equal to the annual increase (of consumption) of the last fourteen years, which we may take at 3,000,000 of tons, . . . at the end of 100 years the consumption would be 415,000,000 tons per annum, and the now estimated quantity of coal available for use would represent a consumption of 276 years."

These views are certainly more hopeful than those of the writer in the *British Quarterly*, who estimates a much smaller quantity of available coal. With any of these very conflicting opinions it is unnecessary to present in contrast the many centuries, if not decades of centuries of supply America possesses in her vast coal-fields. Such a comparison is, however, made by very high British authority, in an Address before the Iron and Steel Institute of Great Britain, by I. Lowthian Bell, its very able president:

"If we have to apprehend the advent of a powerful rival in the iron trade, it is not, unless new coal discoveries are made, the Old World of Europe we have to fear, but the immense and undoubted powers possessed by the western hemisphere. In ores of the finest description the resources of the United States are unlimited, while in coal our own wealth is in comparison but poverty. In many cases the geographical situation of these minerals is not unfavorable; in short, there is but one bar to the boundless production of iron in the New World, that of human hands to manufacture it."

It cannot be doubted that the labor for the mining of our coals and the smelting of our ores will be supplied as fast as we may need it. Much of it, indeed, will come from the Old World. We have only to hope that such laborers will not bring all their Old-World ways with them. They will come into new conditions, where, if industrious and frugal, they may acquire homes of their own, and, as sometimes happens, become themselves owners of mines. Their children may be taught in excellent public free-schools, and may aspire to any position in life. Life in the free New World is not in grooves as in the Old, and there is no virtual law of caste, as in Great Britain, across the path of the humble laborer who would rise above the condition in which he was born. There is every thing to stimulate, and very little to depress. Such foreign miners, therefore, as come to us, should leave behind them the old antagonisms and the old bitterness—the growth of generations it may be, but which have hitherto been cherished and acted on by them with so little personal advantage. Let them hesitate in the New World before they surrender their personal freedom of action and the control of their own labor to combinations of any sort. By such surrender there is almost necessarily prevented that growth of individual independence and development of manly character which best fit a man for the duties of American citizenship, and for the best success in life.

But whatever may be the aspects of the labor question in the future—and we can see nothing that is not hopeful in the problem—there can be no doubt that the time is not far distant when in all those industries which depend upon abundant and cheap fuel, the supremacy will be transferred to the United States. Great Britain will struggle hard to retain her foremost rank, but at last her fires will go out, and the grass grow over her vast cinder-heaps and hide them forever.

It must be slightly disturbing to an Englishman to be told by the geologists that once all the coal-fields of England and Scotland were

united by large connecting coal areas which have been removed by geological agencies, and with them have gone a thousand years of coal supply. Such imaginary loss may give rise to the question, Why this waste? But such waste is not peculiar to England, although, perhaps, more seriously felt there. There have been removals of large quantities of coal by denudation in the United States and in British America. Mr. Macfarlane gives a theological turn to this matter.

"But if we take," he writes, "a higher and more thoughtful view of the subject, we will observe the malevolence of that Providence which in its apparent anger has submerged beneath the ocean so much that might have benefited our race, or caused it to be eaten away through countless ages by the action of the waves, leaving only poor fragments to tell us of the much larger portions that have been removed. Hence we cannot doubt but that the earth, in its rocks as well as its soil, was cursed for our sake, and that far back in the geological ages there was built up, by a Being who saw the end from the beginning, a mutilated planet as a fit habitation for a fallen race."

The terms "malevolence of Providence" and "a mutilated planet" strike one as harsh; they certainly are not applicable. If there are to be continents at all on which man may live, such continents must from the moment of their emergence from the ancient waters become subject to erosion and waste. The Creator is a mighty waster, but he wastes on principle, and he turns his waste materials to the best of uses. The waste of the old furnishes the material for the building up of the new. The alluvial valley is filled with the waste of the bordering highlands, and our broad fertile prairies are made of waste. All soils are composed of waste. It is waste everywhere, and man is a thousand-fold more blessed by it than if our continent had been formed of adamant, indestructible and unwasting. All the old stratified and sedimentary rocks were made of waste, and yet all contribute in some way to man's advantage. The materials have been worked over and over again.

" My heart is awed within me when I think
Of the great miracle that still goes on,
In silence, round me—the perpetual work
Of Thy creation, finished, yet renewed
For ever."

Frost and rain, stream and ocean have been busy during the geological ages in their appointed work of degrading the continents. The action of these forces is guided by wisdom. The fertile valley,

although intersecting the coal and wasting it, is as much a proof of the Divine goodness as is the coal. Man cannot eat coal nor wear it; he must have grain-fields, cotton plantations, and sheepwalks. And higher than all these, he must find in the earth nourishment and culture for his intellect; and these he does find in the thousand manifestations of divine thought and taste expressed in material forms. Coal is a very good thing in its place, but many nations, ancient and modern, have done very well without it; and England, after her mines are exhausted, may possess more true refinement and a higher civilization than ever before. The malevolence of Providence can hardly be gauged by the limitations of coal-fields, either as originally formed or as left from denudation. Nor is the earth a mutilated planet. It was certainly not mutilated in the process of building, this being almost a contradiction in terms. Such mutilation would imply a conscious departure on the part of the Creator from some high standard of world-making, and that he was consciously and malevolently doing his worst. What is still more curious, the first to occupy this mutilated earth—this felon's cell, so to speak—were innocent and noble beings, and for a time, at least, maintained their integrity of character. Innocent beings should not be thrust into a prison, and at the same time be made to believe that they and all their material surroundings are resting under the special benediction of the Creator. We can easily understand, however, that afterward, briars and thorns, and whatever they may symbolize, would follow in the foot-prints of sin and ignorance and idleness, just as, on the other hand, we can now see that in proportion as man is lifted up into a life of holiness and taste and thrift, these foot-prints are obliterated, and he makes the earth even more beautiful and significant. Says Hugh Miller:

“Man is the great creature worker of the world, its one created being, that taking up the work of the adorable Creator, carries it on to higher results and nobler developments, and finds a field for his persevering ingenuity and skill in every province in which his Maker has expatiated before him.”

ARTICLE III.

THIRTEEN YEARS OF FREEDOM IN ITALY.

PROF. ANGELO DE GUBERNATIS, LL.D.

A REACTIONARY Tuscan adage runs as follows: We were better when we were worse. The saying is frequently repeated in Tuscany, and since it originated there, it must be acknowledged that in Tuscany, more than any other of the Italian provinces, it had a *raison d'être*.

Before the year 1848, the government of the Grand Duke was the most pacific and indulgent in all the peninsula, since, in the midst of the many disquietudes of great and petty tyrannies, its administration was always rendered acceptable to the Italians. The house of Lorraine, which succeeded in the past century to the domination of Tuscany, not only refrained from offending the customs of the country, and its glorious traditions of republican art, which the Medicis, not being able to extinguish, had made subservient to them, but gave, moreover, a new and vital impulse to that civilization already in existence, through the liberal wisdom of those laws, called in honor of the Grand Duke Piero Leopoldo, *Leggi Leopoldine*.

The Duchy had therefore a certain form of constitutional government to begin with, while the remainder of the peninsula groaned under a servile oppression. It was not altogether owing to the fact that the Tuscans took a prominent part in their administration, and that the custom of representation gave them a vigor that was elsewhere wanting, but that the government itself rested in a great measure on the people, who were active in a time of indolence, temperate in principle, of a lenient spirit in legislation, and of a naturally peaceful disposition. Besides having the rare privilege of being debarred the infamous spectacle of capital punishment, which disgraced the other provinces, Tuscany was, moreover, the sole

region in Italy where an open hospitality was extended toward proscribed Italians and foreigners. For that reason there came from all parts of the country, to find a permanent asylum within its boundaries, such men as Giacomo Leopardi, from Recanati; Pietro Colletta and Gabriele Pepe, from Naples; Mario Pieri, from Corfù; Niccolo Tommasseo, from Dalmatia; Giuseppe La Farina and Paolo Emiliani Giudici, Sicilians; the Roumanian Michele Ferrucci; Raffaello Lambruschini, from Genoa; scientists such as Matteucci, Mossotti, Bufalini, Pucinotti, Piria, Pilla, and many other distinguished men, who were more or less persecuted, and who found a secure refuge at this hearthstone of the arts. The press had here more freedom than elsewhere, as is proved by the tragedies of Niccolini, the satires of Giusti, and by the glorious old *Antologia* of Viennese, afterward suppressed, not by the decree of the prince, but through the audacious intrigues of foreign diplomacy. Education was here dispensed with great liberality, as we see from the history of the University of Pisa, where Silvestro Centofanti raised his influential voice in the cause of freedom.*

Tuscany was the favorite resort of foreign visitors: her needs were few, her mode of life simple; she was sufficient unto herself, and in contrast with the other Italian States might have been called happy. But although she enjoyed her relative freedom, this fact did not argue that she would necessarily have been able to profit very greatly by a more extended system of liberty. She did not desire it because she feared it. She was attached to her court, and she liked to feel herself governed and protected by a prince, on whom she was willing to place her sole reliance.

Divided as they were by individual ambitions, the Tuscans allowed themselves to be easily managed, and with a few noble exceptions of those in whom high aspirations still existed, they were inclined to cultivate a habit of indifference to public affairs; being satisfied if at the close of each day they had paid for their necessary sustenance with a *paolo* and had put by a *crazia* for a rainy day. Every thing was microscopic, their vices as well as their virtues. Little Tuscany threatened to dwindle away into insignificance. Powerful influences and incentives were not wanting from abroad, and strangers sought her out as that blessed oasis where they could

* To those wishing to investigate this portion of Italian history, the perusal of the following works is especially recommended: *Memoire sull' Italia e specialmente sulla Toscana del 1814 al 1850*, by Giuseppe Montanelli. (Turin, 1853.) *Memorie Storiche della città di Pisa, from 1838 to 1871*, by Giovanni Sforza. (Pisa, 1871.)

breathe more freely, and work in peaceful activity. But nothing seemed able to rouse her from her lethargy. The prince enjoyed reigning over a people who made no complaints; the people bent willingly under a yoke concealed by flowers.

In the year 1859, the Italian Government broke the spell with which Tuscany was bound. The prince being deposed, the people, by means of a constitutional government, became in a measure their own arbiters. Greater liberty was perhaps extended to them than their mode of life demanded. Hitherto little had been required for their maintenance; now wants were multiplied, and there arose in consequence the necessity of a more energetic life, for which they were utterly unprepared.

New duties accumulated, such as those of extending commerce, of diffusing education, of conforming their former indolent existence to the magnitude of the national life; all tending to the disturbance of more congenial pursuits. The subsidies of the prince and the liberality of foreign visitors had been, to many Tuscans, easy and abundant sources of profit. In a word, each citizen was now, by reason of a more extended system of liberty, obliged to rely upon himself alone. Now it is those Tuscans who, not being yet fully aroused to a proper sense of their obligations, seeing themselves burdened with taxes, and the cost of living greatly augmented, while their own incomes fail to increase correspondingly, are led to exclaim with mournful irony, "*Si stava meglio quando si stava peggio.*" They proceed to enroll themselves as members of the society of the Paoletti, and offer a hospitable asylum in Florence for all fugitive Jesuits, where they conspire in secret against the existing administration, in the mistaken idea that a return to the ancient régime would restore to them their former idle and uneventful life.

But notwithstanding these querulous malcontents, a large portion of the Tuscan people, who sympathize at heart with the new life, and who appreciate the supreme importance of promoting individual prosperity as the first step to be taken toward forwarding that of the public at large, have launched out boldly into commerce and a variety of enterprises, to the end that they might reap the fruits of that freedom which weighs heavily on none but indolent shoulders.

It is too soon to be able to discern the benefits which liberty may have conferred upon the Romans, since they have only enjoyed its possession three years. We certainly would not wish to take

those highly wrought lamentations which appear from time to time in some of their journals, as indicative of the true condition of Rome. The Vatican always fans the flame that ignites the passions and prejudices of the Romans; and having so recently breathed such a pestilential air, it is to be expected that they should still suffer from its ill effects. The large number of persons who were formerly under the tutelary protection of the Vatican, can not count to-day upon its liberal support, as they have been in the habit of doing for some time past; hence the derangement of numberless individual interests, and the existence of malcontents who are anything but magnanimous. A large portion of the aristocracy, if we take the Caetani, the Teano, the Ruspoli, the Odeschalchi, the Carpegna, and, a few others, are averse to the present administration, and, together with the few remaining adherents of the Vatican, declaim against the greed of the Italian Government, which absorbs every thing in taxes to the ruin of so many families. They renounce the splendors of a past age, and aim to make their economy reflect credit upon them at the Vatican, as if the sacrifice were merely voluntary on their part, the better to prolong the mourning for the misfortunes of the Pope, while, on the other hand, they endeavor to inspire a feeling of animosity in their plebeian dependents toward the Italian Government for impoverishing the nobility of Rome. There is, besides, a little world of indolent Romans, who, having been unable, either from a scarcity of public employment or their own lack of merit, to engage in any profitable business under the Pontifical Government, proclaimed themselves on the entrance of the Italian troops into Rome (but not *before*), in favor of King Victor Emmanuel. They went with great parade on the day of the Plebiscitum to give their vote for annexation, and the day following demanded employment from the new Government, on the plea of being the first supporters of the Italian cause. Not obtaining this, they either secretly transferred their allegiance to the Vatican by becoming its spies, or else hastened to give utterance to their magnanimous spirit in the journals of the so-called republican party.

Yet again: there are a number of Roman citizens who, prior to the transfer of the seat of government, had a fixed annual income, however modest, which neither would nor could increase by the removal of the capital to Rome. They, too, have many reasons to be dissatisfied, since their profits, instead of accumulating, have suffered a considerable diminution, owing to the taxation of movable property, while their expenses have probably been multiplied threefold, by

the rise in rents and the increased cost of living. Yet, in spite of these temporary troubles, of which the present generation alone is compelled to bear the burden, Rome, like every other large Italian city, has already made wonderful progress, while a great and prosperous future lies before her. The Romans who are at the head of municipal affairs are not idle, and around them has collected a whole world of generous collaborators, who are actuated by the ardent desire of converting Rome into the worthy seat of liberty she has already been twice before, though, for so many centuries since, the stronghold of despotism. They have closed convents, but they have opened schools. They have covered deserts with palaces. They employ every expedient to introduce light, and pure air, into the city, since they appreciate the necessity of breathing properly in order to work to the best advantage. Italy, full of hope for the future, comes to the assistance of Rome in the good work of transformation now in progress on the banks of the Tiber, to which the river itself is made to contribute, and shares with all true Romans their sense of the grandeur that belongs to a city not in vain called "the Eternal."

Therefore, although a large number of Romans who are too closely allied to the old authorities may still prophesy the *finis Romæ*, all Italy repairs to her capital to refute the exaggerations of democratic writers who represent Rome as the bloody corpse transmitted to us from the Popes, and to testify that it still possesses vital fiber and lionlike strength. This is especially true if we consider the common people, who by their natural pride have protected themselves from all contact with corruption, and, while leaving the supreme government of Rome to the Popes, have governed themselves with liberal judgment, and maintained throughout the indomitable courage of the ancient Roman character, which is so full of majesty and power, and which they will still be enabled to retain by means of this very courage.

If we wait patiently to see what Rome will have become in the course of the next decade, we do not doubt that we will find she has more cause to be congratulated on her thirteen years of actual liberty than any of the other Italian cities, although all have made marvelous progress in those they have already enjoyed.

Our cities have all been greatly improved and embellished by the increase in their population. We find some strangers, it is true who sigh and exclaim: Alas! we liked those narrow streets—those frowning edifices—even the very dust of the past ages, far better! they

had so much more character ! That striking contrast, often presented to us, between a clear azure sky and the countless rags of every hue, carelessly thrown across the Italian balconies, appealed so agreeably to one's imagination ! That nation of childish improvisatori, prostrated in the dust before every variety of procession that the Vatican could devise to parade through the streets, now exists no more. A journey to Italy no longer offers the attractions it did in former years. There is not even a chance of encountering on the road a horde of banditti who attack our carriage ; nor can we have the satisfaction of at least inventing the adventure on our return home, for no one would believe the story now. Those railroads, which have proved so convenient to us, Italy has likewise seen fit to adopt ; and then those mysterious encounters in dark and tortuous paths, they also will occur, alas, no more, for she has introduced gas to illuminate her streets and byways ! We enjoyed and we wished to preserve an Italy for the benefit of foreigners ; more especially of that class whose profession is to write romances, and behold, we now see an Italy where some regard is shown for the requirements of Italians themselves ! Let us, therefore, deplore in every key the decadence of good taste in Italy, and chiefly the fall of the ancient government ; —that mediæval phantasmagoria called the Papacy ! How like an everlasting pantomime it was, in which the dear Italians figured so charmingly as puppets !

But had the stranger paid strict attention to the scene that was being represented beneath the showman's tents, he would have remarked how Harlequin falls to the ground as dead, and then rises in a trice to cudgel his oppressor with right good will. This is precisely what Italy has done in her rôle of Harlequin, and the trick having succeeded to everybody's thorough deception, she has finally thrown aside the ugly disguise, and rises to her feet, all of a piece and of one color, where she now stands erect.

The new life is especially conspicuous in the cities of Northern Italy, if we except Venice, and also in a few cities of the South. Venice, we know but too well, is a city doomed to fall, perhaps never to rise again. It is hard for me as an Italian to make this acknowledgment, and the bitter consciousness of its truth must sadden the heart of every Venetian. But illusions are vain when dealing with facts. Freedom may have power to alleviate somewhat the misfortunes of Venice, but they cannot be wholly overcome. This city, born upon the sea, owed her continued existence and strength to the sea ; now, her old relations with it are annulled forever. The

rivalship of the neighboring ports of Trieste and Pola, on the Adriatic, destroy all hope of her ever regaining the position she has lost as a great maritime city. A certain antique industry still remains to her, but such industry, when of secondary importance and unaccompanied by commerce, is productive of little. Venice will never be able to enjoy the advantages of a city founded on the mainland, and can never expect to profit again from her position on the sea. The ancient rulers of the East were obliged to content themselves with governing nations of fishermen, but it is worthy of note that the piscatorial industry has never resulted in the great enrichment of any people. It is a poor trade, even as the fish themselves occupy an inferior rank in the category of animals.

While time preserves the monuments of the ancient glory of Venice, so long will strangers continue to visit her. The vivacious and pleasing people who still inhabit the city of the Doges give it an outwardly animated appearance. But the task of preservation is almost the only one that is left the Venetians to perform. Their great navies of the past are now no more, and their voyages are limited to those within the reach of their little barks and gondolas. However, since 1866, the Venetian has at least been permitted to sing in his gondola to his heart's content; he is poor, but free. He builds no more marble palaces, but, contented with little, lies down to rest when night comes, whether it be in his humble cottage or in the dilapidated halls of his ancestors, unmolested by the machinations of foreign policy.

But although the city of Venice shows few signs of promise for the future, the entire province of Venetia seems destined, on the contrary, to attain prosperity. In the work which has recently been published by Prof. Alberto Errera, a distinguished young Venetian economist, on *Industry in Venetia*, it is consoling to read of the progress that has already been made there, and the many hopes that are entertained for a still more considerable advance. Nature wonderfully favors the work of man, since the whole country, if we except the province of Polesine, which the frequent inundations of the Po subject to serious injuries, is admirably adapted, by reason of the numerous watercourses which intersect it, for the furtherance of many important industries. The continued growth of the latter during the past six years of liberty which have been thus far vouchsafed to Venetia, has already augmented the value of public property. We mention the public wealth, rather than that of private individuals, for, while acknowledging the fact that Venetian manufacturers have

amassed no great fortunes as yet, it will clearly be seen that the root of the greatest subsequent prosperity lies in the ameliorated condition of life in general, and especially that of the working classes, who could receive no more desirable remuneration for their labor. The cost of living is doubled, it is true, but we should not forget that when the expenses of life increase, life itself is invariably better; the dwellings of the operatives are neater and more commodious, while their inmates are sufficiently well clothed, and are no longer obliged to deny themselves certain harmless pastimes, from which they were formerly debarred. Thus it happens that on holiday evenings, the Italian theatres are always crowded, for the people purchase with a week's frugality the luxury of gazing at a spectacle once during that time. It is not alone that spare money which might be better employed that they thoughtlessly spend in this way, since they not unfrequently deprive themselves of actual necessities through the week, in order to be present on Sunday at a representation of one of those monstrously melodramatic plays, full of improbabilities and often immoral, which are especially designed with a view of appealing to their uncultivated dramatic tastes. The spectators often issue from witnessing these performances with their pockets empty and their heads crammed with fantastic monstrosities or idiotic nonsense. Such a way of spending Sunday is not laudable, certainly; but there is nevertheless cause for congratulation in the fact that the people are not so miserable as to be forced to deprive themselves of that pleasure they choose to consider the chief compensation for a week of labor. This appears to me to signify a relative prosperity, as it is certainly indicative of the extended license given to our customs, and to show besides the tendency among the lower classes toward self-elevation, by thus preferring the emotions aroused by dramatic representations to those excited by the demoralizing orgies of the dram-shops, in which their coequals of the northern nations so freely indulge.

The stranger who desires to form a correct estimate of the benefits which freedom has conferred upon Italy, should stop at Turin, or at Milan. But instead of so doing, he usually passes rapidly through Northern Italy in his impatience to arrive at Florence, Rome, and Naples, the three cities which combine to represent the Mecca of his pilgrimage. It cannot be denied that in regard to historical interest and artistic treasures, no other cities can equal Florence and Rome, even as Naples surpasses every city in the world in point of natural beauty. These three cities, it is true, appeal to the eye and

call up associations with the past, yet there are many more cities in Italy of which the same can be said. As a general rule, the stranger traveling in our country concerns himself very little with its people, or else expects to find them masquerading in an historical guise ; the more of an antiquated character the Italian displays, the better he succeeds in pleasing foreigners. They are inclined to regard him as a puppet whose business is to animate and in some sort explain the monumental remains : in the Florentine they look for the profile of Giotto ; in the Roman, for that of Cæsar. As for Naples, a city having no especial attractions apart from its surrounding scenery—when the visitor has inspected the inhabitants of Santa Lucia, who devour macaroni, and seen Pulicinella dance the Tarentella, he declares himself satisfied, and neither attempts nor cares to see or to know anything besides. Yet we think there might possibly be far more edifying objects of interest than these for an intelligent tourist. He would probably say, in answer to this supposition, that he came to seek in Italy what he could not find at home. A most legitimate curiosity, certainly ; but the no less natural curiosity to know what could have become of a people who were once able to accomplish such miracles, never seems to enter the mind of the traveler who honors us by visiting our beautiful country. Does he seriously believe that we are contented with the inactive part attributed to us of merely preserving our ancient treasures ? Among a hundred visitors, it is barely possible to find one who manifests the slightest desire to enter our homes, to acquaint himself intimately with them, to live our life, or to discover our capabilities for future development. A more thorough knowledge of our condition would be beneficial to both him and us, because, although the Italian nature is strongly defined, and difficult of entire transformation, it is always ready to receive impressions ; and if these impressions are salutary, they must necessarily result in the amelioration of both individual character and national life.

The tourist is frequently amazed at the ignorance of the Italians, displayed in their ingenuous inquiries relating to the manners and customs of foreign countries. This fault may be partly attributed to the very defective scholastic education ; but it is also due in a measure to the indifference manifested by travelers themselves toward the people of a country they visit so constantly and in such large numbers, neither taking pains to become better acquainted with them, nor showing the slightest interest in their welfare. Yet in so doing they neglect the most efficacious mode of establishing true international

relations. Suppose that a hundred thousand Americans come to Italy: they admire its artistic treasures, and return home filled with enthusiasm for the wonders they have seen: what then? The hotels have probably done a thriving business, but Italy and America are drawn no nearer to each other in consequence.

It therefore appears to me to be essential that the stranger, without renouncing the main object of his tour, which is to see and admire our monumental grandeur, and the beauty of our natural scenery, should endeavor to accomplish something besides, in seeking to acquaint himself with contemporaneous Italy. Now, in order to do this, it is indispensable to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Italians themselves, who would gladly prove to the visitors to their beautiful peninsula that they are still a living people, and that, although their ancestors have done great things, regenerated Italy has the possibilities within her to perform even greater.

It may, some day, come to pass that strangers will be induced to spend at least a few weeks in Turin and Milan. The neighboring scenery is most beautiful: the guide-books have not as yet recommended it to the admiration of travelers, although the fertile plains of Lower Lombardy, the hills of Brianza, and the surroundings of the Lake of Como and of Lago Maggiore, without offering the esthetic charm which distinguishes the Tuscan landscape, still possess decidedly Tuscan characteristics. Piedmont presents a panorama which is unequaled in grandeur of aspect by any other country of Europe. Whoever ascends the hill of Superga, near Turin, sees below him the conjunction of the Po and the Dora: on one side rises the great Alpine chain, Monviso, Ceniso, Mont Blanc, Monte Rosa; on the other the graceful outlines of the Apennines become blended with those of the Alps, while all around the eye looks over a stretch of country rich in vegetation, and dotted with well-cultivated elevations. There are regions in Piedmont, such as the valleys of the Aosta, the Lanzo, the Ossola, which are unsurpassed by any one of the most romantic cantons of Switzerland. It is therefore a popular prejudice to imagine, as many travelers do, that *La Bella Italia* has its beginning only beyond the Apennines. The whole of Italy, fortunately for those who live in it, is most beautiful; but still more fortunately for us in Piedmont and Lombardy, the lovely country is populated by robust and enterprising Italians, who have made these two provinces the centers of the industrial and commercial interests of the entire peninsula. These States, being persuaded that it costs something to maintain liberty, even as it costs much to gain it, have

set themselves to work to derive all the benefits from their freedom it is capable of giving; and thus, instead of weighing heavily upon them, it is their auxiliary to prosperity. Take for example the city of Turin. In the year 1848 it had a population of 140,000 inhabitants, which, on its becoming the seat of government, rose to 200,000. On the transfer of the capital to Florence in 1864, it was feared that the city would thereby lose many advantages and resources, owing to the removal with the center of government of thirty thousand persons, belonging to the wealthiest and most cultivated classes of society. But instead of becoming dispirited, the remaining inhabitants threw themselves with avidity into various industrial and commercial enterprises, and thereby succeeded in attracting to their city a new population. Thus it is that the population of Turin, which in 1864 numbered 200,000 inhabitants, after an interval of only nine years, and notwithstanding its deprivation of 30,000 souls, now exceeds 210,000.

These figures will appear unimportant to many American readers, who have seen new cities containing hundreds of thousands of inhabitants spring from their own soil in a few years as if by magic; but in Europe, and more especially in Italy, it has great significance. The peninsula is full of cities, large and small, and the actual country is almost wholly populated. Life, like light, here extends over every thing, and there is not, nor can there ever be, that agglomeration of the masses, in which man seeks a refuge from solitude. In Italy solitude is next to impossible. The very convents, which, when founded, were intended to be isolated from all contact with the external world, cannot wholly exclude it. Life encompasses them, nature smiles upon them, and the note of the peasant's starling is echoed within their walls. The visitor to the Certosa, in the outskirts of Florence, who gazes from the windows of its cells, at once appreciates the impossibility for the inmates ever to become absorbed in profound reflection: exterior nature is far too diverting and distracting. The increase, therefore, in the population of Turin, after the removal of the capital, speaks strongly in favor of the activity of the Piedmontese, who, deprived of the seat of government, and in a measure of their own immediate administration, proved themselves capable of self-legislation, and at the same time of successfully promoting the national prosperity. The people rejoice in the result of their own labors, and, if nothing unforeseen occurs, they are destined to enjoy a happy future.

Milan is a unique Italian city. It never needed the seat of government to give it life. The Milanese are themselves sufficient

to sustain the grandeur of their city. Encompassed as they are by a most fertile country, enterprising, liberal in their sentiments as in their modes of thought, work, and even speech (since the Milanese is the clearest and boldest of all the Italian dialects), they impart a character of ease and abundance, together with a certain air of grandeur, to whatever they do. Their produce is current throughout Italy, as is also their money; and as they know how to circulate the latter to the best advantage, not a little of it reënters their own coffers, since Milan is undoubtedly the wealthiest, even as it is the most sympathetic of our cities.

We repeat, that the stranger who wishes to form a correct idea of modern Italy, should by all means stop at Milan and Turin. It is in these two cities, and also in Rome, that our actual power and our future destiny are most apparent. It is upon their inhabitants that we place our greatest dependence, and it is with them that intercourse would be especially desirable. The establishment of internal relations will undoubtedly be beneficial to all the Italian States. The Tuscan will impart a certain grace to the Piedmontese, in whom it is somewhat wanting; the Piedmontese will in his turn infuse into the Tuscan a little of that force he lacks at present; while the Lombard will share his sympathetic good-nature with all, to receive in return some attribute from each of the others. Liberty has united them; and unity, without destroying that precious individual character invaluable to us as to all nations, helps to form in alliance with it, a type of great majesty and beauty. Unity in variety constitutes beauty, and this beauty carries within it the real power of regenerated Italy. She has now passed through her period of crises; and, although still hampered to some extent by her connection with the past, in that she does not yet exercise complete control of her movements, she enjoys everywhere, notwithstanding, such extended liberty as will enable her at no very distant day to become absolutely free.

The law has already sufficient latitude, but our practice of it is still more liberal. For example, our Constitution opens with the proclamation that Catholicism is the religion of the State; yet if there was ever a country where religious liberty existed without limitation, Italy is certainly that one. All opinions, from the doctrines of the Jesuits to those of the disciples of Strauss, are allowed free expression, in public as well as in private, without the slightest parliamentary interference. This alone would seem to presage a successful advance toward a system of absolute liberty in all departments, whether of Church or State.

ARTICLE IV.

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND.*

SWITZERLAND may be called the Palestine of modern geography. It bears relations to the great powers of contemporary civilization, in some respects, even more remarkable than those which the little strip of soil along the Jordan, at the meeting of three continents, bore to the civilizations of antiquity. Like that of Palestine, its situation, while affording it small temptation to aggression upon its neighbors, is supremely advantageous for defense, for isolation from foreign influence, and yet at the same time for the exercise of effective influence outward upon other nations. To these advantages, it adds another in its polyglot facility of communication with the most important nations of Europe. That long-persistent division of the Swiss people into German, French, and Italian, necessitating the trilingual publication of the Federal laws, which stands in such striking contrast, on the one hand, with the thorough unity of the nation, and on the other hand, with the rapid assimilation and extinction of diverse languages in the American republic, opens "an effectual door of utterance" for the nation toward its neighbors on every side. There is something of history, but still more of prophecy, written in the very map of Switzerland. It is a land of yet unfulfilled destiny. The eye traces its great watercourses into the most important lands of civilized Europe, and recognizes the lines down which potent influences, social and religious, are to descend.

If Switzerland is the Palestine of Europe, the Jerusalem of Switz-

* LA QUESTION CATHOLIQUE À GENÈVE, DE 1815 À 1873. EXPOSÉ HISTORIQUE. PAR AMÉDÉE ROGET. GENEVA, 1874.

LA LIBERTÉ RELIGIEUSE ET LES ÉVÉNEMENTS DE GENÈVE, 1815-1873. PAR A. DE RICHECOUR, DOCTEUR EN DROIT, AVOCAT À LA COUR DE PARIS. PARIS, 1873.

LA LITURGIE DE L'ÉGLISE CATHOLIQUE DE GENÈVE, À L'USAGE DES FIDÈLES. GENEVA, 1873.

DE LA RÉFORME CATHOLIQUE. PAR LE PÈRE HYACINTHE. PARIS, 1872.

erland is Geneva. "The theological city," as it has been called by one of its famous historians, seems to be pervaded by an endemic influence, inciting to religious discussion and agitation. The eager, irrepressible spirit of John Calvin walks abroad from his unknown sepulcher as the *genius loci*. That austere and melancholic soul ought to find comfort for the wide apostasy of Geneva from the doctrines which he taught, and those grim lineaments to relax a little upon the canvas, in view of the renewal of his own story after a lapse of ten generations. It seems like the running-title of a Life of Calvin, when we propose to sketch the story of a religious reformation from the Roman Catholic Church, incited by the growth of abuses at Rome, inaugurated in the Catholic universities of Germany, transplanted for a completer and more vigorous growth into the soil of Geneva, and there, under the guidance of an exiled Frenchman, taking on the logical, consistent, and organized form by which it becomes fitted for wide propagation and success. If a movement, which shows in its early stages such curious points of undesigned coincidence with the great Reformation of the sixteenth century, should by-and-by be developed in like proportions, an INTERNATIONAL REVIEW could not excuse itself for having neglected the opening scenes of the play on account of the narrowness of the stage on which they were produced.

In attempting a sketch of the ecclesiastical and religious changes of the last twelve months in Switzerland, there is every reason for narrowing the field of view in general to the little Canton of Geneva, turning aside, from time to time, to remark the like movements, parallel or divergent, in other States of the Confederation.

The Catholic Reformation is constituted of two very distinct factors—the religious and the political—neither of which, in the actual circumstances, could have amounted to much without the other. The managers of the Vatican Council had counted not unreasonably on the power of hierarchical organization, reinforced by a certain amount of intelligent theological conviction (which Protestant observers are little disposed to recognize) in some of the clergy, and by the fanaticism of the devout fraction of the laity, to bear down, in the long run, either the anger of the governments and peoples, irritated by the exaltation of the Syllabus of 1864 to a level with the canonical Scriptures, or the protests against false doctrine which might emanate from the Catholic universities, or from individual consciences among the priesthood or the instructed laity. They could bow their heads for the storm of political indignation to blow

over; or they might wait, with a confidence warranted by repeated experience, for the reaction of the individual intellect and conscience to work itself off in the shape of sundry secessions to Protestantism, of here and there a local schism, or of an uncertain increment to the vast but indefinite multitude, prevailing in every Catholic country, of defunct priests and indifferentist laymen.

In fact, for a long time after the suspension of the Vatican Council, affairs seemed to march much according to this programme. However disastrous the outbreak of war may have been, in some of its results, to the Roman Curia, it is questionable whether, in the occupation which it afforded, at that juncture, to monarchs, cabinets, and parliaments, it did not yield a clear balance of advantage in their favor. Certainly the political after-clap of the Council seemed to have been averted. As for the moral and religious revolt that had been anticipated, few signs of it appeared except in Germany, and there it was and still continues to be a movement of the universities rather than of the clergy or people. In France, the splendid little party of Liberal Ultramontanes* was extinguished. In Switzerland, here and there a recalcitrant curé refused his neck to the new yoke, and associations of Liberal Catholics were formed in some of the cities, but no sign indicated that the reaction against the new dogma and its implications would be extensive or permanent. In Geneva, the Old Catholic Association, although embracing a large part of

* No mistake can be more misleading than to suppose that the French Liberal Catholic party of a few years ago—the party of *Le Correspondant*—was the representative of *Gallican* principles. On the contrary, the brief career of this party was a brave, earnest, and dashing, but utterly futile attempt to combine Ultramontane notions in religious matters with broadly liberal views in politics. The “struggle for existence” within the Church which this party made was gallant, but no completer failure is recorded in history. The famous bull *Quanta Cura*, and some parts of the Syllabus, are not to be understood without some knowledge of the Liberal Catholic party, at which they were especially aimed. After that blow had fallen, the party began by-and-by to lift up its head again; whereupon the Council of the Vatican gave it the *coup de grace* by erecting those two famous documents into authoritative standards of faith. This was the chief pending practical question settled by the Vatican Council—the question whether a Liberal party was to be tolerated within the Roman Church.

The party, as a party, died instantaneously. Its organ, *Le Correspondant*, submitted to the decree of the Council. The noblest of its leaders, Montalembert, Gratry, Foisset, Cochin, died in rapid succession. Felix Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, *haud felix opportunitate mortis*, survives in open recreancy to his principles, and Messrs. De Falloux and De Broglie have thought better of the vow which, in conjunction with the aforementioned, they registered on a tablet in the chapel at Roche-en-Brenil, to “devote the remainder of their lives to God and liberty.” Only one of the brilliant coterie of Liberal Catholics now remains faithful to the principles which they held in common; and him the rest of the survivors are reproaching with recreancy and apostasy!

the most respectable and influential of the Catholic laity, led a languishing life, and after a few months seemed ready to vanish away. To all appearance the storm which had been portended was blowing over.

But just now supervened the combination which was most formidable to the Roman power—the combination of religious conviction with political interest and patriotic feeling. To explain this takes us back to the starting-point of all contemporary history—to the Treaties of 1815.

With these treaties, the existence of Roman Catholicism under the government of Protestant Geneva commenced, by the annexation of a considerable tract of Savoyard territory to the little State. The new Catholic population, constituting a little more than one-third of the total population of the enlarged canton, came in under treaty stipulations for protection in their religious rights. They were confessedly inferior in education and intelligence, and although the old Protestant supremacy of the republic took reasonable alarm, feeling itself near its end, nevertheless the new citizens did not, for a long time, attempt to make themselves directly felt in politics. The course of events from that time down on this tiny stage has presented most curious points of resemblance to the exactly contemporaneous history of the great republic across the ocean. The Protestant and Old Genevese jealousy waxed warm in view of the continual growth of the uncongenial Romish population within and around the walls of the city of Calvin. Anti-popery propagandas and lodges were organized, and there was annual exultation over scores—in one year, upward of a hundred at once—of proselytes publicly renouncing in the old cathedral their allegiance to the Pope. But notes of alarm and foreboding blended with these pæans; for notwithstanding large defections, of which the array of public proselytes was but a small proportion, and which were offset by few or no conversions in the other direction, the proportion of the Catholic population continued to grow with formidable rapidity, both in city and in canton. It was to be explained by two constant facts of universal observation: first, that the current of emigration, the world over, generally sets away from Catholic States and toward Protestant ones; second, that the unskilled labor upon great public works generally assembles masses of Catholic rather than Protestant laborers. In 1843, the cantonal census showed, in a population of 61,000, a Protestant majority of only 6,600. In 1860, there was a Catholic majority of 2,000; and in 1870, of more than 5,000. In the

city of Geneva there are now about 20,000 Catholics to 25,000 Protestants.

Politicians of course were not idle in view of the large accession of voting material which was supposed to be largely affected by religious considerations and clerical influence. Each party did something to conciliate the Catholic vote by grants of land for church buildings, by accommodations of the school system, by bestowals of office, by compliments to the clergy, etc.; and each party denounced the other for such compliances. Meanwhile the clergy grew excessively exacting and insolent. Boasts were publicly made of their expectation to say mass in the old cathedral—the mother-church of the Reformed Churches of the world; and the erection of the magnificent church of *Notre Dame de Genève*—itself, in size and style, a cathedral—upon land given by the State, gave point and prominence to these defiances flung into the face of Protestantism in its ancient stronghold. The clergy now ventured on a conflict with the political authorities of the canton, timing their attack, in their insane over-confidence, to coincide with the reaction among the Catholic laity, against the Vatican decrees.

It was brought about on this wise: By a distinct understanding between the Holy See and the Geneva Government in 1819, this city was to form part of the Diocese of Lausanne, whose bishop sits at Fribourg. The understanding, however, proved to be subject to the disadvantages incident to all contracts, one party to which is sole judge of right and wrong, with unlimited power to give itself dispensations from its promise. In 1864, the clever, ambitious Abbé Mermillod was appointed Curé of Geneva, with the consent of the State, and according to the local usage was appointed, by the bishop at Fribourg, vicar-general of the diocese. Not long after, he receives from the Pope the honorary title of Bishop of Hebron *in partibus infidelium*, and assumes to himself, as fast or faster than discretion would permit, the state and functions of Bishop of Geneva. Certain parishes falling vacant, the Government notifies the Bishop of Lausanne of the fact, and invites him to nominate, but is referred to “Bishop Mermillod” as the person to whom the Holy See has committed the affairs of Geneva. On this point the issue is joined—Mermillod refusing to abate his pretensions, and the Government refusing to tolerate them. The Bishop of Lausanne tries to solve the difficulty by formally abdicating the charge of Geneva, and thus shutting up the Government to the choice between Bishop Mermillod, now made vicar apostolic by the Pope, and no bishop at all. The State is not

slow in accepting the latter alternative, and enunciates to the people its programme of a new "law for the organization of Catholic worship," by which, according to a precedent which has prevailed from time immemorial in some of the Swiss dioceses, the Catholic parishes themselves should choose their own priests.

Meanwhile, as this contest was coming to its height, the Catholic managers, with astonishing infelicity, took occasion, at a pending election, to express their dissatisfaction with the treatment which they had received from their then allies, by carrying over their vote and adding it (in a sort of coalition curiously common in the history of both sides of the ocean) to the reddest radical democratic party. But by this time, both political parties had grown tired of being played with in this game of fast and loose. The overtures of the "Independents" were accepted by the "Radicals," and the two parties combined to give the clerical party, in November, 1872, one of the most complete and righteous whippings known in the history of republican government. Naturally, the war with the insolent and disloyal Mermillod took on a sharper aspect. He treated the Government with open defiance, until, in February, 1873, by an act which went to the extreme boundary of lawful authority, but in the opinion of the highest Swiss authorities did not overstep it, he was put over the frontier of Switzerland and warned not to return. The projected law providing for the election of Catholic pastors by their own flocks was accepted by the people by a tremendous vote, in March, 1873; and so the political part of the revolution was mainly accomplished.

Meanwhile, the "Old Catholic" Association of Geneva, which had become nearly defunct, was waked up into lively activity, and resolved boldly to send for that man in the Catholic Church whose name was most abhorred by the Ultramontane clergy, and whose course (especially his marriage) pledged him most irrevocably to open and perpetual war with Rome. Father Hyacinthe arrived at Geneva just about the time of the popular vote upon the Law for the Organization of Catholic Worship. The arrangements for his addressing the public were in the hands of a committee of Catholic laymen, and in the issue of gratuitous tickets of admission to the hall where he was to speak, preference was always given to Catholics who might wish to hear an exposition of the principles of the Catholic Reformation. The necessity of some such precaution had not been miscalculated. The total number of sitting and standing places in the vast room was disposed of within half an hour from the beginning of the dis-

tribution. For upward of three thousand tickets there were thirty thousand applications. The impression produced by the indescribable eloquence of the great preacher, in this and subsequent discourses, was prodigious. But the power of eloquence has been less illustrated, in the progress of this movement from that time, than the power of a great, sincere, and simple character. Few men have ever been at the same time the object of such deadly hate from their antagonists, and of so warm a personal love from all besides who know them, as Father Hyacinthe. Alongside of his fiery indignation against falsehood, and against timid compliance with falsehood, there was a singular lack of asperity, either of language or of feeling, toward those who were daily tasking their invention for new forms of public abuse of himself and his wife. In contrast with his flat refusal to accept the dogmatic decree, which he held to be a modern falsehood imposed by an enslaved council and episcopate, men marked the child-like faith with which he received every thing which bore, to his view, the mark of an authentic tradition of the Church, and the steadiness with which he refused the slightest compliance toward the great mass of rationalist freethinkers among the Catholic laity, who were all too ready to applaud him, and whom it was his heart's desire to recover to the Christian faith. It was not strange that under the influence of his inspiring words and example, the Catholic Reform movement in Geneva should take very much the form of a personal following of Hyacinthe.

At the request of the Old Catholics, a temporary chapel was fitted up in the library of the Old College, known as Calvin's Library, and there, in May, 1873, mass was said for the first time in the French language. The protest against new dogmas and hierarchical usurpations grew into a positive organized religious power. One or two priests of great dignity of character resigned their livings in French dioceses, in order to join themselves to so hopeful a reform. These have been followed by others in increasing numbers, among whom are men eminent among the French clergy for eloquence and spiritual usefulness in the ministry. The current of these defections seems still to grow, "like the letting out of water."

The first application of the new cantonal law for the election of parish priests was in the city of Geneva itself, on Sunday, October 12, 1873. The *adoption* of the law was by the vote of the whole body of citizens, but the election under it was to be made by the vote of the Catholic citizens only; and the trial of strength between

the two parties, Liberal and Ultramontane, was naturally looked forward to with interest. The policy of abstention was adopted by the Ultramontanes, and the severest spiritual penalties were publicly denounced by their clergy against any Catholic who should dare to vote on either side. It would be easy for them, in case of a light vote (the election being uncontested), to claim as their own all the Catholic votes not actually cast. On the counting of the vote, it appeared that all the votes cast were for Father Hyacinthe and his colleagues, and that they amounted to nearly one-half of the registered Catholic vote of the city—enough to prove that on any actual trial of strength it would be found that a powerful majority of the Catholic citizens had identified themselves with the most advanced reform of abuses in their hereditary church, and with the organized religious opposition to the Ultramontane hierarchy.

The election seated Father Hyacinthe and his colleagues as curés of the Catholic Church of the city of Geneva, established by law. The old parish church of St. Germain was placed at their disposal, and is thronged every Sunday with suffocating crowds of worshippers. The great and costly church of Notre Dame will doubtless pass to the use of the legally recognized Catholic parish of Geneva, as soon as, in the constant growth of its numbers, this parish finds it necessary to demand the use of it.

But this was in the city of Geneva, where, it may perhaps be said, allowance ought to be made for the Protestant influences with which the Catholic population is surrounded. On the last Sunday in December a much more significant election was to take place in the old Savoyard Catholic city of Carouge. It is a city of 8,000 souls, 6,000 of whom were Catholic. Both priesthood and population were notorious for their fanatical zeal, so that the Reformed Catholic priests had been able to go thither, on their occasional duties, only at the risk of personal violence. In fact, it was the disloyal mob-provoking fury of the preaching in the great parish church which had hastened the arrangements for the election here. The issue of the election was not doubtful, indeed, for the policy of abstention was still enjoined by the Ultramontane clergy; but the utmost pressure, spiritual, social, domestic, and commercial, was brought to bear to dissuade men of liberal inclinations from voting, and so cut down the moral effect of the election. Out of the Catholic population of 6,000, there were 516 registered Catholic voters. The only candidate for the place of curé was the Abbé Marchal, one

of the most eminent and eloquent of the French mission-preachers.* Of the 561 registered voters, 281 actually cast their ballots for the Liberal priest. The state of the case was now clear to a demonstration. The Catholic population of the Canton of Geneva, even in the ancient and undisputed seats of Catholicism, freely rejected the Ultramontane system and its ministers.

The Reformed Catholic Church is now organized in only four of the greater centers of population of the canton. In the little agricultural parishes, ideas of reformation naturally make slower progress; and the leaders in the present movement, confident in the steady advance which their principles are making, are not disposed to hurry these parishes in the work of reorganization.

The movement of reformation elsewhere in Switzerland varies from that in Geneva in certain respects. It is older by a few months. It has been led, in some instances, by the clergy actually in charge of the parishes. It has been marked more distinctly by the interference of the civil government.

It first began to attract attention in November, 1871, when Prof. Herzog, of Olten, and Curé Gschwind, of Starrkirch, both in the thoroughly Roman Catholic Canton of Soleure, in German Switzerland, stoutly refused to give in their adhesion to the doctrine of infallibility. In the Canton of Lucerne, also, the Abbé Egli enunciated in no mild terms his resolution to adhere to the Old Catholic faith rather than the new faith of the Vatican. A canvass of the clergy of that canton showed, it was said, the names of fifty-three ecclesiastics who rejected infallibility. In sundry towns where the clergy were Ultramontane, there were movements for the organization of Old Catholic associations; sometimes with the establishment of separate worship. Evidently there was dangerous progress of demoralization in ecclesiastical discipline, and a prudent bishop (and most bishops, except Dupanloup, mean to be prudent) might well hesitate as to the best course to be taken. To enforce discipline might precipitate rebellion; to neglect it might permit demoralization to spread indefinitely. Bishop Eugenius Lachat, of Bâle, took a cautious middle course. He first waited till the rebellion was well under way, and then clapped on all the spiritual censures at his disposal. It was not until late in the year 1872 that he ventured to

* M. Marchal is the author of several very widely circulated religious books, and of an autobiography, just published under the title *Souvenirs d'un Missionnaire*. This book is well worth reading for its lively illustrations of recent history, and especially its pictures of life in the French priesthood.

suspend the Curé Gschwind. But by this time the whole village had identified themselves with the quarrel of their pastor, and the neighboring parishes, including the city of Olten, interested themselves on the same side. Appeal was made to the government of the canton—the Catholic government of the Catholic Canton of Soleure—which resolved to sustain the suspended pastor in his rights against the bishop. The town council of Olten convened a meeting to protest against the new dogmas; to petition the canton to prohibit the teaching of them in the schools and churches; and in general to stand by Gschwind. The agitation involved the neighboring cantons, especially those that were associated in the Diocese of Bâle. For this most important of the Swiss Catholic dioceses is made up of seven cantons, confederated for the purpose, and meeting for state business relating to the diocese in a “diocesan conference.” This body was convened in November, 1872, and called upon the bishop to give account of himself for excommunicating and deposing pastors Egli and Gschwind. The bishop declined to answer, and the diocesan conference, at an adjourned meeting, January 29, 1873, withdrew the act of approbation under which Bishop Lachat had taken his see, declared the bishopric to be vacant, and took effectual measures to make their declaration valid.

The Canton of Berne, a part of the Diocese of Bâle, took measures still more energetic. This Protestant canton, like that of Geneva, had had annexed to it by the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, a considerable tract of Catholic territory, now known as the Bernese Jura. The sixty-nine parish priests of this region having, more or less against the will of their own flock, refused to submit to the decision of the Government relative to the bishop of the diocese, and to obey the authority of the State in other matters, the cantonal government, in March, 1873, withdrew their salaries, suspended them from their functions, and cited them before the Court of Appeal and Cassation to show cause why their authorization should not be revoked; then, looking upon these flocks in the mountains as sheep without a shepherd, it undertook, in its own rough but doubtless well-intentioned way, the cure of souls and the functions of bishop. It is one of the constant surprises of this movement what a multitude of priests of good standing in the Roman Catholic hierarchy are on hand to step into openings made after this irregular fashion. The fact stands in curious contrast, on the one hand, with the solid and beautiful discipline with which the deprived clergy give up flock, salary, and parsonage, rather than yield one point of allegiance to their constituted bishop; and

on the other hand, with the long, unenterprising, and hopeless silence of the deserters under the Ultramontane yoke, until the favorable hour arrived for coming out from under it. These State appointees are, of course, fiercely attacked at every vulnerable point by the Ultramontane press, but it does not appear that they are one whit inferior in personal qualities to the adherents of the bishop; and some of them, to judge from their former positions, their academic titles, and their occasional printed discourses, are men of character and dignity.

It ought to be said that this appointment of parish priests by the State Council of Berne was only intended to be provisional. A general law, applicable alike to Protestant and Catholic parishes, was submitted to the popular vote of the canton in January, 1874, and adopted by an immense majority. It provides for the election of pastors and curés, for the organization of a cantonal synod for each denomination, and for a considerable degree of parochial independence; and withal for perfect liberty to all persons to dissent from the National Churches and organize separate congregations.

The extent to which the Reformation has proceeded elsewhere in Switzerland can not now be statistically exhibited in this article. But the importance of the movement must not be inferred from figures, unless they are considered in reference to the time in which the movement has been in progress. They should represent the work, not of three years, or even of one year, but the work of a few months. At the time of the Swiss convention of Old Catholics at Olten, August 23, 1873, only five Catholic parishes had adopted the Reformed service; in five others, separate Old Catholic services had been organized, and in some two or three score there were Old Catholic societies. It is partly on the great *initial velocity* of this movement that we found our computations of its probable range.

Certain questions will arise in the minds of intelligent and critical readers of the foregoing statements, which we wish to furnish all available materials for answering.

I. Is this reformation a movement, *bonâ fide*, of Roman Catholics; or is it mainly a demonstration carried on by old enemies of the Catholic Church, who seize upon an inconsiderable disaffection among the faithful to impose upon the public by using the Catholic name?

The answer will depend entirely on the definition given to the word Catholic. For, as all persons know who have had any experience of the Romanist controversy, the polemics of that faith have

two definitions, and two corresponding sets of statistics, one for assault, and the other for defense. Under one, they boast of their 300,000,000 of Catholics in the world, of their voting strength in the republic, of their vast proportionate growth, of their claim upon public moneys, of their right to the chaplaincy of reformatories and poor-houses. Under the other, they protest against the unfairness of the statistics of Catholic crime, ignorance, and pauperism; they petition for Protestant subscriptions for church-building funds for their feeble little flock; they contradict reports of variation and dissension in the Church by declaring all dissentients from their own views to be no Catholics at all, or only "half-Catholics;" they repudiate the association of useful but unsavory supporters; they wash their hands of responsibility for corruptions, fanaticisms, and abuses. According to the former definition, the Catholic Church is glorious for its numbers and ecumenicity, but a monstrously heterogeneous and incoherent mass, in which disorders, heresies, immoralities, and schisms, by their own statement, are horribly prevalent. According to the latter view, the Catholic Church is an exquisitely select, pure, and homogeneous sect, but far from overwhelming in point of numbers.

In the latter sense of the word, doubtless the Swiss reform is not, to a very large extent, a movement of Catholics. The majority of the steady-going "good Catholics," who go frequently to confession and occasionally on pilgrimages, have stuck by their parish priests, and the priests with few exceptions have stuck by the bishops, and the bishops have stuck by one another and the Pope. The reformers are mainly recruited from the late followers of that brilliant and earnest Liberal party in the Catholic Church to which American Catholic writers used to point triumphantly in proof of the compatibility of Catholic faith with liberal views in politics, but which was extinguished at the Vatican Council, and whose illustrious leader, Montalembert, was stigmatized in his coffin by the Pope as a "half-Catholic." Doubtless, the most of these have not been assiduous in attendance on the ministrations of Ultramontane pastors, by whom they have been detested with the bitterness of a family quarrel. Probably, also, there is justice in the allegation made against the "Swiss Catholic" Church that it owes its establishment and support in part to freethinkers—to men who, in their reaction from the excesses of Ultramontanism, have become alienated more or less remotely from the very substance of the Christian religion. Certainly, in a division between Liberal and Ultramontane Catholics, the

sympathies of this class of people would not be found to be with the latter party.

But if the word Catholic is to be used in its larger, looser, and more usual sense, the Swiss Reformation is unimpeachably a spontaneous movement among the Catholics themselves. Witness, for example, the Canton of Soleure, where the movement has been most rapid and successful. It is a Catholic canton, with Catholic churches, schools, magistrates, institutions, usages, and traditions, and a population of 60,000 Catholics to 10,000 Protestants. Yet this is the region where the Catholics are getting, perhaps, more grievously "persecuted" than any where else. In the Canton of Geneva, where the charge is constantly reiterated that the organization of the Catholic Church has been revolutionized by Protestants, the Catholic population is also considerably in the majority. But the law "for the organization of Catholic worship," though voted for by Protestants as well as Catholics, is drawn with scrupulous care to secure to the Catholics alone the control of their parish elections. The interference of Protestant voters is prevented by the thorough system of electoral registration here in use. No person can be a voter in the election of more than one denomination, and no person registered as a Protestant can have his name entered as a voter on the Catholic list until *two years* after it has been erased from the former list.

On the whole, it is matter of demonstration that the vast majority of the voting citizens of Roman Catholic descent and association is decisively alienated from that system which is represented as the only true Catholicism, and from the clergy who sustain it. The interesting historical pamphlet of M. Roget, *La Question Catholique à Genève*, shows clearly, from a careful scrutiny into the course of popular elections from 1815 to 1873, that it never has been otherwise; that during the long period of apparent aggrandizement of the Romish party, the period of panic among Protestant alarmists, of priestly swagger and prophecy, of political trading in "the Catholic vote," there has never been any "Catholic vote," of any extent, to trade in; and that, with all their promises and threats, the clergy have been equally harmless as political enemies, and useless as friends.

II. To what extent is this a spiritually religious movement, and in what measure is it impelled by lower and secular motives?

One who looks to find in the Catholic Reformation of the nineteenth century a complete parallel to the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth, with its profound awakening of the religious nature,

and its earnest, thorough, and enthusiastic studies in theology, will be disappointed. If he looks further, for a display on the part of the reformers, of the rancorous and sometimes malignant passions which frightfully deform the records of three centuries ago, he will be happily disappointed. The haggard dyspeptic faces of the old Geneva reformers, as they look down from the walls of the city library, are not more in contrast with the serene and humane though earnest countenances of the Reformed Catholic pastors, than the temper of the former with that of the latter. Happily, it is not permitted to infer a lack of religious zeal and fervor from a lack of acrimony in dispute. So far as one may judge from the words and acts of the new Catholic clergy of Geneva, the religious spirit of their work is pure, affectionate, fervent. Every one who has known the preaching of the illustrious chief of this company, as well before as after his rupture with the Roman hierarchy, knows what is his power to inspire the great articulated osseous structure of the Latin theology with the breath of evangelic life, so using the terms of that wonderful system as that good and holy men of every confession should find them to come very near the expression of their own religious thought and feeling. This unction is upon him still, and the spirit of his own preaching is that of his colleagues. And if the substance of their doctrine tends to be too *Protestant* (in the etymological meaning of the word)—if it deals at present more in negation of error and abuse, than in foundation and construction, the fact is necessarily incident to the present stage of the reform.

But if one could explore the motives which have prevailed in the minds of this great mass of Roman Catholic laymen to coöperate in the reorganization of their Church, it is impossible not to see that other considerations have had their influence, as well as simple religious feeling and conviction. In particular, the honorable pride of Swiss patriotism, jealous of any attempt from abroad to infringe upon the independent sovereignty of the little republic, has been sorely wounded by the defiant assertion on the part of the clergy of a paramount allegiance to a foreign power, and their insolent infractions of the laws of the land to which they had sworn fidelity. Their not infrequent hints of a possible recourse to the interference of France to enforce the observance of the rights of Swiss Catholics have won them no friends even in their own confession; and the recent discovery of a plot to organize an "Appeal of the Swiss Catholics to Foreign Powers," has excited in the Swiss people of every creed an indignation which not even the comical absurdity of

the whole affair is sufficient to assuage. No doubt, the pressure of patriotic and political considerations has affected the Catholic laity, as well as their honest disgust at the new dogmas and measures of the Ultramontane clergy; and yet, in the number of worshipers in their churches, and the number of communicants at their sacraments, the new clergy find a sort of encouragement which the number of votes at an election by no means furnishes.

III. What are the tendencies and prospects of the movement?

On one point, anxious Protestants may be reassured. The chances of a reunion of the Swiss Catholics to the See of Rome are exceedingly slender. What may take place, when the long-delayed departure of Pius the Ninth shall at last touch the spring of ecclesiastico-political changes in every part of Christendom, it is, of course, impossible definitely to predict. It is possible to imagine that the conclave may find themselves, by mistake, as in 1846, with a Liberal Pope on their hands. But this mistake is not likely to be made twice in succession. The contingency of a plurality of Popes, as in the days of the Great Schism, is far more probable. The event of a second Council of Constance is hardly conceivable in our days. Meanwhile, the Swiss Reformers are among the most sincere well-wishers for the good health and long life of the present Pope. To those who, in their haste to see the *dénouement* of the present singular complications, express the wish that History would hurry itself a little, they answer with unaffected deprecations of any change in the Papacy. His present Holiness is doing their work for them as well as it could possibly be done. A little abatement of fanaticism, a little show of liberality, or even of discretion, at Rome, would be a serious obstacle in what now seems to them the only hopeful way of Catholic Reform. To the thoughtful leaders among them, the union of the Universal Church about the see of one primatial bishop, the first among his peers, is still the cherished ideal of Christian order—cherished the more fondly in their hopes for the future, by as much as their dream of its present realization has been dashed, by as much as they see the ideal center of universal love and loyalty transformed into an actual seat of despotic power, the spring of unnumbered schisms, instead of the nucleus of union. But among the mass of the Catholic laity of Switzerland the predominant feeling in view of the rupture with Rome is manifestly that of unmixed relief at being rid of the incubus of a foreign yoke. They are too near to Rome, and too well informed of its affairs, to enjoy the thought of being governed in all their most sacredly personal affairs by the edicts of a

knot of intriguing Italians. Even if the temper of the Swiss were less indisposed than it is to invite foreign intervention from any quarter, they might be excused for declining to recognize their trans-Alpine next-neighbors as the chosen people, holding by divine appointment the control of the destinies of Christendom. The mood of the popular Catholic mind might be inferred from the murmur of approval which ran through the crowd in the great church of Carouge when the Abbé Marchal, in his inaugural sermon, declared: "I bear about with me a double title to your affection and fidelity; first, as elected by the suffrages of the Christian people; secondly, as excommunicated by the Vatican."

But the attitude of the Swiss Catholics is not one of mere protest against the last innovations and of severance from Rome. They have ceased to be an "Old Catholic" party, in the sense which those words were originally meant to convey. The first idea of the Munich and Bonn professors was to call a halt, and make a fixed stand at the point which the Church had reached before the Vatican decrees of July, 1870; and it was a little odd to see the eagerness with which many of the extremest Protestants rushed forward to tender them the right hand of fellowship on the platform of the doctrine and discipline of the Council of Trent. But both in Germany and in Switzerland, and especially in the latter, they have found that there is no level place to stand on at that point, and that their choice is between sliding downward and climbing back. On questions of discipline they have no difficulty in saying that this is a matter which the Church has always held to be variable and "reformable;" and that until the Swiss Church is reorganized with its due authorities of bishops and synod to reform the discipline, there must be provisional reform of manifest abuses. On questions of doctrine there is more difficulty. "Once a doctrine, always a doctrine," is the principle both of old Catholics and new. And while the Reformers, with undoubted sincerity, profess their submission to all authentic doctrinal traditions of the Church Catholic, and all decrees of councils truly ecumenical, they declare that the time is at hand when the discrimination should begin to be made, under some just authority, between the real dogmas of the Church and the "dogmas which are not dogmas, but modern superfetations"—between genuinely free and ecumenical councils, and the *latrocinia* and *ludibria* which claim to be councils.

The position of the Swiss Catholics as it was a few months since is distinctly defined in the Resolutions of the convention at Olten,

August 31, 1873. After projecting the reconstitution of the Swiss Church in conformity alike with apostolic usage and with the republican usages of the country, the convention declared :

"Finally, that the meaning, tendencies, and bearing of the Syllabus of 1861, and of the decrees of 1870 upon papal infallibility, are sufficiently known and understood ; and that the moment is come for entering resolutely upon the practical business of *reformation*.

"But it seems best that reformation should begin in matters of outward worship ; and in this field, to destroy the abuses which are in direct opposition to the teaching of Jesus and his apostles—abuses which stand in the way of religious tolerance, of good feeling between different religious communions, and of the providential union of the great family of mankind.

"The assembly therefore expresses the hope that in Old Catholic towns, the authorities and the faithful will at once endeavor to effect the following reforms :

"1. The adoption of the language of the people for all parts of divine service, whether in the church or out of it, except the mass, the language and ritual of which are to be determined by a future diocesan synod.

"2. The simplification and improvement of public worship and divine service.

"3. The suppression of all fees, taxes, gratifications, etc., paid for religious services, whether in the church or out of it, including charges made for masses. Annual masses for the dead will continue to be celebrated, but the cost of them will be charged to the income of the church. On the other hand, there should be a suitable increase in the salary of the ecclesiastics and other servants of the church.

"4. The suppression of all payment for dispensations, of whatever sort.

"5. The prohibition of all levying of Peter's pence, and trading in indulgences and like matters, and all collections for the Propaganda.

"6. The utmost possible reduction of confraternities, pilgrimages, penances, and of the adoration of images.

"7. The restriction of processions and other like ceremonies to the interior of the church, and its immediate surroundings. The suppression of processions to a distance.

"8. The regulation by law of whatever concerns the hindrances to marriage established by the Catholic Church, in so far as these hindrances are made the occasion of dispensations to be paid for in money.

"9. The mitigation of the conditions and guarantees required of ecclesiastics for the celebration of mixed marriages.

"10. The obligation of priests to give their benediction to marriages celebrated civilly, whenever it is demanded.

"11. The admission, at baptism, of sponsors belonging to other Christian communions.

"12. The secularization of cemeteries.

"13. The obligation of priests to perform the rites of the Church at all burials, without distinction, if the family of the deceased desire it.

"14. That the religious ceremonies shall be the same at all funerals, whether of rich or poor, strong or weak.

"15. The establishment of undenominational schools.

"16. The aiding of students in theology who intend to undertake the cure of souls in Old Catholic towns."

This has not quite the ring of Luther's Wittenberg Theses, certainly; but is good as far as it goes. We find an indication not only of the difference of place and person, but of the lapse of a few months of time, to compare the foregoing manifests with the four points under which Father Hyacinthe, in a familiar discourse, recently introduced the work of the reformation of Catholic discipline to the congregation of a country church:

1. The suppression of compulsory confession; 2. The liberation of the clergy from enforced celibacy; 3. The election of pastors by the people; 4. The emancipation of the Church from its bondage to dead languages by the use of the language of the people in a liturgy in which they speak to God, and in a translation of the Bible in which God may speak to them.

The French Liturgy of the Mass now in use in Geneva is full of suggestions as to the tendencies of the reorganized churches. It is, as the preface declares, simply a translation from the various Catholic liturgies, and more particularly from those of Rome and Paris, and from the Ritual of Bishop Wessemberg, which is used in many parishes of German Switzerland. An historical introduction, translated from a work of Prof. Friedrich of Munich, insists upon several points of interest:

"In all the ancient liturgies the real presence of the body and blood of Jesus Christ is enunciated most clearly and explicitly. . . . As to the manner in which this presence is effected, whether, for example, it is by means of transubstantiation, there is nothing said whatever, either in the ancient or in the present liturgies. The same silence prevails as to the nature of the sacrifice of the body and blood of Jesus Christ. . . . It even seems doubtful, if we confine ourselves to the precise words of the Roman mass, as they stand to-day, whether the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ are designated in it as a sacrifice; for the expression "oblation" relates really to the (unconsecrated) gifts of bread and wine offered to the church by the faithful. 'Let these offerings become for us the body and blood of Jesus Christ' is said before the consecration; and the 'pure, holy, and spotless victim' of the offertory is, after the consecration, 'the holy bread of everlasting life, and the cup of eternal salvation.'"

Obviously, the most advanced party in the English Church and the advanced party in the Swiss Catholic Church—advancing in opposite directions—have met and passed each other, some time ago.

The introduction shows further that the present practice of the Roman Church concerning the use of dead languages, private masses, the communion under one kind, and of unfermented wafers, is contrary to the authority of Catholic antiquity.

But the foot-notes appended to the text of the liturgy, to guard

the mind of the worshiper from error, are even more significant. For example, the following, under the words of the confession :

"I confess to God Almighty, to the blessed Virgin Mary, to Saint Michael the Archangel, etc., etc., to all the saints, and to you my brethren."

"Sin is an offense against the holiness of the Christian community as well as against God's holiness : therefore it is that the confession of sins is not addressed exclusively to God, but also to the whole church, in heaven as well as on earth."

And upon the prayer of the priest when he kisses the altar—
"We pray thee, O Lord, by the merits of thy saints":

"The priest here affirms the intimate fellowship which unites all the members of Christ's body the church. The merits of the saints, that is of all true Christians, are the merits of Jesus Christ himself, 'who liveth in them,' as Saint Paul says. They are all of grace, so that, in the words of the Catholic Liturgy according to St. Augustine, 'in crowning our merits God crowneth his own gifts.'"

And on the *Filioque* in the Creed :

"The addition of these words *and from the Son* undoubtedly expresses a great doctrinal truth. But this addition was not made by competent authority, that of an ecumenical council, and has consequently been a potent cause of division between the churches of the East and West. This point is one of those which demands attention in the future revision of our liturgy."

And at the elevation of the host :

"It is important to remark that the adoration which takes place after the consecration is addressed, not to the bread and the wine, but to Jesus Christ, who has become thenceforth mysteriously and really present in the sacrament."

Wherein the doctrine above expressed differs from that doctrine of "the mystical presence" which was formulated in Geneva by John Calvin three hundred years ago, we are at a loss to say.

There need be no doubt, then, that the leaders in the Swiss Catholic Church are in earnest in their purposes of reform, and that in a right direction. A more doubtful question, which gives just anxiety to some friendly observers, is, whether the spirit of reform, carrying these churches away from their ancient moorings, may not sweep them away to just such disastrous shipwreck as has in many instances befallen the national Protestant Churches of Switzerland, in some of which the resurrection of Christ, and the life of the world to come, are said to be openly denied. The fervid piety of such a man as Hyacinthe, whose personal influence is supreme over the framing of the churches of the Canton of Geneva, is a sufficient guarantee of their soundness so long as he lives. But a man does not live so long as an institution ; and it is not to be

denied that there is something in the form of this reorganization of the Swiss Catholic churches, in their relation to State patronage, their present emancipation from hierarchical oversight, their emphatic assertion of parochial autonomy, which may justify grave doubts of their future stability in the Christian faith. One finds among them no recognition of that Puritan principle of committing the control of the spiritualities of the church to the brotherhood of spiritual men, as distinguished from the merely nominal Christians, with which ecclesiastical independency has always been associated, and which is probably essential to its safe working. If the reform shall fail, it will probably be in consequence of the remitting of religious questions to the universal suffrage of the nominally Catholic population. But as to the seriousness of this peril, it is premature to pronounce until the organization of the Swiss hierarchy is completed by the consecration of its bishops, and the complete framework of the reconstituted church is open to view.*

IV. One question remains, not inferior in practical interest to the foregoing: To what extent can we compute the future of Roman Catholic institutions in the United States, from the course which they have taken in Switzerland?

On many superficial points, as we have already hinted, the historical analogy between the two countries is very striking. The epoch (1815) at which a sudden accession of Catholic population was acquired to the Protestant republics of Berne and Geneva coincides with the beginning of the Catholic migration to America. On both sides of the water has been the same anti-popery agitation, the same organization of Orange and Know-Nothing lodges and of proselyting societies, the same concessions and cajoleries of politicians toward "the Catholic vote," the same boastful predictions on the part of the Romish clergy of the speedy conquest of the country to the obedience of the Pope. In Switzerland, in the very height of these most sanguine hopes, the towering structure that was in building by the Ultramontane hierarchy has suddenly fallen, and on inspection we find that it never had foundation nor strength of walls. Does this justify us in prognosticating a like fate for like plans and hopes in the United States?

M. Amédée Roget, in the capital historical pamphlet which we

* The perils here indicated were stated with great force by M. Ernest Naville, the eminent writer and philosopher, in a memorial to the Government of Geneva against the establishment of the Liberal Catholic Church by law. I am under great obligation to M. Naville for the opportunity of reading his argument in manuscript.

have already quoted, and the title of which stands at the beginning of this article, asserts, and goes far toward proving, that the present result is the natural and inevitable consequence, which might have been predicted and was predicted, of exposing Catholic people and institutions to the influence of light and liberty in a free republic. Every facility was given to the priesthood to train their flocks in the way in which they should go. Religious schools, under the conduct of the secular priests, and under the teaching brotherhoods and sisterhoods, have been tolerated or sustained by the State; demoralizing influences have been warded off from their sheepfolds by treaty stipulations forbidding Protestant churches in the Catholic towns; and yet out of their clerical schools have graduated the civil leaders of the Catholic Reform; and their Catholic communes give majorities against their own clergymen!

One difference between the two situations lies in the fact that in Switzerland there has been legal and governmental recognition of the church relations of the citizen, so that one born a Catholic has been counted a Catholic until by some formal act he has abandoned or transferred his church-allegiance. As of old, Peter has been using one of his "two swords"—the one he has borrowed of the civil magistrate—a little more freely than is good for him. This bulk of Catholic believers, thus given over to the training of the clergy, and imputed to them in the census returns, was extremely glorious to tell of, but inconvenient to the last degree when it was allowed to vote. Better have disowned it long before as "freethinking," or freemason, or "half-Catholic," than have boasted of it for fifty years to be voted down by it on the fifty-first! One result of the absolute ignoring of religious distinctions on the part of the United States Government, so that one becoming indifferent or disaffected toward his religious communion comes off from it without violence, has doubtless been the loss to the Roman Catholic Church in the United States of millions of souls that were hers by birth or inheritance, but over whom her pastors have mourned as given up to Protestantism or some other form of perdition. But it has left under the charge of the priesthood a picked and tried and still formidably numerous company, who stay in their Church for conviction's sake and conscience' sake, or for something much like these, and in which the elements of disaffection do not stay long enough to accumulate and become dangerous. Even if there were ever opportunity for voting in the Roman Catholic Church in America, there need be little fear of an anti-clerical party in a community so composed. But,

thanks to the generosity of the American States, in granting to the Catholic bishops such an absolute control over all church property as is unheard of in all the lands of Catholic Christendom, the last suspicion of peril from the action of a disaffected laity is completely extinguished. Men are sure not to vote wrong if they are not allowed to vote at all. In Switzerland, the voice of the strong majority of the Catholic laity has prevailed against the almost unanimous resolution of the hierarchy. In America, to such a degree do the laws on the one hand, and the absence of legislation on the other, favor the practice of absolute personal government on the part of the bishop, that the unanimous protest of all the priests and all the people would have no more influence against the decision of his lordship than the whistling of the wind. He could lock the doors of his churches against clergy and people alike, and turn to the stones of the street to raise up children to Abraham. In Switzerland, as elsewhere in Europe, the necessity of permission from the State, either for the installing or for the removal of pastor or bishop, imposes something like a constitutional limitation on the absolutism of hierarchical government, making possible a certain degree of liberty. In the United States, the absolute influence of the bishop over every clerk and layman in his diocese, is limited only by his own fear of the bowstring which, being *amovibilis ad nutum*, he is liable any moment to have sent to him from the Sublime Porte of the Propaganda College. The narrowest uniformity can be enforced through all ranks of the Church. This is the explanation of the puzzling paradox that in the freest and most enlightened country in the world, the Catholic Church should be more Ultramontane than any where else in Christendom. It is because the Italian Pontiff is absolutely free to enforce his policy in America, by all spiritual penalties, and by pecuniary sanctions up to the entire value of the church property, and because all Catholics of liberal leanings, who might otherwise be a leaven of liberalism in the lump, are absolutely free to leave the Church if they do not like it, and free to do nothing else under heaven. And the more they leave it, the more unanimously and intensely anti-liberal becomes the residuum.

This continued wasting and dribbling at the safety-valve saves much of the danger of a future revolution of the Roman Church in America, or a splitting into two sects. But it also prevents it from ever being any thing more than a sect itself; a sect formidable, no doubt, for numbers, for organization, for the concentration of its enormous real estate under the power of a single Italian prelate, and

for its curious and perilous facility of coalition with all manner of Jacobinism and demagogy, but still a sect; for it is sheer impossibility that an institution which is not broad enough to contain two parties should ever succeed in holding within its pale any large fraction of a free people. From time to time, the possessors of unlimited power will be tempted, despite their habitual prudence, to make injudicious use of it, and there will result defections, more or less numerous, of laymen, or of priests. But the corporation will continue, preserved by the peculiar structure of American laws from any danger of subversion; and although it may fluctuate in numbers, its corporate wealth can not but go on steadily and rapidly increasing.

One more point of difference between the United States and Switzerland, which has favored the development of the Catholic Reformation in the latter country, is worth mentioning for the salutary and Christian lesson which it conveys. Despite the violence of some anti-popery zealots, and the social exclusiveness encouraged by the Ultramontane priests, there has subsisted between the citizens of the two communions relations, on the whole, of personal and social good-fellowship. Not but that there has been some natural disposition on the part of the old citizens to look down on the palpably inferior intelligence, culture, and prosperity of the new—and some sense of injury on the part of the latter toward the former; but that, on the whole, the differences of religious belief have been forgotten in the mutual relations of citizen and neighbor. Doubtless, this is easier between people of like lineage and antecedents than between alien races. But in the United States, the causes which once enforced a wide social separation between the Catholic Irish and the Protestant American dwindle in the second generation, and vanish in the third. It is not only a sin, it is a woful folly, if the effect is suffered to outlive the causes. For that free, kindly, equal intermingling with Protestants, in school, in business, in politics, in society, and especially in acts of charity, which it is the effort of Ultramontane policy to prevent, is the most potent of all influences to produce, we need not say proselytes, but liberal Catholics; and liberal Catholic, according to the definitions of the Vatican, is equivalent, for all practical ends, to no Catholic at all. Certainly, for all the purposes of good citizenship in the republic, it is much more than equivalent to illiberal Protestant.

ARTICLE V.

THE NEW REVISION OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.*

PROF. GEORGE P. FISHER, D.D.

THE opposition which, up to a recent date, has availed to prevent any undertaking of a public and authoritative character, having for its end the printing of another translation of the Scriptures for general use, to take the place of King James's version, has not sprung solely from an obstinate conservatism, or a needless and culpable timidity. To whatever extent it may have been reinforced by these unworthy feelings, this attachment to the Authorized Version has been due mainly to its undeniable merits, which have been felt even by those who have not been able correctly to define them. A translator, it is almost too obvious to remark, needs other qualities besides a good acquaintance with the languages with which he has to deal. Philological attainments are indispensable; but next to these there are other qualifications of hardly less importance. He must have a knowledge of the subject to which the book that he takes in hand relates. A person ignorant of mathematics is pretty sure to blunder in rendering a mathematical treatise from one language into another. If specific culture is demanded in a translator of books in abstract science, or of works of a technical nature, much more is it true that certain gifts, beyond those which the grammar and lexicon can impart, are necessary to the successful rendering of books in those departments of literature where imagination and sentiment play the important part. A man may know Greek well enough to translate Aristotle correctly and effectively, but, at the same time, be utterly incompetent to render Homer into a modern tongue. One who might succeed in interpreting in another language the tomes of

* THE REVISION OF THE ENGLISH VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. BY J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D.; RICHARD CHEVENIX TRENCH, D.D.; C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D. WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D. NEW YORK, HARPER & BROTHERS, 1873.

Guicciardini, or the discourses of Machiavelli, might fail miserably in a like experiment with the musical sonnets of Petrarch, or the stanzas of the *Inferno*. For the adequate translation of writings of this character, there must be a congeniality of spirit with the original author. There must be a power of intellectual insight and moral sympathy; an ability to fathom the abysses, and soar to the heights, of passion and feeling. Just as Goethe could get more of the *Iliad* out of a German version than most Greek scholars could get from poring over the original, so a translator, whose heart is with his author, even though deficient in philological training, may do, on the whole, better, notwithstanding many mistakes and defects, than an accomplished linguist who sees only the words, but fails to penetrate to the soul within them. Now, what is true of works of imagination, of works appealing to the æsthetic sense, holds good of the books which compose the Bible; not merely of such of the books as are themselves poems, to which our observation is literally applicable, but to those other parts of the Scriptures which are instinct with moral and religious feeling. Here lies the cardinal merit, the inimitable excellence, of the Authorized Version; and the same may be said of the German Bible of Luther. Our English version owes its distinctive value chiefly to one man, John Tyndale, whose name is every day gathering new luster the more his life is known and his services understood. With the genuine spirit of a scholar he blended a deep, heartfelt sympathy with the gospel as it was preached by the Reformers. He early declared to a "learned man" who said that it were better to be without God's law than the Pope's: "If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plow shall know more of the Scripture than thou doest;" an expression suggested, it may be, by a fine saying of Erasmus in his *Exhortation*: "I would that the husbandman at the plow should sing something from hence," that is, from the Gospels and the Epistles. To give Englishmen the Bible in their own language, and in a style which the humblest peasant could understand, was the passion of his life. Driven from England, and then from one place to another on the continent, this heroic scholar was at length pursued unto death by the unsleeping tyranny of Henry VIII. But he did his work, and did it well. While availing himself of all accessible helps, including Luther's translation, he was independent and original, as well as perfectly conscientious. Tyndale's version was incorporated in the different English Bibles which subsequently appeared. It forms the Saxon element, the pith and marrow of the Authorized Version. Turn to

any passage of the New Testament, and compare it with the corresponding passage in Tyndale ; the small extent of the variations—which, moreover, are not all for the better—will be discerned. Thus, our translation was made at a time when, and by men to whom, the Bible had just been opened afresh, like a mine of gold long covered from observation. They plunged into the study of its contents with the ardor of discoverers. To sound its meaning was an object of eager study. In that age of religious ferment, when the evangelical Reform absorbed the minds of men, when persecution and martyrdom were the not unfrequent penalty of labors like those of Tyndale, there existed spiritual qualifications for the work of translating the Bible, such as are not presented under other circumstances, in a more peaceful age. The introductions and marginal notes of Luther and Tyndale betray the ardent sympathy, the enthusiasm which the Scriptures kindled in their minds. Here is pointed out a rebuke for the idleness of monks ; there, a hit at pilgrimages, or ecclesiastical extortion. That the English-speaking race should cling to the old version with a tenacious affection is quite natural. “It lives on the ear,” says the Roman Catholic, Faber, “like a music that can never be forgotten, like the sound of church bells, which the convert hardly knows how he can forego.” Add to the intrinsic merits of the old version the charm which is lent to it by the power of tradition and of long association, to say nothing of the extent to which it has filtered itself into the best products of English literature, and there will be no surprise if a proposition to abandon it should raise an outcry ; if, even, apologists should be found for its manifest defects. A comparison of it with the latinized Douay version, meritorious as the latter is in some important respects, sets in strong relief the peculiar, sterling excellence of our old translation.

It must be said, moreover, that the many efforts to produce another translation better than King James’s, have not been attended with an encouraging degree of success. A number of these efforts have been made on this side of the Atlantic. Charles Thompson, Secretary of the old Continental Congress, spent a part of the closing period of his life in making a translation of the old Testament from the Septuagint, and of the New Testament from the original. As far as diction is concerned, his production is one of the least obnoxious of this class of works. It is in plain English. Noah Webster, the lexicographer, published an edition of the Bible, in which bad grammar is expurgated, and more comely phrases are exchanged for such as he deemed unfit to be read aloud in families. The new trans-

lation by Rodolphus Dickinson, an Episcopal clergyman (Boston, 1832), is a curiosity in literature. The motive in the undertaking is suggested in this elegant sentence from the Preface: "Many peculiarities of unenlightened origin, have been compelled to surrender, and many more must yield, to the vicissitudes of that judicious taste and solid discernment, which establish the most approved models of fine writing." Mr. Dickinson's style is the finest of fine writing. Thus in "Matthew's History," the first of the "Apostolic Productions," we read: "Then his disciples approaching, said to him, Art thou conscious that the Pharisees were offended when they heard this observation? But he answering, said, Every plantation, which my Father has not cultivated, shall be extirpated." In "Luke's History," as interpreted by the same translator, it is written: "And he communicated a parable to them: Survey the fig-tree, and all the trees; when they now germinate, you know, from personal observation, that the summer is even near." These are specimens, taken at random, of the dignified style in which the evangelists are made to speak. A ludicrous figure the Galilean fishermen make in the flowing robes of this Johnsonian verbiage. More recently, Mr. Leicester A. Sawyer, a Congregational minister, has issued a translation of the New Testament, which, though written in Saxon English, is full of such offenses against taste as are little less than ridiculous. A single instance must suffice: "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they perform no hard labor, neither do they spin. . . . Be not anxious, therefore, for to-morrow, for to-morrow will be anxious for its; sufficient for the day is its evil." One is more than ever conscious of the exquisite rhythm of the old version when he notices the effect on his ear of the substitution of "perform no hard labor" for "toil not."

In a totally different category is to be placed the careful and scholarly translation of the New Testament by Prof. Noyes, of Cambridge. Yet even in this production, and in similar publications by contemporary English scholars—for example, the translations in Coneybeare and Howson's *Life of St. Paul*—one is sensible that, with whatever gains on the score of correctness, there are serious losses in the sacrifice of grateful harmonies, and pithy and familiar idioms, of the Authorized Version.

Nevertheless, it is fast becoming clear to well-informed persons that the Authorized Version, in its present form, will not long answer its purpose. Being itself a revision, the English that enters into it is older and more antiquated than the English that was

current at the same date. There are words which have changed their meaning, and other words whose meaning is forgotten. There are violations of grammar which strike awkwardly on a modern ear. The translation of the New Testament was from a very faulty text. Textual criticism has arisen and become a science since that day. The critical helps in this province have been richly multiplied. Greek philology has made an immense progress, so that numerous mistranslations, growing out of the comparative inaccuracy of Greek learning in the seventeenth century, may be rectified. Obscurities and infelicities, greater in some books of the Bible than in others, are capable, in many cases, of being removed by a more exact and more happy rendering. The Authorized Version, taken as a whole, is like many of the old English translations from the classics. They are often idiomatic, racy, full of the sap and flavor which are so attractive to scholars of taste, and so grateful, also, to common people; but they fail in correctness. Their authors did not discriminate between Greek tenses, moods, and voices, and thereby lost sight of shades of meaning which a translation ought to preserve. Or, they treat as synonyms terms which Greek thought knew how to distinguish. Or, again, they overlook the force of the article, or confound the force of particles each of which has its own precise significance. It is easy to exaggerate the blemishes and faults of the Authorized Version of the Scriptures. It is possible, also, to under-estimate their importance, and to treat them as of no account. That they seriously impair the value and usefulness of the English Scriptures, is a fact which none but the ignorant or prejudiced will deny.

What is the remedy? Obviously not to abandon the old version, but to mend it. If an Englishman has inherited a fine old mansion of the Elizabethan age, built of the best, most solid materials, in proportions pleasing to the eye, and with ample apartments, but finds that time has made crevices in the walls, through which are admitted drafts of winter air, while, here and there, stones are loosened from the foundation, he knows, if he be a man of sense and taste, what to do. He does not pull down the edifice, which is, on the whole, better than any architect will contrive for him now, and which is endeared to him as being his home from childhood and the home of his fathers. He repairs it, bringing in modern improvements with a careful hand, so that he may not violate the identity of the old structure, or jar unnecessarily the associations that linger about it. He makes, not such a "restoration" as was undertaken

some years ago upon many of the old Gothic churches in England, and which effaced their characteristic beauties ; but such a renovation as will leave every thing that is fair and good in the old dwelling intact.

This is just what bodies of competent scholars are now engaged in doing with the Authorized Version. The movement was begun by the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury ; and the English committees on the Old Testament and the New were constituted by that body. These committees are well composed. In the New Testament company are the names of Lightfoot, Trench, Ellicott, Westcott, and other scholars of the Established Church ; with whom are associated scholars from Scotland, as Dr. Alexander, Prof. Milligan, Prof. Eadie ; and one Unitarian, Rev. G. Vance Smith. In coöperation with these English boards, two American companies, made up from the different religious denominations among us, are diligently at work. At the head of the New Testament company here, is Ex-President Woolsey ; and it includes, among other distinguished scholars, Prof. Abbot, of the Cambridge Divinity School, one of the most accomplished of textual critics now living. Under these promising auspices, the revision of the translation is slowly proceeding. It is supposed that about seven years will be required to complete the labor.

The principles which are laid down for the guidance of the revisers are such as ought to satisfy the most conservative taste. As few alterations as possible are to be made in the old version consistently with faithfulness. As far as possible these alterations are to be expressed in the language of the Authorized and of other early English versions. No changes are to be finally adopted which are not sanctioned by two-thirds of the company in which they are proposed. The declared aim is to correct, but not otherwise to improve the existing translation. To eliminate what is erroneous or unintelligible, owing to the method of translation, is the exclusive aim. Of course this rule will cut away obsolete words and phrases, which now convey no meaning, or a meaning diverse from that of the original text. It will necessitate all such changes as fidelity to the original may dictate. The alterations will be less numerous and less noticeable in the Gospels, which are most familiar to readers of the Bible, than in other books. But the changes will not be of such an extent as to affect the general character, or to break up the familiar harmony, of the ancient version. They will be, it is presumed, necessary, substantial, useful amendments ; but they will be so

distributed, and the joints will be made with so much skill, that our habitual associations connected with the English Scriptures will not be seriously disturbed. Indeed, our own fear is that the revisers, if they err any where, will err on the side of undue conservatism. They are so hedged in by their self-imposed rules, and by the safeguards which they have set up against rash innovation, and so many of the scholars on the other side of the Atlantic naturally partake of the Anglican fondness for sacred, time-honored words, that too much of antiquated, or obsolescent, or ungrammatical phraseology may possibly be spared. There must be a real and perceptible difference, a perfectly appreciable advantage, on the side of the revised version: otherwise it will not supplant the old. Now is the time to make thorough work in the business of revision. It is much wiser to wound a morbidly delicate sensibility, which clings to old errors and blunders because they are traditional, and because the language in which they are embodied has a pleasing sound, than to perpetuate these mistakes and infelicities. Nothing should be left untouched that is adapted to mislead the ordinary reader, nothing that weakens the legitimate force of the original text. The truth of the Bible has demonstrated, in a long course of ages, its ability to take care of itself. There need be no anxiety lest it should not survive a change of dress.

The most important variations in the New Revision will be the result of textual emendation. The old version of the New Testament is made substantially from the fourth edition of Erasmus, which, after a few improvements by Stephens and by Beza, was declared by Elzevir to be the *textus receptus*. The fourth edition of Erasmus was not much improved from the first, which he published in 1516. The manuscript which he followed was a very faulty one. The last pages of the book of Revelation being wanting in it, Erasmus himself wrote the Greek to supply their place—translating, of course, from the Latin. It is hardly possible that he did not have a curious sensation when he came to the verse which threatens perdition to whoever should add or subtract from the words of that book. Erasmus did his work hastily, from a natural wish to get the start of the Complutensian Polyglot, the great contribution of Spain to the new learning, made under the patronage of Cardinal Ximenez, of which the last volume had not then appeared. But the results of his precipitancy, as he himself styles his procedure, have been most unfortunate. We owe to it a majority of the worst blemishes of our English translation. On the text of the Old Testament,

comparatively little can be done. It must stand as it was left by the Masorets, the Jewish doctors by whom it was settled after the sixth century of our era. All that the collation of manuscripts can do is to restore the exact Masoretic text. No manuscript is extant of an earlier date than a thousand years after the canon was closed. No great difficulty can arise in dealing with the thirteen hundred various readings which the study of the manuscripts has thus far brought to light. The examination of the ancient versions, in particular that of Jerome, would not be without valuable fruit in this direction. There is, also, room for conjectural criticism, a proper sphere for critical divination. It is not likely, however, that the present revisers will venture far into this inviting but perilous field. Fortunately, the Palestinian Hebrews, as there is reason to believe, guarded the sacred text, as was not the case with the Samaritan Pentateuch, or the codexes which were at the foundation of the Septuagint version. The present Hebrew text can not be pronounced perfect, but the means of improving it are scanty and inadequate. Not so with the Greek text of the New Testament. In modern times, new manuscripts of precious value have been brought to light, of which the Codex Sinaiticus is the latest example. The critical skill of a series of erudite scholars has been expended upon the examination of them; and definite results, in a multitude of instances, have been reached—results in respect to which there is a general concurrence. There are upward of one hundred thousand various readings, the vast majority of which are of trivial moment, but some of which are decidedly important, not, to be sure, as affecting Christian theology or morals, but as modifying the sense of interesting passages. The critical process by which the true reading is determined involves the weighing of various species of evidence, a sifting of testimony, an estimate of the relative value of witnesses, which are only possible to a penetrating, judicial mind, trained to this sort of investigation. None but assured results will be accepted as a basis for the proposed revision. The changes in the version which grow out of a correction in the text will be denoted on the margin. In a few instances these alterations will occasion surprise to the unlearned reader. The doxology with which the Lord's Prayer concludes in the Authorized Version, it is agreed, is no part of the original text of Matthew. It must be left out, or enclosed in brackets, with an appended explanation. In our judgment, it would be better to drop it altogether. Why not record the Lord's Prayer just as it came from the lips of Christ?

The various points to which the attention of the revisers must be directed have been fully illustrated in recent publications of Lightfoot, Trench, Ellicott, and of Dr. Schaff whose exertions to bring about a coöperation between transatlantic and American scholars have been alike praiseworthy and successful. In the catalogue of errors to be corrected belong some not unimportant misprints. Many of these have been removed from later editions of the English Bible. Archaisms have in some cases been mistaken for errors of type. But conspicuous instances of typographical error still remain. We are still compelled to read "strain *at* a gnat" for "strain *out*," in Matt. xxiii. 24, and "broidered hair" for "braided hair," in 1 Tim. ii. 9; although what is meant strictly by "broidered hair" must be a puzzle to all readers to whom it occurs to ask the question. Bad grammar, such as making "cherubims" the plural of "cherub," and "seraphims" the plural of "seraph;" the putting of "his" for "its"—as in Matt. v. 13, "if the salt hath lost his savor"—is another head under which are embraced not a few passages which require correction. In the category of direct mistranslations an extensive list of examples might be presented, many of which are set down in the publications referred to above. Of these, not a few injuriously affect the sense. For example, *εἶναι* (to be) is confounded with *γενέσθαι* (to become, or begin to be). In the prologue of John's Gospel, this confusion of terms appears; and so in John viii. 58, where we read "before Abraham was" instead of "before Abraham was born, or made." A marked example of a class of passages where two Greek words, having a different meaning, are represented by a single English word, is John x. 16: "And other sheep I have which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd." Here *αὐλή*, in the first clause, is correctly rendered "fold;" but *ποιμνῇ*, in the last clause, instead of being rendered "flock," as it should be, is rendered also "fold." In the room of the one flock in various folds, a beautiful conception, in which the breadth of the Saviour's benevolence is embodied, the passage is made to express a narrower idea. In this instance our translators were probably misguided by the Vulgate. Paul (Acts xxii. 22) opens his address on Mars' Hill by a reference to the devoutness of the Athenians, carried even to an excess, of which he saw the monuments about him. This apostle knew how to conciliate an audience as well as if he had conned Aristotle's Rhetoric. I perceive, he said, that "ye are very religious." Our version has it "too superstitious." Luther commits the same error;

"allzu abergläubig" is the phrase he uses. "Whom ye ignorantly worship" contains a reproach which is not conveyed by the original; "unknowingly" being the true sense of the Greek term, which has reference to the "unknown God," to whom the altar was dedicated. The same apostle is made to exhort us to avoid "all appearance of evil" (1 Thess. v. 22), whereas his injunction is to abstain from every form (*εἶδος*) of evil—all sorts of sin. Paul was much more earnest in opposing evil itself than the semblance of it.

The omission of the article where it requires to be translated is a frequent blemish in the Authorized Version. "One" and "many" are found in Romans v., where Adam is contrasted with Christ. "*The* one" and "*the* many" are required in order to give its proper force to the antithesis. In a considerable number of passages where the article gives definiteness, and, thus, descriptive force to terms, it is omitted; as in John xii. 13, where "they took branches of palm trees" is given instead of "they took the branches of the palm trees"—that is, the trees growing about them on the Mount of Olives. The omission of the article before *νόμος* (law) in Paul's discussion of the revealed law and the law of nature, or the innate law of conscience, in the Epistle to the Romans, and also in Galatians, confuses this distinction, and obscures his argument. But if the article is left out where it belongs, it is sometimes inserted without warrant; as in John iv. 27. The disciples wondered, not that he talked "with *the* woman," but with *a* woman—with any woman. The love of money is called, in our version of 1 Tim. vi. 10, "*the* root of all evil," where the apostle calls it "*a* root of all evil"—not the exclusive source of evil, which would not be true, but one of them. No qualified student needs to be told what an amount of inaccuracy is introduced into the Authorized Version from the inexact rendering of prepositions. The preposition *ἐν* (in) is very often translated "through," or "by;" the effect being to obliterate the specific conception which lies in the apostle's mind. Prepositions, which in the Greek are marked off from one another by precise distinctions of meaning, are confounded. A familiar illustration is the baptismal formula, in which *εἰς* (into) is rendered "in," as if it were *ἐν* in the Greek. The neglect of particles, the vague rendering of these little, but very often significant words, is a kindred blemish in the Authorized Version. It places a new difficulty in the way of comprehending the reasoning of Paul.

The want of discrimination in respect to the meaning of tenses is a prolific source of inaccuracy in our English Bible. The imperfect

is rendered as a perfect, or an aorist. The aorist, in its peculiar import, was not understood by the translators. Instead of making it denote events or facts in the past, they frequently make it signify that which is continuous, or is wont to be—which is never its meaning in the New Testament. Many passages are robbed of a portion of their vividness by this misconception. Judas does not say, "I have sinned," but "I sinned;" he does not say, "in that I have betrayed innocent blood," but "in that I betrayed," or "in betraying innocent blood." A striking illustration of this error is 2 Cor. v. 14: "If one died for all, then all were dead." It should be: "then all died." When He died, they died (potentially, ideally): this is the only sense, moreover, which the context justifies. In the last clause of Romans v. 12—a passage about which the tumult of theological warfare has resounded for centuries—"Death passed upon all *for that all have sinned*," the aorist is wrongly translated as a perfect. "For that all sinned" is the rendering absolutely required.

One of the singularities of the Authorized Version is the frequent translation of the same Greek word by different English words. This is done in the same verse, where no difference in the signification of the term is imaginable. An instance is Matt. xxv. 46: "*everlasting* punishment" and "life *eternal*," both the adjectives representing the same word, *αἰώνιος*. An ordinary reader would suppose that different words must here stand in the original text, and words varying somewhat in signification. Another example—one of many—is Matt. xxiii. 33: "Shouldest not thou also have had compassion on thy fellow-servant, even as I had pity on thee?" The verb rendered "compassion" in the one clause becomes "pity" in the other. The reasons which the translators, in their Preface, give for this procedure, are quite extraordinary. They "have not tied themselves," they say, "to a uniformity of phrasing." Uniformity in the rendering, even where the sense of the word was identical, they "thought to savor more of curiosity than of wisdom, and that rather it would breed scorn in the atheist than bring profit to the godly reader." They were afraid of affording aid and comfort to atheists! "We might also be charged by scoffers with some unequal dealing towards a great number of good English words." That is to say, those who preferred "compassion" to "pity" might be offended if the former term were exclusively chosen; and the same deplorable result might follow if "pity" were taken and "compassion" rejected. Thus we have in our English version a bilingual duplication analogous to the reduplication of words—"acknowl-

edge" and "confess," "cloak" and "conceal," "assemble" and "meet together," and the like—in the Prayer Book. In the Prayer Book the synonymous words stand together, the Norman term explaining the Saxon, and the Saxon the Norman, to those who were more familiar with one side of the language than with the other. It is hardly possible that such an accommodation to popular ignorance or to diverse tastes could have been demanded as late as the reign of James I. A writer in the London Quarterly Review for July, 1872, has attempted to reply to the observations of Dr. Lightfoot, and to defend this peculiarity of the Authorized Version, by a subtle argument founded on the diversity in the genius of the English language from the Greek. To escape monotony in English writing we must avoid, he thinks, a uniformity of terms which the Greek admitted without incurring this danger. His reasoning strikes us as more ingenious than solid. Unquestionably, in a majority of cases in which the translators have varied the rendering of a Greek word, where there is no real change in its meaning, they have sacrificed, to some extent, perspicuity and force. The repetition of the emphatic term is often required in English style, especially as a means of expressing the point of an antithesis.

At the same time, the authors of our version have fallen into an error of a directly opposite kind. They have taken, in various passages, the same English word to represent different Greek words, words of a diverse signification. In this way, distinctions of thought are occasionally obscured, if not effectually covered up. A signal illustration is in the rendering of the Greek words, Hades and Gehenna, by the single term "hell." Hades, which, like the Hebrew *Sheol*, denotes the underworld, the abode of the dead indiscriminately, is rendered "hell" in every passage, but one, where it occurs; and there it is rendered, with equal incorrectness, "the grave." Whether a needless apprehension that a notion of purgatory might creep in, by a perversion of the Biblical doctrine of the intermediate state influenced our translators, and Luther as well, whose version errs in the same point, we can not with certainty affirm. The word "hell," notwithstanding its occurrence (in the sense of Hades) in the English rendering of the Apostles' Creed, is generally understood as signifying the place of punishment in the future life for such as are condemned at the judgment. The term "Hades" itself might perhaps be introduced into the New Revision, for the corresponding Greek term. In this, or by some other method, the revisers are bound to remedy this important fault of the Authorized Version.

We have confined ourselves to a single example, but many others might be adduced. Not less than seventeen Greek verbs, each having its own shade of meaning, are represented by the single word "call." This is surely too heavy a burden to lay upon one little word.

To weed out archaisms will be a part of the business of the New Revision. "Carriages" no longer signifies baggage, although one sees trunks which in size approach the dimensions of a chariot. We no longer call our grandchildren or other descendants "nephews" (1 Tim. v. 4); nor do we term idols "devotions" (Acts xvii. 23); nor does "conversation" any longer signify the whole moral conduct or deportment. "Prevent," in the sense of anticipate, is common as late as Gibbon and writers contemporary with him; but in this meaning it is now obsolete. These are specimens from a pretty long catalogue of words and phrases which have either passed out of use, or have entirely changed their signification.

The New Revision will have to rectify the orthography of proper names. A uniform spelling, whether borrowed from the Greek or the Hebrew, must be adopted for the name of each person who is mentioned in the sacred volume. In the Authorized Version the Elijah of the Old Testament appears in the New as Elias; Isaiah is turned into Esaias, and then into Esay; Elisha, in a way quite perplexing to children, is transformed into Eliseus, Hosea into Osee, and Noah into Noe. Worst of all, "Jesus" is put for "Joshua," as the leader of ancient Israel, in Acts vii. 45. The river Euphrates is hardly recognized under the name "Phrat," and Judæa is awkwardly converted, in three places, into "Jewry."

The present division into chapters, which dates from the thirteenth century, and into verses, which dates from the sixteenth, is indispensable for the purpose of reference and quotation, and must be retained. Were it not for this necessity, it might be much improved. Not to multiply illustrations, let the reader turn to the third chapter of John's Gospel, and see how much would be gained by commencing the narrative of Nicodemus at the twenty-third verse of the preceding chapter. The last three verses of the second chapter are important to the understanding of the incident that follows. It is possible to cast the matter anew into paragraphs; and this will doubtless be done. Another change of vastly more consequence is happily quite practicable. The poetical parts of the Scriptures can be distinguished, in the manner of printing, from the prose. Snatches of verse, like the song of Lamech (Gen. iv.), and

the quotation from an old lyric, in Joshua, about the pausing of the sun and moon in their course, will appear in the poetical form. The prologue and the epilogue of Job—one of the worst translated books in the canon—will stand as prose in distinction from the body of the drama. The Psalms will be so printed, that the parallelism, the peculiar characteristic of Hebrew versification, will be manifest. Very much will be gained for the cause of sound interpretation when every reader shall be constantly aware whether he is reading poetry or prose. A multitude of sermons, not to speak of systems of theology, would be undermined by an attention on the part of their authors to the distinction of prose and poetry in Holy Writ. When the New Revision is completed, many people will find that they have been reading poetry all their lives without knowing it—the reverse of the case of M. Jourdain in the play of Molière.

In the foregoing remarks we have aimed at nothing more than to point out, and briefly illustrate, the main features of the proposed revision. For further details respecting the blemishes of the existing translation, and the rules which the companies have laid down for their guidance in making it better, we must refer to the interesting collection of essays, edited by Dr. Schaff, the title of which is given on the first page of this article. It is evident that no body of rules, however judicious they may be, can supersede the perpetual exercise of critical tact and literary taste on the part of the scholars who are intrusted with this work. Chart and compass are of little avail without the constant exertion of nautical skill by the navigator in whose hands they are placed. We reiterate the remark that most of the questions which the revisers have to determine are literary questions, with regard to which philological knowledge is indispensable, but is yet only one of the qualifications demanded for their satisfactory solution. We hope for, we anticipate, success in this great undertaking. Should it issue in a decided success, a boon will be conferred on all that portion of the race who read, and who are to read in the future, the Bible in the English tongue. Should it unhappily not succeed, it would be, considering the number and standing of the scholars who take an immediate part in it, and the time which it will consume, one of the most stupendous of literary failures.

ARTICLE VI.

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH.*

DORA D'ISTRIA.

SINCE the vain attempt made at the Council of Florence to reunite the two Churches which claim the Christian world between them, under the authority of Rome,† the Western Church has taken very little interest in the condition of the Eastern. Absorbed by internal struggles, by reforms, by the Thirty Years' War, in which Austria, representing the Papacy, disputed with Protestantism for the domination of Germany, and later by French revolution, which, in 1789, and again in 1830, attempted to bring about the triumph of the doctrine of the *libre examen* in political affairs, the Western Church troubled itself very little in regard to affairs in the East. The events, however, of which Constantinople and St. Petersburg were the theaters, had incontestable relations with the religious revolutions of Geneva and Paris. Cyrille Tonkaris, a Patriarch of Constantinople, who had formerly occupied the patriarchal seat of Athanasius the Great at Alexandria, made many enemies on account

* G. A. RHALLY AND M. POTTY: COLLECTION OF HOLY AND SACRED CANONS, COMPRISING THE CANONS OF THE HOLY AND ILLUSTRIOUS APOSTLES, THOSE OF THE IMPORTANT ECUMENICAL COUNCILS, AND THOSE OF A FEW OF THE FATHERS. ATHENS, 1852-55. 5 vols., large 8vo.

MGR. MACARIUS, RECTOR OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL ACADEMY, ST. PETERSBURG: INTRODUCTION TO ORTHODOX THEOLOGY.

HISTORY, DOGMAS, TRADITIONS, AND LITURGY OF THE EASTERN ARMENIAN CHURCH. BY AN ARMENIAN. PARIS AND LEIPSIK, 1856.

I. JAGARIN, OF THE ORDER OF JESUS: LA RUSSIE, SERA-T-ELLE CATHOLIQUE? PARIS, DONNOIL, 1856.

W. PALMER: DISSERTATIONS ON THE ORTHODOX COMMUNION. LONDON, 1853.

SCHLOSSER: DIE MORGENLANDISCHEN ORTHODOXE KIRCHE DER RUSSLAND (THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH OF RUSSIA). HEIDELBERG, 1845.

MARTINOFF, OF THE ORDER OF JESUS: PROJET DE LA SUPPRESSION DE L'EGLISE ROMAINE EN RUSSIE. PARIS, 1873.

† See *Le Décret d' Union*, page 90, in *La Russie, sera-t-elle Catholique?* by the Père I. Gagarin.

of his reformatory tendencies.* He paid with his head, in 1638, not the forfeit of his bold tenets, but of his opposition to the Order of Jesus, which had even at that time a very powerful influence in the councils of the *Padishah*.† In the following century, Peter the Great, who had seen the Gallic Church obedient to the decrees of Christian kings, the imitators of the Byzantine Cæsars, believed himself able, after having abolished the patriarchate, to turn all the prerogatives ‡ of the successors of Constantine, those “*évêques du dehors*” and imperial protectors of the Orthodox Church, to the advantage of the Czar. Peter, more fortunate than Cyrille, knew how to overcome all obstacles, and to-day, thanks to the hero of Pultowa, and to Catherine II., inheritors of the policy of Alexis, “the supremacy of the crown” (to use an English expression) is no longer contested in Russia except by the Dissenters.

The Western Church appears now more disposed than in the last century to examine into the condition of the Eastern with an impartial interest, and to reflect upon its destiny. Those most indifferent to dogmatic questions, see to-day how great is the influence of religious theories on the prosperity of nations. It has been shown that churches are not solely institutions more or less fitted to conduct believers to eternal life, but that they form also a system of education more or less advantageous to the political development of nations. An earnest study of Christian Churches establishes irresistible social tendencies, which claim the profound attention of even skeptics themselves. From a patriotic point of view, the subject appears to me no less important. Who will dare to affirm that the Roman Church, whose essential idea is absolute unity, guarantees the independence of nations with the same efficacy as that Reformed Church which has created Holland, and has done so much toward elevating the grandeur of the Anglo-Saxon race?

The Orthodox Church, then, considered as an instructor of peoples, and preserver of nations, undoubtedly merits a serious examination, since it has its particular mission, and strongly marked tendencies. While the Roman Church loyally avows its occasionally logical

* See the profession of faith, attributed to him in the beautiful work of I. Kimmell, which contains the *Monuments de l'Eglise Orientale*. Tena, 1850. The second part has been published by Weissenborn. Mgr. Macarius, in his *Introduction à la Théologie Orthodoxe*, part ii., § 3, p. 150, does not believe that this document was drawn up by Cyrille Tonkaris.

† I believe this to be proved in an essay entitled *Der Ellenische Klerus*, published in the *International Review of Vienna*.

‡ The Czar Alexis, after a long struggle against the Patriarch, finally obtained a large number.

sympathies for an unlimited monarchy;* while Protestantism naturally inclines to the democracy of Berne and of New York; our Church is, by its very origin, constrained to take an intermediary course, and to prepare the way in the Eastern part of Europe for the triumph of parliamentary rule.

If, in the eyes of Rome, the Pope is indeed the infallible organ of revelation; if, for the Protestants of Zurich and Berlin, the Bible contains the law of faith; so the Orthodox believer considers the Christian brotherhood, which discusses, deliberates, and votes in ecumenical synods, as capable of the only legitimate interpretation of the Word of God. What are modern conventions, with their president, their orators, and their balltong, but councils of laymen who deliberate upon temporal interests, even as the members of the clergy, convened at Nice and at Ephesus, regulated the affairs of the Church? This similarity is so slightly hypothetical that facts give it daily striking confirmation. According as Moldavia, Wallachia, Servia, and Greece have become constituted as free States, they have received a parliamentary government. If Russia is an exception to the rule, it is owing to a multiplicity of causes, the examination of which would lead me too far away from my subject. It will be sufficient to observe that autocracy is recent among the Russians,† and that the Mongolian invasion has introduced tendencies into their country in the highest degree foreign to those of the Slaves. But the Russian has one point in common with other Orthodox communities, in that it is always essentially national. In the prolonged struggle which the Russians have maintained with the Mongolians, the Church has always inspired and guided the most intrepid defenders of their country, even as she has sustained Armenia in her heroic resistance to the sectarians of Zoroaster. The Wallachian, Farkas, lieutenant of Michel-le-Brave, father of a family, and an ardent patriot, is the type of a Roumanian priest, who in time of need quitted the altar to aid in repulsing the warriors of Islam. It was a Greek prelate, the Archbishop Germanos, who in Peloponnesus (March, 1821) first raised the standard of independence. I was told by Prince Milotsch Obrehovitch that a priest fought with him against the Ottomans. The celebrated *Vladika* (bishop-prince) Peter II., the exploits of whose mountaineers

* See the Encyclical of Gregory XVI., which condemns *L'Avenir* (Aug. 15, 1832), and also the celebrated *Syllabus* of Pius IX.

† See Prince Pierre Dolgoroukoff, *Notice sur les Principales Familles de la Russie*. Berlin, Schneider.

I have heard him eloquently describe, by his energy and genius made himself the shield of Tsernagora (Montenegro).

We must not be surprised that in the minds of Eastern believers, the Church is identified with the country itself. In the Catholic West, where the clergy are necessarily obliged to fix their eyes upon the Vatican, it would be difficult to find an equally intimate union between the people and their spiritual chiefs. It is indispensable, however, to understand it as far as possible, in order to acquire even the most superficial knowledge of the character and history of Orthodox nations. For want of this comprehension, the most well-meaning writers invariably deceive themselves in regard to our essential moral interests, and in regard to our true tendencies. It does not here concern us to know whether our Church conforms exactly to the types traced in the gospel, nor whether it is a church in which this ideal type is realized. Whatever may be the response which is believed to be due to these questions, whose importance I do not wish to conceal, every impartial observer will concede that the Orthodox Church is universally popular in the countries where it prevails. Can the same be said of all churches?

But it will be asked, is not this popularity the result of universal ignorance, of which the example is set by the clergy themselves? In countries where the progress of all reforms is so difficult, where it is hard to find those representative men, of whom the West furnishes such numbers, is it not easy to maintain the dominion over intellect? Those who hasten to answer this question in the affirmative, expose themselves to more than one refutation. To cite but two examples, the Hellenes and the Roumanians, who represent in the East the ancient Greco-Latin civilization, are by no means strangers to the universal progress of ideas. Three States, the Kingdom of Greece and the two principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, though as yet thinly populated, have produced during the last half century a number of poets, historians, publicists, and orators. Neither have the clergy remained dormant, satisfied with obsolete traditions, as people are apt to believe. Few prelates have been as bold as the Patriarch Cyrille Tonkaris. The Archbishop Eugène Voulgaris, of an encyclopedic intellect, a philosopher, physician, and orator, distinguished himself at Mont Athos by the passionate love of science, the zeal, and the perseverance which mark all reformers. The successor of Voulgaris in the Archbishopric of Cherson, Nicéphore Théotokis, his contemporary and friend, trod resolutely in his footsteps. In our own day, the Ex-Patriarch of

Constantinople, Constantius, who was withdrawn in 1834 to the Prince Islands, won the esteem of all enlightened understandings, by his writings, his toleration, and his reformatory tendencies. The historian of *Christienisme en Russie* and of *L'Académie de Kiew*, Macarius, whose position in the Russian hierarchy is so exalted, has substituted rational controversies for the anathemas of the old school, while pursuing in the mean time, with great success, his researches in ecclesiastical history. The exegesis which had fallen into disuse has been revived in our time by the celebrated Archimandrite Theoclite Pharmakidis. J. Amphitheatroff, professor at the Academy of Kiew, has written works upon ecclesiastical literature with exceptional talent. Iconomos, a very active thinker, a theologian, philologist, critic, poet, and professor, has, in independent Greece, given great *éclat* to sacred eloquence. Innocent, Archbishop of Odessa, has acquired a wide reputation by his homilies; while in the holy city of the Russians, the austere Metropolitan Philarete, exegist and historian, has won deserved renown as an orator. The High-priest Kotchikoff has infused life into moral theology. The clergy of the entire Orthodox Church have warmly encouraged the efforts of M. Rhally for the restoration of the canonical law.* Doubtless much still remains to be done. But the spirit of life having once entered the body of that Church which has saved Christian civilization in the East, as is proved by M. André Pappadopolos-Kétos,† will never die out again, nor shrink from those reforms which circumstances may render necessary. To study the symptoms of this regeneration, to endeavor to get a glimpse of what promises fulfillment in the future, is the difficult but interesting task I have set myself to perform, not with the arrogant pretensions of a sectarian spirit, but with a truly Christian impartiality.

It cannot be asserted, in order to question the advantages to be derived from such a study, that the Orthodox Church is an insignificant little community. Does not this Church hold dominion over one-fourth part of the whole Christian world? Are not its rites celebrated in the monastery of Solowetsk, built upon an icy island of the White Sea, and also upon the burning shores of the Adriatic? Has it not had its adherents, since those of Mount Sinai, in the arid deserts of Arabia and on the steppes of Siberia? Is it not

* See Rhally, Collections, i., pages 397-403.

† M. Pappadopolos-Kétos, in his *Neo-Hellenic Literature* (Athens, 1854-57, 2 vols. 8vo), gives prominence to all those writers who have written in Greek, ancient or modern, from the fall of Constantinople to the establishment of the Kingdom of Greece.

regarded as an oracle under the glowing skies of Armenia as well as among the eternal snows of Kamtschatka?

There are indications which show that the public press now comprehends the necessity of chronicling what occurs within the pale of this Church. The majority of the prominent journals endeavor to keep their readers informed of the divers incidents of the struggle of the Bulgarians against the authority of the Ecumenical Patriarch, although manifesting too often that their ideas of the Orthodox hierarchy are very imperfect. Important publications have appeared on this subject. Among them are the works of Messrs. Palmer, Neale, Baader, Schlosser, Blackmore, Kimmel, Weissenborn, etc.* Judicious minds no longer regard the illusions† of Roman theologians as their rule of faith. Such assertions as that of Père Gagarin, that "the Eastern Church is like a branch, which, separated from the trunk, rots like dry wood,"‡ will cause a smile when we remember the prophecies of heirs who predict the speedy death of those they are too eager to succeed. Moreover, the Order of Jesus itself is far from having retained the sanguine expectations of 1856, and Père Martinoff is as much discouraged as Père Gagarin is full of hope. §

The Eastern Church encloses within its pale at least seventy millions of souls. The Papacy has, I acknowledge, one hundred and fifty millions of sectarians; but—and this observation is essential—the majority belong to her only nominally. In countries which have submitted to the influences of the ideas of the eighteenth century—in France, in Belgium, in Bavaria—the cultivated classes do not acknowledge the infallibility of the Pope, nor the rules and decrees of the Index, with the excommunications it sanctions, and take only a very indifferent part in the ceremonies of public worship. The

* The English especially have taken a great interest in the condition of the Eastern Church. I need only cite *The Harmony of the Anglican Doctrine with the Doctrine of the Eastern Catholic and Apostolic Church*, by R. W. Blackmore, 1846; *A Sketch of the Greek Church*, London, 1851, edited anonymously; *The History of the Holy Eastern Church*, by Neale, 1850; the translation of *The Summary of the Christian Doctrine of Plato*, by Dr. Pinkerton. The Dissenting sects have also been the object of important works, such as *The Nestorians and their Ritual*, by G. Percy Badger; *The Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes*, by Asahel Grant.

† A single sentence will give a sufficient idea of these illusions: "Protestantism is a thing of yesterday, and it will pass away to-morrow!"—*La Russie, sera-t-elle Catholique?* by Père Gagarin, page 75.

‡ Gagarin, *La Russie*, etc., page 32.

§ According to Père Martinoff, Russia desires to make the Czar "the Emperor of the World," announced by Fourier. She seeks to constrain nationalities to submit to Pan-sclavism, and to the entire Schism of the Universe.

direction of the intellect no longer belongs to the clergy, but to a philosophy more or less rational. It is different in the East. With very rare exceptions, the Orthodox Church, which has very carefully refrained from mingling political theories with its dogmas, addresses itself to intellects submissive to the authority of the Christian law, and which contemporary skepticism has not yet affected. Furthermore, the countries of the East are necessarily destined to see their populations doubled. It has been calculated that Russia will contain a hundred million of souls at the end of the century. Turkey in Europe, where Christians are in a great majority, Greece, and Roumania, have territories sufficiently extensive to nourish a population three times as great as they now possess. This is not the case with those Western States depending on the Roman Patriarch. France, Italy, Belgium, Ireland, and Bavaria maintain with great difficulty the equilibrium between their productions and their consumption. If the Spanish-American colonies appear at first sight in a more favorable condition, the futile struggles in which they consume their forces prevent them from profiting by the resources of a very extensive territory, and from escaping the victorious ascendancy of Anglo-Saxon Protestantism, which has already deprived them of Texas, California, and New Mexico. The victories of Palo Alto, of Buena Vista, of Cerro Gordo, of Contreras, of Chapultepec, and of Molino del Rey sufficiently show that the Catholic democracy of America will encounter great difficulties in maintaining its position.

The Roman Church, led to believe herself at the dawn of a glorious restoration,* from the concessions snatched from a few Governments, has never before been threatened with so many perils. In the West of Europe, in the East, and in the North of Asia, the Orthodox Church constitutes an invincible obstacle to propagandism. The progress of the Eastern Church in Siberia has been doubted, I know. Père Gagarin, however, better informed, has been unable to deny it. He renders "homage to that which has been done, to the good-will, the indomitable energy, and the courageous perseverance of the missionaries."† In the North of Europe and America the Anglo-Saxons increase daily in numbers and power. They introduce their language, their habits, their laws, and their religious ideas among the people of the New World and Oceanica, with so much ease, that Prevost-Paradol, the late French Minister to the United States, believed that English would eventually become the universal

* The Concordat of Francis Joseph and the religious policy of Napoleon III. attest this.

† *La Russie, sera-t-elle Catholique?* page 24.

language.* There is among them an entire class of thinkers, who, struck with the analogy existing between the Anglican hierarchy and the Orthodox Church, incline to approximate to the Orientals on the grounds of dogma,† although this tendency does not appear destined to become general.

The Roman Church expected, it is true, to derive great advantage from the decadence of Islamism. The Count de Maistre announced at the beginning of the century that "Catholicism would soon celebrate mass in St. Sophia's." But we now know how far oracles are to be depended upon, as also the Ultramontanism‡ of the author of *Soirées de Saint Petersbourg*. The pilgrimage predicted by this prophet may have been retarded by certain obstacles, which I would like to point out to his admirers.

The first is the gigantic development of the Empire of the Czars which occasions such trepidation on the part of Père Martinoff for the welfare of his Church. The double defeat of Napoleon in 1814, and again in 1815, singularly augmented the importance of the Empire, which profited adroitly by the fantastic policy of the Bonapartes. The Russians, in 1831, broke the sword of Slavonic Catholicism in the hands of Poland. The Emperor Nicholas alone, took away with him from the Church of Rome three millions of the faithful.§ I know that the Papacy has reproached this sovereign with having made use of violent measures. Unhappily, Catholic princes had given him the examples of this mode of operation.|| It is assuredly not by pacific means that the Slaves of Bohemia and the Magyars of Hungary were retained by Austria within the pale of the Roman Catholic Church.¶ The enthusiasm which is still awakened among the Tchèques by the name of John Huss, the evangelical martyr of Constance, sufficiently proves the real tendencies of the Western Slaves. Many other facts of this kind might be quoted. Even admitting that the agents of Nicholas did employ the means by which absolute monarchies habitually accomplish their projects, it would

* See Prevost-Paradol, *La France Nouvelle*.

† See, among other Puseyite publications, W. Palmer's *Dissertations on the Orthodox Communion*, London, 1853.

‡ The *Mémoires Politique* and the *Correspondance Diplomatique* revealed to us a Joseph de Maistre, till then carefully hid in obscurity. It was thus that M. Cousin made known the true Pascal.

§ The movement was continued so well under Alexander II., that the Pope, in his broils with Russian diplomacy, was even deserted by the ambassador.

|| He who is served by the sword, perishes by the sword. This great evangelical truth, too little known, is daily verified.

¶ See Alfred Michiel's *Histoire Secrète du Gouvernement Autrichien*, Paris, 1859.

not be possible in general terms to attribute to the Czars a like propaganda to that which established the domination of the Church of Rome in South America and Mexico. M. Saint René Laillandier, in his remarkable articles on Siberia, published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, extols the moderation of the Russian missionaries. I do not think, therefore, that we should be ready to attribute the serious losses the Papacy has sustained in Russia to the interposition of violence. The Slaves, like the Germanic races (the Germans, Scandinavians, and Anglo-Saxons), have an instinctive antipathy to the supremacy of Rome. The most furious persecutions have been powerless to make the Cossacks embrace the Roman faith. They succeeded, probably, in arousing repugnances, which are only smothered for the present, the better to entice away from the Pope those *Uniates* upon whom he places great reliance. Krasinski, a Polish writer, who in 1851 wrote in English *A Sketch of the Religious History of the Slavonian Nations*, proves that it has only been possible to enlist these Uniates (also called "United Greeks") into the Roman Catholic ranks, by using political rather than religious measures. The Jesuits of Wilna wrote to one of their agents, Michel Rahoza, a Lithuanian gentleman, as follows :

"You are to hold the clergy in subjection by the following means: Do not appoint important men to any vacant office, but appoint instead, poor men and those who are entirely dependent upon you. Depose and deprive of their benefices under whatever pretext you will, all those who are in opposition to you, or who are disobedient to your commands, and transfer their benefices and their revenues to individuals on whom you may rely. . . . As regards the laity, you have thus far displayed great prudence in their management; continue to use the utmost precaution, to the end that they may have no reasons to suspect your plans and intentions. . . . In order to keep up appearances, discussions and controversies with the Western Church must not be neglected, and like means must be employed, to conceal all traces of your undertaking, and to blind the eyes of the nobility as well as those of the common people. . . . The word *Union* is absolutely proscribed; it will not be difficult to substitute another term which will be more acceptable to the people. Those who have the charge of elephants avoid wearing red garments."

These tactics, which it is needless to characterize, are carried out so faithfully even at the present day, that I have more than once known these Uniates to become very indignant when I refused to consider them as members of the Orthodox Church. But on the day when three millions and a half of Christians, who have been subjected in Austria to the influence of such illusions, become aware of their situation, does any one believe that they will not be tempted to imitate the Uniates of Russia? To doubt it, argues but a slight acquaintance with the Slavonic tendencies!

The Slaves undoubtedly do not possess the same cause as the Germans for bitterness toward Rome.* The Papacy does not present itself to them as a continuation of the despotism of Cæsar (*pontifex maximus*). But if the name of the city of Romulus does not recall to the Slaves, as to the Germans, ancient political struggles, neither does it exercise over them the influence of prestige. Moreover, the idea of religion is with them so thoroughly identified with that of patriotism, that all theories which sacrifice the nation to the requirements of universal unity, to them incompatible with the nature of humanity,† are alike repugnant to their minds and hearts.

This feeling is as equally decided among the Southern Slaves as among the subjects of the Czar. The Servians of the principality, and those who still remain subject to the Sultan, are, if we except the inhabitants of Turkish Croatia, strongly attached to the Orthodox Church. The Servian nation is now daily recuperating from the disaster of Kossovo (1389). The terrible Murad I. is no longer on the throne of Stamboul to maintain his belligerent race. At Belgrade, as in the mountains of Tsernagora, the missionaries of the Papacy encounter a people animated with a spirit of independence wholly irreconcilable with the pretensions of the Vatican. The efforts of the Jesuits to establish themselves in Servia have been defeated by the unanimous resistance of the senators. Had the family of Milosch Obrenovitch, who ruled the destinies of the country, been only as prudent as Alexander I., Nicholas, and Alexander II., who prohibited the entrance of the sons of Loyola into Russia, Servia would then have been able to defend energetically her religious liberties, when this dynasty became afterward oblivious of its duties. If the Servians had all remained subject to Turkey, the agents of the Papacy would have found less resistance. The Turkish policy, pleased with its rôle of "gendarme" among Christian communities,‡ would like nothing better than to see Servia, Greece, and Bulgaria divided in the same way as Albania or Bosnia,§ and the partisans of the rival Churches engaged in a bloody war, which

* A bitterness which exercises so great an influence over the Empire of Germany, whose resurrection is of such ill omen for the Roman Church in Central Europe.

† This incompatibility is so striking that a Frenchman, an Irishman, a Tchèque, or a German comprehends and practices Catholicism in an entirely different manner from an Italian or a South American. There is an abyss between the devotion of an inhabitant of Brussels or of Munich, and that of a Neapolitan or of a Mexican.

‡ The partisans of the Turkish Empire say that she is the gendarme, who prevents the Christians from devouring each other.

§ A Servian province remaining under the Turkish domination, and divided into three sects: Islamism, the Orthodox Church, and the Roman Church.

would serve the cause of Islamism most powerfully. But the Serbians of the principality seem by no means disposed to give the Turks this satisfaction.

The *renaissance* of the Hellenic nationality is a no less serious obstacle to the Papal projects. The Austrian De Metternich, who personified Roman Catholicism in the East, warned by a secret instinct, worked constantly, we know, in behalf of the Turks during the glorious war for independence. Before this war, he had delivered up the liberator Rhigas to the Turkish executioners.* In recovering her autonomy, Greece has experienced a return of all her former hostility toward Rome. We know the power of this antipathy, which France sometimes failed to consider. Jesuits and Lazarists repeated so incessantly to the Greeks, especially since the Second Empire,† that France desired the triumph of an authority in the East which was at the same time so supremely antagonistic to her, that they finally ended by implanting in this intelligent and discriminating people really invincible prejudices against a nation which inspires so little loyalty in Jesuitism that she has not given one leader to the order founded by Ignatius Loyola. France, consequently, became suspicious to the Hellenes when represented as a devoted ally of the Popes. This fact alone proves the power of ancient repugnances, which centuries even have been unable to weaken. If the Papacy had not represented the protection of France, the gates of Athens would have been opened to it. If the protection is as real as they affirm who are interested in propagating this idea, it could have no other result than to incline Greece to the side of powers which better appreciate the legitimacy of its antipathies. The Hellenes will never consent to be balanced between a Government which serves as the prop to the Order of Jesus and one which holds it in respect!

That toleration, so vaunted by the Romans, does not by any means dispose them to submit to the spiritual autocracy of the Popes, which has been accepted by other Novo-Latin nations. They doubtless permitted the Roman Catholics to build churches on their territories at a period when these latter were still erecting scaffolds for those they were pleased to call *schismatics*. Since the Reformation my ancestors‡ have treated the Protestants with no less con-

* See Gervinus, *Histoire du XIX Siècle depuis les Traités de Vienne* (in German).

† M. Thiers himself, notwithstanding his opposition to the blind policy of Napoleon III., appointed as ambassador to Constantinople a diplomat of the clerical persuasion, who invariably disposed the interior relations of France according to his own ideas of propriety.

‡ The writer of this article is a Roumanian princess, niece of a former king.—ED.

sideration.* In Wallachia, the *Domnu* (prince) Gregory II. Ghika, by the golden bull or chrysobull of 1752, gave them the most absolute freedom of worship. Matthiew II. Ghika, his son, confirmed this decree, notwithstanding the opposition of the boyars or nobles.† In spite of this toleration, the Roumanians are justly proud of having alone among their brother nations preserved their religious independence. The inhabitants of Roumania watch with a lively interest all that occurs in the West among the Papists. Now this observation, far from disposing them to favor that religious centralization, as it is understood by the Latin nations, plainly justifies, in their eyes, the repugnance inspired in their ancestors by the Court of Rome. The exclusive tendencies of the contemporaneous Papacy appear to them absolutely irreconcilable with their own Constitution, which recognizes the freedom of worship and of the press, and which has for its basis that parliamentary régime so condemned by the *Syllabus*.

Such being the case, we understand why journals devoted to Ultramontanism should generally declare themselves in opposition to the Christian nationalities of the East. Their policy, which has appeared so extraordinary, is explained by the necessities of their position. The absolute domination of Islam was in reality much less unfavorable to the interests of the Papacy than the regeneration of a people as jealous of their political liberties as of their religious independence. To mention only one instance, the Jesuits have not forgotten that several times—for example, under Mihne II., the Apostate—the Sultan permitted them to enter Wallachia, and that their projects in regard to that province were formerly favored by Turkey.

The prophets, therefore, who in 1820 predicted the imminent ruin of the Photian Churches,‡ should renounce all pretensions to infallibility. They appear to have understood this themselves, for they have recommenced against the Eastern Church that shower of invectives they seem to affect. Corrupted, ignorant, and servile, they say, this schismatic Church—this Church extolled by the Catholic

* The proofs will be found in my *Albanesi in Roumania*, a history of the Princes Ghika in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, copied from the European archives. Florence, 1873.

† See Kogalnitichano, *Histoire de la Dacie*, etc., page 456.

‡ Joseph de Maistre has attempted in vain to popularize this impression. It does not call for much science to know that the organization of the Christian into independent Patriarchates is anterior to Photius, whose mission was limited to the defense of this organization, with the aid of the resources of his vast erudition.

philosopher, Baader,* is incapable of resisting the science of our controvertists, and the disgust inspired by its strict dependence on temporal power, in all souls who have preserved any Christian sentiment whatever.†

Let us examine what foundation there is for these cutting assertions.

The Russian Church, which is the most considerable portion of the Orthodox community, is the most exposed to these philippics. Does it really deserve the accusations of the Roman apologists? Those who have studied the Roman clergy in Southern Europe and in South America,‡ think that the Russian clergy merit more indulgent treatment. Père I. Gagarin, of the Order of Jesus, appears to have appreciated this.

"The Russian clergy," he says, "are not known: I do not wish to imply that they are perfect, or that they are irreproachable; but I maintain that they are calumniated, and that they are more cultivated and more moral than they have the credit of being. . . . It cannot be denied that they have, in our day, made remarkable progress in sacred and scientific erudition. We can have an idea of the degree of instruction attained, by the works they have published of late years, and which testify to a sensible amelioration in ecclesiastical studies."§

It appears, therefore, that the Russian theologians, in spite of the unmerited reputation of ignorance,|| which they have unjustly acquired in the West, are capable of opposing the pretensions of the Court of Rome with arguments worthy of consideration; and that they are not obliged, like the French clergy, to borrow the pen of the laity for the defense of dogmas they have sworn to protect.

"You consider us guilty of an error," say the Russian doctors, "in according too extended privileges to the Orthodox Emperor. But did not Athanasius the Great, and the Holy Fathers of the fourth century, make equally as considerable conces-

* In the *Catholicisme d'Orient et d'Occident*. M. Rougemont, a Swiss writer, translated this work into French. Neuchatel, 1843.

† Madame Swetchine, a Russian writer, several of whose works have been published since her death, is united to the adversaries of the Orthodox Church. She made use of the vehicle of the Catholic propaganda to attain that publicity which transformed her into a writer of the first rank.

‡ No one will forget the articles on South America published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, by MM. Max Radiguet and Gabriel Ferry.

§ I. Gagarin, *La Russie, sera-t-elle Catholique?* pages 44-48.

|| It will be sufficient to mention Mgr. Macarius, Bishop of Krinitza; Mgr. Philarete, Metropolitan of Moscow; the Archimandrite Hyacinthe Karpinski; Sylvestre Lebedinski; Theophane Prokopovitch; Mgr. Irénée Falkovsky; Ivaonnice Goliatovsky; Mgr. Theophylacte; Adam Zernikaw; Mgr. Platon; Mgr. Theokliste; Mgr. Innocent, etc.

sions to St. Constantine? * This name of "eveque du dehors" is in itself sufficiently significant.† The history of his reign, from his conversion, sufficiently proves that he did not regard this name as a vain title only. When Arianism divided Christian civilization into two hostile camps, he took all possible measures to establish religious unity. 'Quickly organizing his forces,' says Eusebius, 'like a divine phalanx against an invisible enemy, he invited, by letters full of insinuating flattery, all bishops to present themselves as soon as possible at the Council of Nice. . . . The summons of the Emperor having been carried into all the provinces, all the bishops responded to it with the greatest celerity.'‡ The pontiffs convened at Nice, themselves give authenticity to the imperial intervention, in a letter addressed to the bishops of Egypt. 'The great and holy Council of Nice,' say they, 'having been assembled by the grace of God and of the most holy Emperor Constantine, who has summoned us to come from different provinces and different cities.' §

"The council once convoked, it had for its president the Emperor himself, as is attested by Eusebius, who was appointed to address Constantine on his entrance into the audience chamber. || When the Fathers had condemned Arius, their decrees were confirmed and sanctioned by the 'eveque du dehors.' ¶

"The five councils which followed were also convoked by the Byzantine Cæsars; the First Council of Constantinople, by Theodosius the Great; the Council of Ephesus by Theodosius the Young; the Council of Chalcedonia, by Marcien; and the Second Council of Constantinople by Constantine III. Pogonat.**

"Take, if you will, the acts of these synods of Ephesus and of Chalcedonia, which you as well as we consider infallible, and compare the expressions of the Fathers, who were there assembled, with the contempt you feel at the mighty influence of civil power. The letters of the Emperors are here called 'holy letters;' they speak of their 'sacred' ordinances, and of their 'divine oracles,' the 'most divine laws of divine emperors;' they did not hesitate in the least to give to Cæsar such titles as 'pontiff,' and 'the most divine.' After this it will not do to declaim against the servility of the Photian Churches. Did Photius, whom M. G. A. Rhally (a very competent judge) loads with eulogies, †† speak otherwise ‡‡ of the authority of the Emperors in ecclesiastical matters, than did the pious bishops who met at Ephesus and Chalcedonia, those prelates who, in your opinion, are the actual mediums of the Holy Spirit?

"Observe that we are not dealing now with a period of decadence like the fifteenth century—the century of John XXIII. and of Alexander VI.; but with the

* The Eastern Church celebrates the festivals of Constantine and his mother Helen on the 21st of May.

† See Eusebius, *Vie de Constantin*, book ii., chs. 71 and 72.

‡ Eusebius, *Vie de Constantin*, book iii., ch. 6.

§ Hardouin, *Conciles*, i., iv. 39.

|| Eusebius, *Vie de Constantin*, book iii., ch. 11.

¶ Eusebius, *Vie de Constantin*, book iii., ch. 27.

** The work of MM. Rhally and Potty contains many very important documents on the Ecumenical Synods; treatises upon these Synods by the Patriarch Photius, and Nilus, the Metropolitan of Rhodes (vol. i.); and the Canons of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, with the Commentaries of Zonaras, Balsamon, and Aristène (vols. ii. and iii.).

†† See the Preface by MM. Rhally and Potty.

‡‡ The famous *Notocanon* of Photius will be found in Rhally and Potty, vol. i., pages 5 and 335.

epoch of Athanasius, of Cyrille, of Gregory of Nazianzen, of Basil the Great, of Chrysostom, etc. By what right have you abandoned these traditions of the ancient Church, which were so determined to 'render unto Cæsar those things which were Cæsar's'? Can it be possible that the Bishops of Rome, who have humbled so many emperors in the dust, should be the veritable successors of those pastors who were so submissive to the voices of Constantine and Theodosius? Why has the 'eveque du dehors,' the Christian Cæsar, the legitimate protector of the Church and its canons, become to you only an object of hate or of derision? Why have you subverted the order established by Jesus Christ and by his apostles, in denying the sacred prerogatives of a tutelary power? Do you dare to call servility that pious obedience of which your fathers in the faith have set you the example? If so, why do you not tear down the images of St. Athanasius and his imitators? You, who talk to the Protestants without cessation of reverence for antiquity, why do you prefer the eleventh century—'a century of iron'—to the beautiful days of the primitive Church, and Gregory VII. to the pontiffs of the General Council of Nice, who were still tinged with the halo of martyrdom? If the Reformers of the sixteenth century were blasphemers and rebels, what name must be given to you? They resisted the Pope, but have not you resisted Jesus Christ, forgetting that even He recognized the authority of a Tiberius? The Zwingles, the Luthers, the Calvins ignored their oaths of allegiance to the Patriarch of Rome, but how many times have you broken the vows pledged to the power which comes of God, and which there is no resisting without meriting everlasting death!*

"The truth of these doctrines is so evident, that they have been adopted by the most important portions of our Church, and that of the Protestants.

"'When the Christian religion,' says the Catholic author of *L'Histoire du Droit Byzantin*, 'became, under Constantine, the religion of the Roman Empire, civil and religious rights remained undivided and incorporated; since ecclesiastical decrees were not obligatory, except by the legal sanction they received from the Emperor. . . . Justinian added the force of the law to the decrees of the four ecumenical councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedonia, etc.† Was it not the same under the Most Christian Kings? Did not Louis XIV. break the illegitimate decrees of the Popes, in order to substitute for them the ordinances of the Council of 1682, which were faithful to the traditions of the Holy Fathers? Is the Gallic Church, which was subject to the 'eveque du dehors' in the time of Gerson, as well as in the century of Bossuet, actually inferior to the Churches of Italy and Spain? Was not the period of its greatest dependence on royal power, the century of its glory, the age of Descartes and of Pascal? While those countries who denied the salutary doctrines of antiquity were rapidly precipitating themselves toward decadence, ancient Gaul grew in power and enlightenment under the glorious scepter of the descendants of Hugh Capet.

"One of the greatest sovereigns of Catholic Austria, Joseph II., in like manner, believed that the safety of his estates obliged him to maintain the independence of civil authority.

"The Protestant Churches have been obliged to recognize the rectitude of our principles on this point. In listening to the judiciaries of Great Britain, do you not seem to hear the echo of our canonists? *The ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown*

* St. Paul, Epistle to the Romans.

† Morteuil, *Histoire du Droit Byzantin*, vol. i., 187.

is the basis of the Anglican Church, and legislation has for a long time rigorously carried out the consequences of this principle.

“ ‘All persons in possession of a civil or military charge, which implies responsibility; all persons authorized to perform the ceremonies of public worship, and those who are qualified to give instruction in colleges; all professors, ministers, doctors, or school-masters; all high constables, or legislators, are required to promise, by oath or by solemn declaration, their allegiance to the crown, and to acknowledge its supremacy in ecclesiastical matters.’ *

“Perhaps you will be displeased to hear the Protestants quoted, whom you can not anathematize too severely.† The revolutionists, however, of the sixteenth century, in refusing to obey the decrees of the ecumenical councils, only followed your example after all. In fact, you have not even had the hardihood to defend the most important dogmas ‡ proclaimed by these councils. Notwithstanding the formal prohibition made by the Ecumenical Synod of Ephesus against altering in any way whatever the creed of Nice and Constantinople, you have unlawfully added to it a commentary, although not contrary to the word of God, the *Filioque*. In vain do you affirm that this addition is a simple explanation. Our theologians, Adam Gerunkaw, § Theophane Prokopovitch, || A. Tichomiroff, ¶ Eugene Voulgaris, ** etc., together with Baader, †† the Catholic professor of Munich, have proved you unauthorized. If you had understood the Fathers, †† you would never have been guilty of such rashness. The Pope Leon III., to whom the addition of the *Filioque* was proposed, wisely replied: ‘It is not thus that the Fathers have ordained; they did not say that to make an insertion in the creed was permitted to one orthodox believer, and forbidden to another, but that it was prohibited altogether.’ §§

“You have no more regarded the constitution of the Church than have the Orthodox dogmas. The sixth decree of the first ecumenical synod held at Nice, is worded thus: ‘That the *ancient rites* in use in Egypt, Syria, and Pentapolis be preserved, and that the Bishop of Alexandria shall exercise authority over all . . . remembering that this is also the prerogative of the Bishop of Rome. . . . That the privileges of the Church be in like manner preserved, at Antioch and elsewhere.’ |||

* Act of Settlement. See Stephens’ Commentaries, vol. iii.

† See Nicholas, *Du Protestantism*.

‡ The Eastern theologians have exaggerated the importance of metaphysical discussions. What is of real importance is the dispute between the absolute monarchy and the aristocratic parliamentary system, or the government of the Church.

§ *De Processione Spiritus Sancti a Solo Patre*.

| *Théologie*, vol. iv., book 3.

¶ In the *Essais des Etudiants de l’Académie de Kieff*.

** Archbishop Voulgaris has translated into Greek the work of Adam Zernikaw, and has accompanied it with explanations.

†† *Le Catholicisme d’Orient et d’Occident*.

†† The Russian theologians have selected nearly a thousand texts in favor of their thesis. See Theoph. Prokopovitch, *Théol.*, vol. i., 942.

§§ Mgr. Macarius shows very clearly the importance of this passage taken from the *Vita Leonis* by Anastasius the Librarian.

|| See Rhally and Potty, vol. ii., p. 128, Canons of the First Synod of Nice.

Could it be possible to establish in a clearer manner the equality and the perfect independence of the bishops of the principal cities of the Empire?

"The Second Ecumenical Council held at Constantinople ordains in its third decree that the Bishop of Constantinople should have *the prerogative of honor*,* after the bishops of Rome.†

"The Synod of Chalcedonia, the fourth ecumenical council, explains in its twenty-eighth decree, that these privileges accorded to the episcopal sees do not come from Jesus Christ, and that they are simple concessions, powerless to subject the bishops of the Christian world to any despotic authority.

"'In following throughout,' says the council, 'the ordinances of the Holy Fathers, and in recognition of the decree we have just read, a decree emanating from a hundred and fifty bishops beloved of God, assembled in council in the times of Theodosius of pious memory, in the imperial city of Constantinople, the new Rome; we hereby resolve and ordain, in like manner, the prerogatives of the most holy Church of this city of Constantinople, the New Rome. For thus have the Holy Fathers, according to custom, given such prerogatives to the see of ancient Rome, as are due to an imperial city.'‡ Guided by the same motives, the said one hundred and fifty bishops have accorded the same prerogatives to the most holy see of the New Rome."§

Such, in substance, is the argumentation of Russian theologians. It does not deal with the question whether their theories are founded upon the gospel, which, considering Cæsar as the personification of civil power, assigns him no *rôle* whatever in the command of conscience. But when it is pretended that the Church of Rome is the exclusive repository of the traditions of the fourth century, these arguments have an historical importance of undeniable value.

The Byzantine system, which still partially prevails in Russia, although very ancient, is far from being a model for the Orthodox Church, considered as a whole. Circumstances, and the progress of ideas, have subjected and will continue to subject this system to such modifications as will render difficult any resistance to the opposition it encounters in the East. Marked differences exist

* "A prerogative of honor," say the Orientals, "has never had a priority."

† Rhally and Potty, vol. ii., p. 173, Canons of the Synod of Constantinople, the Second Ecumenical Synod.

‡ These prerogatives could have proceeded from no other cause; and not, as has been said, from the episcopate of St. Peter at Rome; for the most learned critics of the West have doubted whether he ever came to that city. This point has been made perfectly clear by Sanmaistre, Frederick Spanheim, Bower, Eichhorn, Archinard, Baur, Mayerhoff, Winer, De Witte, Neander, Rettberg, and Schwegler. We understand also that the Père Pinel, in his work *De Sommi Pontificis Primatu*, and Ellendorf, in *Ist Petrus in Rome, und Bischof der Römischen Kirche gewesen?* while affirming that St. Peter may have died at Rome, both agree, although Roman Catholics, that he never fulfilled the functions of a bishop in the Eternal City. The whole Roman system rests therefore upon the point of a needle.

§ See Rhally and Potty, vol. ii., p. 280, Canons of the Synod of Chalcedonia, Fourth Ecumenical Council. It must not be forgotten that these Canons are accompanied in the work mentioned with commentaries by the canonists.

between the *Nomocanon* of Photius and the law of the 9th of July, 1852, which constitutes the Holy Synod of the Hellenic Church. We find recorded in the five volumes of MM. Rhally and Potty, movements which attest the transformations the Greek Church has undergone during the long interval of time that elapsed between Michel III. (842–867) and King Otho; that is to say, we here witness in succession the greatest splendor of the Byzantine system, its decadence, and its final disappearance from among the most active Orthodox communities.

While admitting that this system, which in a measure still exists in Russia, merits the accusation of having overstepped the limits of civil power,* we must not fail to recognize the fact that it has been replaced in a majority of Orthodox Churches by a system of organization more in accord with that in operation among the Christians before the conversion of St. Constantine. This memorable revolution, of which all the consequences can not yet be calculated, has considerably diminished the privileges of civil power, and tends also to modify profoundly the position of the patriarchs of the Orthodox Church.

When the Byzantine autocracy succumbed, the spiritual and temporal authority of the Ecumenical Patriarch first began to develop. It might have been imagined at one time that the Patriarch of Constantinople had almost the same opportunity for elevating the importance of his see as the Pope, who derived so much advantage from the ruin of the Cæsars in the East.

Mahomet II., who knew that the persecutions of the Roman Catholics had exasperated the Orthodox believers,† took care to imitate the Occidentals. Hardly was he established master of Constantinople, before he deputed the patriarchal scholar Gheunadios to organize a synod. This synod, presided over by the patriarch, is composed of twelve metropolitans. In the absence of the patriarchs, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who now resides at Constantinople, takes part in its deliberations.‡ The patriarch cannot decide upon any

* In any case, it would be as ridiculous to give the name, as some journalists do, of "Greek Pope" to the Emperor of Russia, as to call Louis XIV. a "Gallic Pope." No Emperor of Russia ever has pretended to deliver infallible oracles.

† The Greeks were above all disgusted by the attempts which were made to inspire a dislike in them for civil authority. Boniface VIII. had said in his bull *Unam Sanctam*, "All the faithful are ordered to believe under pain of the loss of salvation that temporal power is subject to the Pope," etc. See *Lettre de M. le Dr. de Chevireff* (with notes by Baader on this letter).

‡ Five deposed Patriarchs of Constantinople have signed the synodical *Tomos* of the Patriarch Anthime. See Rhally and Potty, vol. v., p. 185.

important matter,* neither can he appoint any bishop, without the sanction of the synod. When the patriarchal chair is vacant, to the synod alone is reserved the right of choosing a new occupant, who may also be deposed at its command. Besides the guarantees relating to the maintenance of the Orthodox religion, the conqueror of Byzantium confided to the patriarch the control of a certain class of civil affairs, a prerogative which gave him a very important part in temporal government.

"Such were the privileges of the Patriarchs of Constantinople," says a Hellenic scholar. . . . "They were from their origin the supporters and the rallying center of the Greek nation, bent as it was under the yoke of so many different masters. That which Mahomet II. was led to perform for the interests of the Ottoman domination only, became the cause of the continued existence of the Greek people, and prevented their dissolution into heterogeneous races."†

Although the successors of Mahomet II. did not remain faithful to his skillful and moderate policy, and although they often left it to their viziers to quiet the discords which occasionally arose in the Holy Synod, and to persuade its members to demand the removal of an obnoxious patriarch, they never denied *in theory* the independence of the prelate in religious matters. The vexations of which the Byzantine pontiffs were the victims, were inspired by cupidity and by savage instincts, rather than by Mussulman fanaticism. It will be sufficient to recall the gloomy fate of several illustrious prelates of this Church, to which "God had accorded a truly imposing succession of great and holy bishops,"‡ to establish the fact that their position was not sheltered even under Orthodox emperors from the violence inseparable from all despotic governments. St. Gregory of Nazianzen was obliged to quit his see; and St. John "with the golden mouth" died of fatigue on his journey into exile. If the Patriarchs of Constantinople were under the Turkish domination exposed to trials still more severe, they at least were consoled, thanks to the support of the Government, by seeing the aggrandizement of their jurisdiction, and the transformation of their authority into a kind of Oriental papacy, although they never aspired to the propagation of new dogmas.

Previously, under the Greek autocrats, the spiritual chiefs of the "New Rome" had been inspired by some of those ambitions which

* See, in the work of MM. Rhally, vol. v., p. 176, at the close of the bull of the Patriarch Gregory (1839) for the establishment of the Diocese of Odessa, the signatures which follow that of Gregory.

† Jacovsky Rizo-Neroulos, *Histoire Moderne de la Grèce*, part i., ch. 2.

‡ These were the very words of Dom. Gardereau in *L'Univers*.

distinguished the patriarchs of the Old. Gregory I., warned by the infallible instinct of rivalry, opposed them by principles which it may be curious to compare with the theories of Roman Catholics of our day :

"None of the Roman Bishops," he writes, "have as yet adopted this title (*Universal Bishop*), to the end that they might not give rise to the belief that they wished to embrace every thing, and attribute to themselves alone the honor which belongs equally to all." . . . "If a bishop," he adds, "is called by the name of universal bishop, the universal Church is involved in the error into which he has fallen. But away with such madness ! such levity ! such blasphemy, which would deprive all priests of the homage which a single one in his arrogance claims for himself alone !"*

What would Gregory have said to the acceptance by Boniface III., seventeen years after his death, of this very title, from the homicidal Emperor Phocas? (607.) What would he have said of one of his successors, Boniface VIII., who proclaimed himself "less than God, but greater than man?" (*major homine*). If, after all, the Patriarchs of Constantinople were not checked by the remonstrances of Gregory I., it must be acknowledged that circumstances forced them to the aggrandizement of their authority. In the seventh century the Persians attacked the patriarchs from Asia ; the Arabs, who succeeded them, took possession of Antioch in 634, afterward of Jerusalem in 637, and finally of Alexandria in 640. The Turks, who inherited the domination of the Arabs, succeeded in maintaining themselves in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.

When Constantinople became the capital of their empire, *the Padishahs* labored with ardor to subject all Orthodox Churches to the patriarchal throne. In augmenting the authority of a vassal they believed themselves to be promoting their own aggrandizement. The Russians, who very quickly perceived the consequences of this policy, dissolved, in conjunction with the patriarchs, the spiritual bond which connected them with Constantinople, and Russia became itself a patriarchate.† But events of another kind were taking place among the subjects of the Porte. The Patriarchate of Servia was suppressed on the departure of Arsenius IV. from Turkey,

* See the extracts from the letters of Gregory in Baader's *Catholicisme d'Orient et d'Occident*.

† See, in Rhally and Potty, Collections of Holy Canons, the curious passages which refer to the revolutions in the Russian Church. It is interesting to read the synodic act of Jeremiah II., Patriarch of Constantinople (1586-1594), declaring the Metropolitan Job Patriarch of Muscovia, of the whole of Russia, and of the northern regions ; as also the letters of the Czar Peter I., and of the Patriarchs Jeremiah III., of Constantinople, and Athanasius, of Antioch, relative to the autonomy of the Russian Church (1723).

and to-day the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria are almost as much the dependents of Constantinople as are the Patriarchs of Venice and Lisbon of the See of Rome. The Patriarch of Alexandria, who resides at Cairo, the Patriarch of Antioch, who is established at Damascus, and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who since the seventeenth century has been accustomed to live at Constantinople, are nothing more than obedient vassals to the successor of St. John Chrysostom, who by his synod appointed the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria to their respective sees. The Patriarch of Jerusalem has retained the privilege of appointing his successor. If he fails to do this, the succeeding patriarch is elected by the one hundred and fifty "brothers of the Holy Sepulchre."

But a decentralizing reaction began when the nationalities subject to Turkey ceased to consider Constantinople as a political center. They then endeavored to loosen the bonds which attached them to the patriarch, the vassal of the Sultan, and to form themselves into national churches. The happy result of the war for independence showed that the Hellenes of the kingdom were not strangers to the tendencies that prevailed elsewhere.

The Servians did not wait till our day to show themselves to be decided partisans of a national Church. Converted to Christianity toward the close of the ninth century, they obtained the right in 1221, from the Patriarch of Constantinople, to choose in their turn their metropolitan, who should be immediately accepted by the patriarch, and St. Sava, son of their *Krale* (king), who was the first to be invested with this dignity, established himself at Onjitzé. When the exploits of Stephen VIII. Duschan (1333-1356) elevated the national pride of his subjects to its highest degree, when this great prince, conqueror of the Roman Catholic Magyars, took the titles of Emperor of Roumelia and Czar of Macedonia, the supremacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople, a subject of the Greek Cæsars, became repugnant to the Servians. A Servian and Bulgarian synod met at Seres, and elected an independent patriarch (1350). The new patriarch was forthwith showered with anathemas from the Patriarchs of Constantinople, and was not recognized by them until the year 1376. The decadence of Servia after the battle of Kossovo (1376), caused the Pope to hope that the Servians in their distress would yield to his authority. For a while this hope seemed about to be realized. Helen Paleologus, widow of George Brankovitch, and instructor of his three sons, offered his estates to the Patriarch of Rome, under the title of *Fief*; but this proposal provoked a

general revolt. The Servian King of Bosnia, who had been guilty of the same weakness, also saw his subjects rise in opposition to it. The Roman Inquisition had exasperated these unhappy countries.

Wadding, the historian of the Franciscans, shows us the inquisitors of this order, established as far back as the year 1298, in Russia, Servia, and the whole of Western Illyria, laboring, with the coöperation of the executioner, for the conversion of the "schismatics." In 1234, Père Fabien established the principal court of the Inquisition in Bosnia, and the Servian domain was covered with convents, prisons, and scaffolds. What wonder, after this, that these populations, so cruelly persecuted, and ensnared like wild beasts, should have preferred the domination of the Turks to the execrated yoke of the Roman Inquisitors!

But when the Ottomans, assured of their conquest, in their turn began to abuse their power, the Servians arose. Their patriarch, Arsenius III. Tsernoiévitch, after having incited them to insurrection, established himself in Sclavonia, surrounded by 37,000 families (1690). His successor, Arsenius IV. Ivanovitch, followed his example in 1737. The Patriarch of Constantinople availed himself of this circumstance to suppress the Servian patriarchate in Turkey. The Patriarch of Carlowitz, finding himself completely under the domination of Austria, ended by being regarded as a foreign prelate by a portion of the Servian population. Tsernagora (Montenegro), being menaced by the Austrians, was the first to show discontent. The celebrated *Vladika* (bishop-prince) Peter I. had been consecrated at Carlowitz by the authority of the Emperor Joseph II.; but his nephew and successor, Peter II., preferred rather to receive his episcopal ordination at St. Petersburg (1833), than to preserve relations with an Austrian bishop. When I saw this eminent prelate, pontiff, poet, and soldier, at Venice, in 1847, he believed himself to have placed the theocracy of Tsernagora on a new basis. His successor, Danilo I., in secularizing the government, was obliged to change all this.

When the principality of Servia had, after an heroic struggle, been emancipated from the Ottoman domination by Tserni-George and Milosch Obrenovitch, its people hoped to return to that system of ecclesiastical organization in existence anterior to Constantine, and to loosen the bonds which connected their Church with the authority of the Ecumenical Patriarch, whom they found to be too subservient to the Padishah to hold an impartial position between the suzerain and his vassals. The *hatti-schérif* of 1830 granted to the Servians

the power of selecting their bishops from among their compatriots, taken before the Greek Revolution. Two concordats have since been drawn up by the Servian Government in conjunction with the Patriarch of Constantinople, one in 1832, and one in 1836. It was then agreed that the Servians should pay an annual tribute to the prelate of 1,500 francs, and that they should present him with 3,500 francs each time that a new metropolitan should take possession of the See of Belgrade.* This metropolitan, who is the real chief of the Servian Church, is elected by the *Skonptschina* (national assembly). He is assisted in his functions by a synod, whose duty it is to appoint the three bishops intrusted with the management of a clergy which unites patriotism with toleration.

Roumania, like Servia, finds abundant proofs in her ancient history of a constant tendency to religious autonomy.

Wallachia had, primitively, but one bishop, who resided at Corté d'Argis, which, after Campu Lungu, became the capital of the province. This prelate included in his jurisdiction Upper Wallachia, Transylvania, and the Orthodox inhabitants of Hungary;† Lower Wallachia being dependent on the Bulgarian archbishops of Ternova and Silistria. Toward the close of the fourteenth century, when the Popes hoped to avail themselves of the distress of the Greek Empire, in their endeavors to incorporate the Eastern Church with the Roman, they commanded the Patriarch Joseph to appoint two bishops in Wallachia, one of whom was installed at Bucharest, with the title of Archbishop of Nicomedia, and the other at Tirgorist, with the title of Archbishop of Amasia. When Vlad III., "le Diable," caused himself and his people to be represented at the Council of Florence (1439), the two archbishops *in partibus* signed the union with Rome; but the Roumanians were so indignant at this proceeding, which would expose them in the West to the supposition that they were capable of thus sacrificing their religious liberties, that it aroused an insurrection which disturbed the whole country. Moldavia was the first to banish its metropolitan. It was then, in hatred of the Papacy, that the Cyrillian letters were substituted for the Latin characters.‡

* In the ancient Servian monarchy there were five metropolises: Belgrade, Nisch, Onjitz, Novibarzar, and Prisien. The metropolitans were great lords. When they went out they rode on horseback, and before them were carried a sword and mace as insignias of their power.

† Hence the title of Metropolitan of Hungarian Wallachia, now borne by the Metropolitan of Bucharest.

‡ See Pierre Maior de Ditso, *Istorie pentru inceputut Românilor în Dacia*, 328.

Delivered from the Popes, there seemed to be no necessity for the Roumanian Church to sacrifice its autonomy. Niphon, a patriarch of the New Rome, and expelled from his see by Bajazet II., came at the request of Rodolphe the Great (1493-1508) to organize the Wallachian Church. Two bishoprics were established, one at Rimnie, and the other at Buzén. The metropolitan, as supreme chief, had under his immediate authority nine districts of Grand Wallachia, the Bishop of Buzén governed the three others, and the banat of Craiova is under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rimnie.

It appears that, notwithstanding the immense extension of the authority of the ecumenical patriarchs, the Roumanians have better preserved the autonomy of their Church than the Servians. I have before me now a report of the commission charged by the Divan *ad hoc* of Moldavia, in 1857, with the formation of a project for the definite organization of the Church. Now this report affirms that in the principalities the Church has always been *autocephalus*, and that the autonomy of the Moldavian Church in particular, as authenticated by historians,* has been recognized by the Emperors of Constantinople,† confirmed by an imperial chrysobull, as well as by the *firman*s of the Padishah, and finally by the organized government of the principalities.

It would be necessary, therefore, to ignore completely the organization of the Church in Roumania, to suppose for a moment that it is the result of Byzantine traditions. It carries the love of independence so far that its relations with Constantinople are very slight, and purely deferential. The metropolitans of Bucharest and of Jassy, the spiritual chiefs of Wallachia and Moldavia, elected, like the bishops, by the boyars,‡ or nobles, send, on their installation to their diocese, a present to the patriarch, and proceed to govern liberally Churches confided to their charge, without the intervention of the *Domnu* (prince). The Metropolitan of Bucharest or of Hungarian Wallachia, who has the bishops of Buzén, Rimnie, and Argis for suffragans; the Metropolitan of Jassy, who is supported by the bishops of Rômano and of Houch, have all positions far more secure than that of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and even that of the *domni* who govern the Principality of Roumania. That is to say, the princes and the patriarchs are subject to the

* The report mentions the *Description de la Moldavie* by Prince Demetrius Cantenier.

† Synodic letters of the Provincial Council of Moldavia, of the first of January, 1752.

‡ This right of the boyars has not been recognized by the new Constitution, which suppressed the privileges of the nobility.

caprices of the *Padishah*, or to the consequences of those revolutions which are so frequent on the shores of the Danube, while the metropolitans enjoy the prerogative of immortality. At the time when national assemblies * were in existence they had the right of presiding over them. Great influence and importance has been added to their functions by the privilege finally accorded to them † of having a voice in ecclesiastical tribunals acting under their decrees, in cases of divorce, which are very numerous among the Roumanians.

When the Kingdom of Greece had been finally established after an unequal and heroic struggle, ‡ the organization of an autonomous Church presented especial difficulties. In fact, the national traditions which with the Servians had powerfully favored its establishment, seemed to lead minds at Athens in an entirely different channel. Pharmakidis strongly contributed to decide Greece to follow the example of Servia and of Roumania.

Pharmakidis, who had been ordained at Bucharest in 1811, was the least speculative of the Greek theologians. There have been few more active lives than his. He had already distinguished himself, before the Greek insurrection, in the *Mercure Savant*, the political influence of which was so considerable. Journalist, exeget, canonist, and professor by turns, Pharmakidis, whose activity embraced every thing, contributed very efficaciously to the regeneration of lay and clerical studies. He was called by the illustrious English Philhellenist Guilford, in 1819, to the new university of Corfu, and in 1825 he was appointed by the Greek Government to direct the official journal issued at Naupli under the title of *Journal Générale de la Grèce*. The President Capo d'Istrias hastened to remove him from this position. In point of fact, Capo d'Istrias shared the opinions of Iconomos, which were those of the whole Russian party, in not desiring that Greece, whose position it is true was very important, should follow the example given by Russia. Thus, when Pharmakidis was intrusted by the regency, in authority

* Alexander-John I. added a senate to the chamber of deputies. An imitator of Napoleon III., he wished, after having made a *coup d'état*, to have senators also.

† Under Alexander-John I. Couza, the Roumanian Government manifested for the first time the intention of transferring this right to civil tribunals.

‡ *Une Station dans le Levant*, by Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1873. The French, taught by their reverses, now render that justice to the heroes of Hellenic independence, which it would have been difficult for them to accord under Napoleon III., at the time when *La Grèce Contemporaine*, by M. About, was the rule of their judgment.

during the minority of Otho, with the organization of the Church, he was violently accused of sacrificing the independence of conscience to the State, and of working for the disorganization of the Greek Church. The fact is that Pharmakidis, in his efforts to realize the views which he has demonstrated in his celebrated work *Dis-tiques de Pharmacide*, looked to the creation of an autonomous Church as the surest means of guaranteeing at the same time religious liberty and the rights of the State.*

Iconomos, and G. A. Mavrocordatos, adhered, on the contrary, to the maintenance of the prerogatives of the Ecumenical Patriarch, as the best means to prevent the intervention of temporal power in the domain of conscience. Was it not reasonable to suppose that the whole of Greece would be interested in maintaining the authority of a Greek patriarch in the Orthodox Church? That national *amour propre* which has blinded the Italians in causing them to sacrifice the unity and independence of their peninsula to the interests of the Papacy, whose most audacious acts flatter ancient ideas and customs, the better to impose, *orbe et urbe*, the spiritual domination of one of their compatriots, would naturally constitute a formidable opponent to the theories of Pharmakidis.

This opposition, however, has not been able to prevent the formation of an autocephalous Church, governed by a synod, whose presiding officer is the Metropolitan of Athens.†

The Bulgarians have made use of these precedents in later times, to exact the autonomy of their Church from the Ecumenical Patriarch. But although their demands are sustained by both the Ottoman Government and the Russian embassy, the Ecumenical Patriarch has until now shown himself very hostile to the centralization of this Church. We may observe, however, that the patriarchs of the "New Rome" are much more compliant to the necessities of the day than are those of the Eternal City. The famous *non possumus* is unknown in Constantinople. The patriarchs have doubtless manifested an inclination to preserve and to extend their jurisdiction. This very natural desire has not deterred them from making concessions which circumstances have recommended to their prudence, to the Russians, the Roumanians, the Servians, and the Hellenes. But the position of the Bulgarians is very far from being the same. Bulgaria is

* A law in accordance with these views was voted for in June, 1852.

† The last metropolitan, the venerable Theophile, who has more than once encouraged me to the defense of Greece, was by the side of Ghermanos when he raised the flag of independence. He was so charitable that on his death he left but a few drachmes.

neither an independent State like Greece, nor a vassal State to the Ottoman Empire, like Roumania. Moreover, the Patriarch has reason to be displeased by the attempt of a Mussulman prince like the Sultan to create an exarchate, and to constitute himself supreme arbiter in questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Finally, it is probable that the fear of Panslavism—a fear strengthened by the success of Pan-germanism—has contributed to the decision of the Patriarch to show himself hostile to the Bulgarian exarch, as well as to the prelates who support it, and to treat them as schismatics.

In cases where the Patriarch would manifest the desire of making concessions, he would find great resistance in the Holy Synod, and in a large majority of Hellenes. If the Panslavic policy is now, according to the Patriarch, the chief cause of the Bulgarian troubles, in the time of Napoleon III. the clerical policy of the French endeavored to influence the moderately Philhellenic inclinations of the industrious but illiterate Bulgarian farmers. Not only were the attempts of Rome frustrated, but the proclamation of papal infallibility caused an uprising in Armenia. The spirit of religious independence is so strong among the Armenians, that the *Catholicos* or Patriarch of Edchmiadzine, Narses Chahasisian, a celebrated prelate who had shown his intrepidity against the Persians, even dared to defend the autonomy of his see against the Emperor Nicholas. This sovereign, then in the height of his power, desired the subjection of the *Catholicos* and the Holy Armenian Synod to the Holy Synod of Russia. The Armenian patriarchs, vassals of the Sultan, the Patriarch of Sis, the Patriarch of Aghtamar, etc., whose titles are purely honorary,* remained equally independent of the Ecumenical Patriarch and of the Patriarch of Rome. The Armenians have always had an especial inclination for the system of national churches, a system which had been obtained by another Iranian people, the Georgians, but which the Russian conquest and centralization had abolished. The Archbishop of Tiflis retained, however, the direction of the Georgian Church by the authority of the Holy Synod of Russia.

The word "unchanging," which is so often misused in speaking of the East, is no more applicable to political than to religious matters. So much is said of the "immobility" of the East, for the

* "This title of patriarch is purely honorary," says a competent writer; "since the Armenians of Constantinople, of Jerusalem, and of Sis recognize the *Catholicos* of Edchmiadzine, in imitation of their compatriots of Persia and India." He adds that the authority of this *Catholicos* "accomplishes the unity of the Armenian Church, sustains its moral force, and preserves the nationality of the people by the unity of religion." (*L'Eglise Arménienne*, by an Armenian, page 46.)

reason that no attention is given to the transformations it has actually undergone. Owing to the unfamiliarity of the majority of its languages, and since indifferent tourists, or those preoccupied with a variety of individual pursuits, are not competent to pass serious judgment upon it, the nations of the West have been blinded by preconceived and superficial ideas, which it is high time to replace by positive facts, and representations worthy of credence.

BOOKS.

A TREATISE ON THE CRIMINAL LAW OF THE UNITED STATES. BY FRANCIS WHARTON, LL.D. SEVENTH AND REVISED EDITION. THREE VOLS. PHILADELPHIA: KAY & BROTHER.

TWENTY-EIGHT years ago, a young lawyer, not long before admitted to the Pennsylvania Bar—but yet the assistant of the Attorney General of the State, the late Judge Kane—published, in a single unpretending volume, a work on the Criminal Law of the United States. This was the first American treatise upon this subject, and it at once secured a firm hold upon both the Bench and the Bar of the country. Successive editions were rapidly demanded and published. The author, in the mean time, had acquired an extended business, and was a constant, diligent, earnest, and exact student. He thus brought to the preparation of these successive editions, not only a mind disciplined by practice, but enlarged by judicious and assiduous study, and inspired by genuine enthusiasm for the science which he sought to elucidate.

It requires no little effort to recognize in the three magnificent and compact volumes which the Messrs. Kay & Brother have now so appropriately put before the public, covering admirably the whole subject of the Criminal Law of the United States—its principles, processes, and practice, concisely stated, systematically classified and arranged, carefully and accurately indexed, and treated in clear, comprehensive, and exhaustive discussion, and with a copiousness of illustration, drawn alike from the common, the civil and continental law, equaled in no other treatise on the subject;—it requires, we say, in such a work, now rich with the ripened consummation of a quarter of a century of acquisition, study, and reflection, no little effort to recognize but the natural outgrowth and development—the evolution, in modern phrase, under skillful hands and the power of an original mind, of the modest and unpretending germ of 1846. The evolving process is briefly stated. In 1852 a second edition was published; in 1855, a third; in 1857, a fourth; in 1861,

a fifth; in 1868, a sixth; until, in 1874, we have what, were we not acquainted with Dr. Wharton's high purpose and established reputation, we should call the completed work, in the edition before us.

When we remember that in these successive editions the work has been constantly enlarged, until it has reached its present proportions of three compact volumes of 3,522 sections; that it has been largely increased in cost, and that the copies of the later editions have nearly doubled those of their predecessors, we hazard little in saying that few, if any, legal works, American or English, have had a larger or more gratifying sale, or a more rapidly acquired or permanently sustained authority, reputation, and influence. Surely, if there is any force in presumptive evidence, a work with such a history deserves a review, although needed neither to commend nor to introduce it to the public.

We may add, that somewhat unusual as the author's pursuits and studies have been since the original publication of this work, they may yet be regarded, not so much as adverse, as in some respects favorable to the production of legal works of the highest character and authority, such as this before us, and the other treatises of the same author, among which we would specially name his *Medical Jurisprudence*, and his *Conflict of Laws*.

After practicing law for fifteen years at the Philadelphia Bar, with the most satisfactory professional and pecuniary success, Dr. Wharton, under conscientious convictions of duty, which no one can fail to respect, even if disposed to challenge the conclusion to which they led their subject, left his profession, studied theology, took orders in the Episcopal Church, and assumed the comparatively obscure and humble position of a professor in a young Western college. Subsequently he became, and for some years continued to be, the rector of a large and influential parish of his order. Thence, after spending some time in study in Europe, in which study we have a suspicion his old mistress, the law, got quite as much of his time and devotion as his later love, he was transferred to the professorship of Ecclesiastical Polity, Homiletics, and Pastoral Care, in the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, Mass.; and still later appointed one of the lecturers in the Law School of the Boston University; both of which positions he now holds, with the duplicate honor of a doctorate of laws and divinity.

It is probable Dr. Wharton never had the desire, and if so, fortunately he has not had the ability, to extinguish within him his

original natural love and genius for the law. And these, developed and stimulated by his large and eminently successful practice in early life, have led and enabled him, in the quiet of his library, to prepare and publish these elaborate legal works, upon which, for the time being, he has evidently bestowed no divided or limited affection. With all, or many of the advantages of a practicing lawyer, but without his distractions, he is publicist, jurist, commentator, wise in mind, skillful in hand, earnest of heart, and eminently practical in tendency and effort. It would be somewhat surprising if the mingled and conscientious study of theology and law, in their reciprocal influence, should not have broadened and enlarged, and sometimes corrected his views in both.

We once heard an eminent but genial divine commended by a friend of ours, whose home he was about to visit, to his anxious wife, who was fearful of her ability duly to receive and entertain such an embodiment of piety and learning, in these words: "You would never suspect he was a minister." Few who study the legal works of Dr. Wharton will suspect that *all*, in their later editions, and *some* in their first publication, have emanated from a distinguished professor and doctor in a school of theology.

But our space warns us to turn from the author to his work. And here we can and need say little more than that it stands clearly at the head of all treatises, English or American, upon its subject. We know of none which surpasses it, and, in many and important respects, none which equals it.

In the preparation of this edition, Dr. Wharton has kept himself, not only fully abreast of the progress of the common law in this country and England, but equally so of the civil and continental, with the original sources and languages of which he seems to be entirely familiar. With a mind clear, comprehensive, systematic, and discriminating, he has brought to his task an ability and power of analysis and combination, a variety and accuracy of learning, research, and illustration, which have rarely been surpassed in any similar work.

We have neither space, disposition, nor necessity to analyze nor state in detail the contents of these full and weighted volumes; nor to cite illustrations of their merit, subjects, or style. As we have before said, they cover the whole subject of the Criminal Law of the United States in its principles, processes, pleading, and practice. If asked to specify their leading and general characteristics, we should say—completeness, clearness, and precision of plan; scientific treat

ment, order, and sequence; systematic arrangement, careful analysis and classification, fullness, particularity, and accuracy of detail and citation of authorities; thoroughness of discussion of every principle, richness and variety of learning, a compact and elegant style; and last, but not least, a carefully prepared and systematic index, to reveal and make at once accessible their contents. In a word, the work is practical, as well as scientific and elementary, and hence alike a necessity to the practitioner and the student.

We might easily verify each of these characteristics by citations from the volumes, did our space permit. But this can be better and more satisfactorily done by those for whom they have been prepared, by an examination of the volumes themselves, to which proof we unhesitatingly commend them.

That we have spoken in high commendation of this work we are aware—that it deserves it we are equally sure. That our position, however, may not lack the legal requisite of the support of competent and recognized *authorities*, we may add that all we have asserted is of the same work, finished and perfected by the labor and study of more than a quarter of a century, of which, in its earlier and inferior editions, Chancellor Kent said, “I consider it a work of the highest ability, and admirably executed;” and Professor Greenleaf, “For clearness of method, compactness and elegance of finish, it will prove most acceptable to the profession. We have no similar treatise.” Our late Attorney General, Judge Black, remarked, “I do not think there is a more valuable law-book in print.”

THE GRAMMAR OF PAINTING AND ENGRAVING. TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF CHARLES BLANC, WITH THE ORIGINAL ILLUSTRATIONS. BY KATE NEWELL DOGGETT. NEW YORK: PUBLISHED BY HURD & HOUGHTON. CAMBRIDGE: THE RIVERSIDE PRESS.

CHARLES BLANC has achieved an enviable reputation in France as a writer on Art; while in America his name may scarcely be said to be known. Before attempting any review of his work, it is proper that we should first know something of the man. Born at Castres in 1813, his father, then inspector-general of finance in Spain, bestowed on him the name of Auguste-Alexandre-Philippe-Charles Blanc. Endowed with talent, and having received a handsome education, he set up, in early years, as an engraver, and latterly as

an art critic. His first contributions appeared in a journal which his brother Louis—since famous as a statesman and historian—established in 1838. His admirable qualities as a writer, and keenness and thoroughness as a critic, soon attracted wide notice. One morning, after the Revolution of 1848, he awoke to find himself appointed Director of Fine Arts, a position which he filled with high honor until within two years past.

The articles which he, from time to time, contributed to various journals, he determined to bring together, and to publish in volumes. His *History of French Painters of the Nineteenth Century* was issued incomplete in 1845. Eight years later, his work on Rembrandt, valuable but cumbersome, was published in quarto form, and found small favor, on account of its high cost and unwieldy size: recently, a new and cheaper edition has appeared, thoroughly revised by the author, and embellished by many of Flameng's wonderful etchings after the Rembrandt originals. From 1849 to 1859 appeared, in parts, the *History of the Painters of all the Schools*. The title-page bears the name of Charles Blanc, as editor; but the larger portion of the labor was performed by the other writers, including Bürger, Delaborde, Silvestre, etc. This work is excellent in every respect; it contains much valuable information relative to the artists, and is enriched by hundreds of wood engravings of a very high character. It is, perhaps, a source of regret that no English version of the whole work has as yet appeared.

For the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* were originally written the chapters which compose the author's *Grammaire des Arts du Dessin*, the first installment having appeared in the number for April, 1860. In 1867, the complete work was published in one large octavo volume.

In a sparkling preface, M. Blanc thus explains the origin of his book:

"At dinner one day with the dignitaries of one of the largest cities of France, conversation turned upon the arts. All the guests spoke of them, and well; but each intrenched himself behind his own personal views, by virtue of the adage: 'On ne peut disputer des goûts.' In vain I protested against this false principle, saying that, even at table, it was inadmissible, and that a distinguished magistrate, the classic *par excellence* of gastronomy—Brillat Savarin—would have been shocked at such blasphemy. The authority of even his great name was not respected, and the guests separated gayly, after uttering heresies to make one shiver. But among the eminent men of the company, there was one who, somewhat mortified that he had not the most elementary notions of art, asked if there were not some book in which those notions were presented in a form simple, clear, and brief. I replied that no such book existed; that upon leaving college I should have been only too happy to

find such an one; that many works had been written upon the beautiful, treatises without number upon architecture and painting, and volumes upon sculpture, but a work covering the whole subject, a lucid *résumé* of all accepted ideas touching the arts of design, was yet to be conceived."

M. Blanc's volume covers the whole sphere of fine art; and the chapters of which we now have an English translation, comprise only the latter portion of the original work. The Grammar of Painting and Engraving purports to be "a lucid *résumé* of all accepted ideas touching" these arts; and, so far as a popular treatment of the subject is concerned, it does not fall far short of its aim. The narrative can hardly be said to be critical; neither is it very philosophical in some of its statements. The plan is altogether so simple and progressive, so ingenious in its arguments, and so utterly barren of all technicalities, that the work may easily be understood by the most indifferent reader.

The author begins by saying that "painting is the art of expressing all the conceptions of the soul, by means of all the realities of nature, represented upon a smooth surface by their forms and colors;" and then proceeds to unfold to us certain principles which govern the art under all its conditions. From beginning to end, he talks as one knowing his subject, and is as playful and enthusiastic as a child. He explains how painting, without aiming either at utility or morality, may elevate man's spiritual nature, and in what manner it manifests typical truth in living individualities; the laws of perspective are clearly promulgated, and an attempt is made to show that these laws are not restrictive of sentiment. Nature manifests herself in a triple language—of light, form, and color; and painting makes use of this language when it aims to represent nature.

"Inorganic nature has only the language of color. It is by color alone that a certain stone tells us it is a sapphire or an emerald. . . . Color, then, is the peculiar characteristic of the lower forms of nature, while the drawing becomes the medium of expression, more and more dominant, the higher we rise in the scale of being."

Every one will admit this assertion; but when we are told that "Painting can sometimes dispense with color, if, for example, the inorganic nature and the landscape are insignificant or useless in the scene represented,"

many of us will be obliged to see much more clearly than we do now, in order to believe it. Our attention is called to one very remarkable fact, rarely noticed, which is, that

"The domain of painting ends just where the illusion of the senses ought to begin. It is certainly not unexampled that a picture should deceive the eye, at least for a moment. A Teniers, a Chardin could paint a cake, a loaf of bread, oysters on the shell, in a way to excite the sensation of hunger; and Velasquez could imitate a glass of water or one of wine in a way to excite thirst, and, for a moment, deceive the eye."

Expression and beauty are two terms which the common mind finds it difficult to comprehend. Between them there exists an interval, and even an apparent contradiction, as wide as that "which separates Christianity from antiquity." Physical beauty yields to moral beauty, the stronger grows the expression. In antique sculpture we find this expression permeating the whole figure, and apparent not only in the countenance, but also in the attitude and gesture. The painter, in order to represent this expression, must idealize his figure by *style*; in other words, "impress a typical character upon that which would only present an individual truth." It is in the Last Supper of Leonardo da Vinci, that expression reaches its highest point. There we behold what *style* is, and what the higher truth must be, after the observation of real life. The remarkable analysis of the gestures of the Last Supper, by Stendhal, we may here remark, is something worth always remembering. M. Blanc's chapters on Expression are, we think, the best in the whole book, and are replete with well-chosen illustrations.

We are pleased to find the author recommending geometrical drawing as a prelude to the study of perspective. One of the most wretched mistakes in our past school-system has been the placing of models before a class of children and requiring them to imitate them, long before they had received the simplest instruction in linear drawing. It is not unlike asking a man to build a house before he has learned the rules of measurement or the strength of timbers. A knowledge thus based is, at the most, superficial; and the errors which are early inculcated can never be totally blotted out. The very term, geometry, implies accuracy.

"What," says our author, "does the architect do before drawing a building? He traces at first the plan that measures the depth, then the profile that determines the height, afterward the face that gives the breadth, and it is when it possesses all these measures that he draws the edifice geometrically, that is to say, as it is in reality; later, he draws it in perspective, such as it will be in appearance; thus should the beginner proceed." Further on, he adds: "If the pupil is allowed to get in the habit of drawing objects by approximation, without measure and rule, he will fare like a traveler who wished to learn English, and who, scarcely landed in Dover, hastened to repeat everything he heard. *To pronounce a form well by drawing, we must first know how it is written in the vocabulary of Nature.*"

Having shown wherein color is the distinguishing feature of painting, the author next claims that an artist should know every thing essential and absolute relative to the laws of color. The programme, as it is marked out, is certainly formidable; it concerns theory more than practice; and almost prompts us to exclaim, if a man wishes to know every thing in this world, let him study to become an artist *à la Blanc*! Our own views in this matter are decidedly at variance with those of our author; and we fail to see wherein lies the efficacy of the fearful discipline which he, with so much complacency, imposes upon his fellow-men.

The chapters which treat of the different kinds of painting, and of the various methods which are pursued in each, embody a vast amount of useful information, but are neither so striking, nor so interesting as the chapters which precede. Indeed, the author seems to have approached the former, somewhat wearied of his subject.

In about eighty pages the author treats of Engraving. No new facts are developed; few suggestions are offered; and the narrative is but little more than a mere outline. When we call to mind the volumes which have been written on this topic, and reflect upon the almost inexhaustible material which fill them, we are forcibly impressed with a sense of the meagreness of M. Blanc's attempt to elucidate the growth and facilities of the art. Nevertheless, we are bound to confess that these chapters have a value of their own; and, if carefully read, cannot fail of producing some good result. In this country, where genuine paintings are so rare, and engravings are so plentiful, some knowledge of the latter based on right principles ought to be expected of every man of culture.

We cannot forbear to quote some of the remarks offered by our author, relative to that common but much-abused branch of engraving, termed lithography:

"The advantage of the lithograph is, that, better than any other method, it puts in relief the genius, the characteristics, the temperament of each master, because it does not require the intervention of a foreign hand, and is capable of representing subjects the most diverse. . . . Wo to the societies that allow lithography and engraving to perish! They are the daily papers that constrain us to live, if but for a few minutes, in the regions of art and the ideal; they educate the people gratuitously, manifest the beautiful, teach history, making it intelligible to the most illiterate, the humblest, by giving them the *sight of ideas*."

M. Blanc is a man crowned with a great deal of faith, and accustomed to look forward into the future with large expectations. He closes his work with the following self-satisfied expression:

"Thank Heaven, genius has not abandoned this earth. We have always had chosen creatures, winged natures, masters. We have them to-day, we shall have them to-morrow. We cannot doubt it; from another Ictinus another Phidias will be born, and other Raphaels, who will find new ways of being sublime. For neither the beautiful, nor the ideal, nor style, are dead; because of their very nature they are immortal; and although in certain periods of decadence they seemed threatened with destruction, they have only slumbered, like the Evangelist whom the poetry of the Middle Ages represents to us as sleeping in his tomb, where, cradled by dreams, he awaits the awakening angel."

In conclusion, we owe to Charles Blanc our gratitude for the real and genuine pleasure which a long acquaintance with his volume has afforded us. If it lacks the lofty theories of Kant upon the Sublime, the paradoxes of Jean Paul, the depths of the wisdom of Schelling, the piquant and eloquent thoughts of Cousin, it is not the fault of the author, whose aim was to direct, rather than to plunge, the reader's attention into the pages of these great writers. M. Blanc complains that "the art-education of the young is so utterly neglected that later in life they are incapable of judging the works of sculptor or painter." This is true in France, on the continent, nay, every where.

The Grammar of Painting and Engraving possesses merits which no one will question; in the hands of people who are willing to be taught, it is capable of imparting information of the most wholesome sort. By its suggestions alone, it opens to a wide realm of reflection; and to the contemplative student unfolds a magnified region of sentiment and of beauty. The scope is so broad, the author's plan is so general, and his method of treating the most ordinary subjects is so striking and so comprehensive, that one feels that he has fallen in with a guide on whom the utmost reliance may be placed. Like Ruskin, the author manages to infuse into his pages a certain eloquence of expression and a glow of illustration which, for the moment, serve to conceal the train of argument. To some, this unbounded enthusiasm—for it is nothing else—would seem to be a fault, and antagonistic to the author's purpose. But the general reader will not regret it, and will be only the more attracted to the volume by the author's capital art of pleasing.

The American reader has every reason to feel thankful to the skillful hand which has with such commendatory and flattering success performed the task of translation. True, we have discovered several inaccuracies which have crept into the version, all, however, of a minor character, and which may be attributed to the translator's insufficient knowledge of certain English technicalities as applied to

art. We may say, in passing, that our language does not hold to the expression "aquafortist engraving." The term "etching" is usually applied to this branch of the art, and "etcher" to the practitioner in it. We trust that marked errors of this sort will be remedied in a future edition.

We close the handsome volume with the regret that it is not complete; but we venture to hope that, in a later day, the same judicious translator will have given us the remainder. It is just such works as this that our people need; and, in the absence of art museums, they alone can bring about a reformation of corrupt ideas, infuse into the popular mind a purity of taste, and render efficient the higher principles of morality and of self-respect.

As regards the illustrations, and the typographical appearance of the book, we may remark briefly that nothing better could be desired.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE RENAISSANCE. BY WALTER H. PATER, *Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford*. LONDON: MACMILLAN & CO.

THIS volume is tastefully and elaborately written. The writer had evidently studied carefully the period to which his work relates. The plan of his work, too, is legitimate. It is an effective method of treating a portion of history so extended that it cannot conveniently be portrayed in full, to seize on the salient points, the remarkable productions, and the most representative men of the time, and by means of these to illustrate the spirit of the era. This is what the author of this book has attempted to do. The sense in which he uses the term Renaissance he explains as follows:

"The word Renaissance is now generally used to denote not merely that revival of classical antiquity which took place in the fifteenth century, and to which the word was first applied, but a whole complex movement of which that revival of classical antiquity was but one element or symptom. For us the Renaissance is the name of a many-sided, but yet united movement, in which the love of the things of the intellect and the imagination for their own sake, the desire for a more liberal and comely way of conceiving life, make themselves felt; prompting those who experience this desire to seek first one and then another means of intellectual or imaginative enjoyment, and directing them, not merely to the discovery of old and forgotten sources of this enjoyment, but to divine new sources of it, new experiences, new subjects of poetry, new forms of art."

This is a sufficiently correct view of the matter on the esthetic

side, and so far as relates to art. But the great defect of the book is that the author sees in that memorable waking of the human soul to a higher consciousness of its own capacities, to nobler aspirations and desires, and to intenser life and action, little or nothing more than a quickened appreciation of beauty in its manifold forms, and a new impulse toward the creation and enjoyment of it, as the highest end of human life. He totally ignores the fact that the mighty throes of that period by which the old forms of social and civil and ecclesiastical life were shaken, and out of which a new condition of things was born, had their ground even more in the moral than in the intellectual and esthetical nature of man. It was the arousing of the spirit, long oppressed with mere conventionalities, and crushed by civil and ecclesiastical tyrannies, to a sense of its own greatness, of its relations to the invisible and eternal, of its right to free thought and action, of its capacity of development, and its responsibilities as immortal, that constituted the highest power of that great movement. But with the spiritual nature and wants of the human race, and the part that these must necessarily play in any really refined and elevated civilization, this writer not merely does not concern himself, but he not obscurely hints his skepticism as to the existence of any such things. His views of man and life, as summed up in the concluding chapter of the volume, are the baldest Epicureanism.

"Not the fruit of experience," he says, "but experience itself, is the end. A counted number of pulses only is given to us of a variegated, dramatic life. How may we see in them all that is to be seen in them by the finest senses? How can we pass most swiftly from point to point, and be present always at the focus where the greatest number of vital forces unite in their purest energy? To maintain this ecstasy is success in life. Failure is to form habits. . . . We have an interval, and then our place knows us no more. Some spend this interval in listlessness, some in high passions, *the wisest in art and song.*"

An author writing with such views must needs be superficial. Man for him is only an insect sporting his hour in the sunshine—his only concern to enjoy this as intensely as possible. He is the wise man who gets the greatest amount of sensuous pleasure while his brief life continues. The great and good of all ages have been mistaken when they have supposed that self-forgetfulness, and self-sacrifice, and devotion to duty in the spirit of disinterested love, were the things that most ennoble man. The heroic men and women who have lived for others, who have suffered for the right and died martyrs to the truth, have all been under an illusion, and

have missed the proper end of their existence. They should have given their whole lives to the delights of "art and song"—to the eager pursuit of purely selfish gratifications. Such is the teaching of this book. It is a kind of teaching beneath serious criticism; and yet it represents a school from which very much of the same sort goes forth to mislead the unreflecting, if, indeed, it has sufficient influence for that. One cannot but regret that so much labor should have been expended to so little purpose on so very rich a theme.

HIGHER SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES IN GERMANY. BY MATTHEW ARNOLD, D.C.L. LONDON: MACMILLAN & CO. 16MO.

MATTHEW ARNOLD touches no subject which he does not elucidate, if not adorn. He was charged, in 1865, by the Schools Inquiry Commissioners, with the task of investigating the system of education for the middle and upper classes which prevails in France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland. He spent seven months in this investigation, and the present volume, being that part of the whole work (published in 1868) which relates to Germany, is the result. Perhaps no man in England could have undertaken the task with so many special qualifications. Mr. Arnold has been thoroughly trained in the English school and university system. He has widened his academic culture by the successful pursuit of literature as a profession. He is a leader in original and searching criticism. With many shortcomings, he has called the whole English race anew to the necessity of uniting culture with religion. He has been professor of poetry at Oxford. In short, he has met life and the world at so many points that he could approach the continental school-system almost without prejudice; and hence he has here produced a volume of singular merit and value, a volume in which is compacted with the skill of a literary artist the very gist and essence of all which one needs or wishes to know, a volume in which the Prussian system is fully explained and compared with the English, to the depreciation of the latter, and in which the true relations of the humanities to the natural sciences are set forth. What an ordinary writer would have made intolerably dull and stupid, Mr. Arnold has infused, even in dry details, with wonderful life and spirit.

In the body of the work, the crotchets of Mr. Arnold do not appear; in the prefaces they are given at length, and you have the present political status of the English educational system judged

from his point of view. He is very severe upon Dissent or *Miallism*, and no less severe upon English prejudice in not allowing a Roman Catholic university for Ireland. He believes in denominational schools for England and Ireland, as such schools are denominational in Germany, and that the leading body in any country should have the leading voice in the matter. He argues for the thorough recasting of the English school-system in imitation or adaptation of the German, so that the middle class in England may receive the same advantages as the aristocratic class; and believes that the next quarter of a century will witness the entire reconstruction of English education. He believes in compulsory education, and in the State oversight of schools.

He traces, in the body of the present work, the development of the German secondary or higher schools, their present organization in Prussia, the government and patronage of the Prussian public schools, the training, examination, appointment, and payment of the Prussian school-masters, the Prussian system as seen in operation in particular schools, and the system of instruction in the Prussian universities. He closes with an admirable chapter on the conflict between classical and real studies, and another on the organization of schools on the continent as compared with England.

In the rapid change by development which is taking place in our elementary and upper schools and in our university system, Mr. Arnold's volume will command general attention, not only from the thorough exposition of the Prussian system, the best in the world, but from the general soundness of his own judgments. The great danger with us, since the State has only a partial control of education and no complete supervision, is that private notions shall introduce unwise elements into our university system, and that the lower schools shall not be wisely regulated—shall be too much left to popular caprice. We are thankful that at a critical moment this work has come to hand, and are sure that its careful study will help to steady the hasty movements of the hour.

THE REEF, AND OTHER PARABLES. BY EDWARD HENRY BICKERSTETH, AUTHOR OF "YESTERDAY, TO-DAY, AND FOREVER."
NEW YORK: ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS.

THE Rev. Edward H. Bickersteth has become well known to many American readers by several valuable religious works, which

have been republished here and widely circulated. Still more extensively his name has become familiar through his remarkable poem, "Yesterday, To-day, and Forever," of which we have understood that the Messrs. Carter have sold some twenty-five thousand copies. A new work, and especially a work of imagination, from such a source, will be sure to attract attention.

The Reef and other Parables have been written under circumstances which may well add somewhat to the interest which in themselves they are fitted to awaken. The rectory of Christ Church, Hampstead, London, has been for a course of years an English home of the best sort—a home of Christian culture and refinement, and of such joyous and happy domestic life as only such a home affords. But within a brief period, first a daughter, just grown to opening womanhood, gifted with genius and graced with many accomplishments; and then the wife and mother, a woman of rare excellence, whose life and influence were the perpetual sunshine of the family circle, were taken away by death. The volume, projected and commenced when all was gladness in that household, was carried forward and completed while the shadow of these great sorrows was resting on it. The work, as the author touchingly intimates in the preface, cheered hours that had otherwise been sad and lonely.

The volume is well conceived, and is executed with the elegance of style and the general good taste that are characteristic of the writer. It contains eight separate pieces, viz. : The Reef; Avehdah, or, the Lost Island; Over the Hills Homeward; The Plague-stricken City; Eugene the Debtor; Phædrus and Philemon; Una the Bride; and Beyond the River. Each of these parables, or allegoric stories, is complete in itself, yet each has a certain relation to the others; so that the work as a whole presents in order a series of consecutive truths, which together felicitously illustrate the beginning, progress, and consummation of the distinctively Christian life and experience. The allegory, if well executed, may lend the charm of freshness, and almost of novelty, to truths, or practical lessons, which have become too familiar to arrest attention. By the coloring which lively imagination throws around them, and the concrete form and pictorial beauty in which they are exhibited, they may be made at once more intelligible and more effective in their impression on the mind and heart. John Bunyan's wonderful performance has so far distanced all competitors that comparatively little use has recently been made of this popular method of instruction. Still, some good specimens

have been produced, and it is evident that the appetite for the allegorical is as keen as ever.

In these Parables of Mr. Bickersteth there is a good degree of invention; the characters are generally well drawn, the descriptive parts are distinct in outline and beautiful in coloring, and the underlying truths which illuminate the whole are truths of the deepest interest. Perhaps the effect of the stories would have been quite as great had the explanations connected with them been more condensed. It is well to leave room for the exercise of the ingenuity and imagination of the reader. But the volume can not fail to be read with pleasure by young and old. It will be the fault of readers, too, if it does not instruct and profit. The excellent illustrations add to the beauty of the book.

CAST CATALOGUE OF ANTIQUE SCULPTURE. WITH AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ORNAMENT. BY WILLIAM T. BRIGHAM, A.M. BOSTON: LEE & SHEPARD.

THAT America will, eventually, be enabled to boast of her own Art museums, no one, we honestly believe, will entertain the slightest doubt. But whether we may hope ever to behold, in this country, a collection of paintings, of sculptures, of engravings, which, in points of excellence or intrinsic value, shall compare favorably with that in the British Museum, in the Louvre gallery, or in the Glyptothek, is a question of a far different nature, and, at the present time, not so easily to be solved.

We have broached the subject of art museums, a subject which, by the way, seems to be in almost every body's mouth, and, if we may fairly judge from the Utopian schemes which have been quite recently proposed, is likely to remain there for some years to come. After all that has been said and done, is it the replete or the *well-selected* museum that is most to be desired, or may be expected to prove of greater advantage to our people? The latter, by all means. The advice which the late Prof. Agassiz was wont to give to teachers, namely, that they should show to their pupils only a few things, and these always of the best, might prove serviceable as a watchword for certain of our art benefactors and trustees in New York and Boston. Quality must always be considered before quantity; and if the public money is to be expended in the purchase of works of art, it will be well for the supervisors to remember,

unceasingly, that one art treasure is worth more in reality than a hundred objects which savor of artifice rather than of art.

We have been led into these remarks by the examination of Mr. Brigham's volume bearing the above title. We are informed by the author that he began the work "for his own convenience, with no view to publication, but to supply in some measure the information demanded of him," by certain persons, we presume, interested in art education. The information was first gathered in the shape of notes, memoranda, and so forth, from foreign catalogues, and also by personal observations and measurements: it was, next, condensed, and a selection made from it, with the hope of its proving of some use to others; and, finally, these facts, thus brought together and arranged, were published, together with a few "likes and dislikes," which, the author tells us, "have, perhaps, unintentionally appeared."

We know absolutely nothing of the antecedent tendencies of Mr. Brigham, and must confess our ignorance as to whether he be an artist, or merely a connoisseur. But, at all events, his recent volume is quite worthy of recommendation, and is likely to prove of a vast deal of benefit, not only because of the matter which it contains, but also from the manner, careful and unique, in which the former is rendered available. We have only small appreciation of the title. "Cast Catalogue" is, indeed, very modest, and to some readers intelligible; but to the majority of honest, hard-working, well-to-do, and not very learned Americans, a "Guide to Antique Sculpture, and to Casts of the Same," or some other similar expression, even if not quite so euphonious, would have conveyed a much clearer notion of the book.

The volume opens with an introduction of about thirty pages, giving an account of the various processes by which matter may be reduced to a solid form—these processes being "carving, modeling, casting or molding, founding, and hammer-work: and the material used may be wood, clay, either dried or baked as terracotta, stucco, plaster, stone, wax, ivory, lead, bronze, iron, and other metals." Like all history, that of art in remote antiquity is clouded in mystery, and fraught with many contradictions. In the days of the Old Testament heroes, the manifestations of sculpture were by no means primitive; and the art of carving images and vessels of all sorts must long previously have been known and practised among the Chaldeans and the Assyrians. Of the latter people, numerous relics, embracing principally colossal winged bulls and lions, and other symbolic forms, are still to be seen in certain European

collections; but, as Westmacott has remarked, none of the "Assyrian sculptures can be put forward as successful works of fine art."

In a later day, we find sculpture as an art of beauty flourishing in Persia, while among the other nations, and especially those of Eastern Asia, its progress is slow and its success moderate. It was in Egypt that a family of "image-makers" became the authors of the awe-inspiring statues of the "soul comprehending-all." Just as among the Greeks, but to a much wider extent,

"Religion ruled art, and the human-sided attributes of the one God, in whom all the theogony of Egypt had its foundation, were represented in statues of conventional form, until there, as elsewhere, the symbol took the place of the original, and the gods became almost numberless."

There is reason for believing that specimens of nearly every period of early Egyptian sculpture still remain; but the name of only one sculptor, Memnon, has been preserved. The following quotation, bearing on this subject, is worthy of remembrance:

"The general division into four periods of Egyptian sculpture is by no means entirely satisfactory, and quite as much dependence is placed on the hieroglyphic inscriptions with which many of the statues are marked, as upon any distinct artistic characters. Of the Egyptian collections in Europe, the Royal at Turin is perhaps the most extensive; but that in the British Museum nearly equals it, containing the treasures of Belzoni, Hay, and the spoils of the French army after the treaty of Alexandria. The Louvre contains many interesting specimens, and but for that unfortunate occurrence would perhaps have ranked first. The museum of the Shubra at Cairo is excellent. In this country, are the Abbott collection in New York, and the Way collection in Boston."

Etruscan sculpture, which we may suppose to have originated from sources kindred to those of the Egyptian and the Greek, numbered many examples; and Pliny remarks that when Volsinium was captured, no less than two thousand statues were borne in triumph to Rome. But the general character of this art, reasoning from the remnants still in existence, was any thing but beautiful, and was also sadly deficient in softness and grace. It is to Greek sculpture that the historian turns to find a narrative of completeness, and "from the earliest beginnings to the most perfect work of the sculptor's hand, its history can be traced from authentic monuments."

The author's introduction, although it evinces much care and both fair and honest judgment, is altogether too brief and too desultory in its nature to serve any very large purpose. It contains few new statements, and no original conclusions; and is, at the most,

only a slight skimming-over of other men's thoughts, without being always successful in securing the cream. The chapter concludes with some remarks on Casts and Casting.

The remainder of the volume, with the exception of about twenty pages which treat of the theory and utility of Ornament, is devoted to the Catalogue proper. The titles are arranged in alphabetical, or rather cyclopedic order. Under each heading there is, first, a slight biographical or explanatory notice of the subject; and, second, a full list of the antique statues and bas-reliefs, which illustrate the same, together with individual exposition, measurements based both on the English and French system, present locations, and the number and makers of modern casts which have been reproduced from these originals. Some of the titles are very full—the number of examples under "Fauns" being no less than twenty-nine; under "Hercules," twenty-eight; under "Isis," eleven; under "Apollo," twenty-seven; under "Pallas," forty-six; and under "Venus," thirty-nine.

In order to convey to the reader's mind a clearer impression of the character and importance of the work in hand, we here transcribe one of the shortest titles in full:

"HECTOR. The son of Priam and Hecuba, and bravest of the Trojans. He was the husband of Andromache. He was slain by Achilles, who dragged his dead body at his chariot-tail around the tomb of Patroclus. Priam was at last allowed to ransom the body.

"1. Statue. Marble; height, 4 ft. 11 in. = 1.50 m. . . . *Glyptothek, Munich.* One of the figures of the pediment group of the Temple of Ægina. Cast, Bureau du Moulage. 60 ft.

"2. Bas-relief. Marble; height, 1 ft. 7¾ in. = 0.50 m.; length, 6 ft. ¼ in. = 1.839 m. . . . *Louvre.* From the Villa Borghese. A fragment of a frieze representing the funeral rites of Hector. At the extreme left the aged Priam is begging for his son's body; only the leg of Achilles remains; servants bear vases and other precious things for ransom; farther on, his companions in arms bear the naked and insulted body; then come Andromache, Cassandra, Hecuba, and his son, Astyanax. The fragment is of excellent workmanship, and makes the loss of the rest much to be regretted.—*Mus. des Antiq.*, iii., Pl. 23."

About the same general uniformity is carried out from the beginning to the end of the volume. The information, at no time critical, but always aiming to be exact, will prove of the utmost importance both to the student and connoisseur. In the hands of our public educationists, it ought to exert an influence for the better. The photographic illustrations, of unequal merit, lend a certain charm to the volume.

In conclusion, Mr. Brigham has no cause to regret the appearance of his work; on the contrary, he may be pardoned any complacency at beholding his task so thoroughly completed. Despite its shortcomings in some particulars, rarely, however, amounting to faults, we welcome his attempt to enlighten and to guide the public mind in the pursuit of an object which so deeply concerns it at the present time.

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE CONFERENCE. NEW YORK, 1873. HISTORY, ESSAYS, ORATIONS, AND OTHER DOCUMENTS. HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS.

THIS book will be of lasting worth, as the record of an assembly which remains one of the great historic facts of the time. Some, however, will be disappointed. It is naturally forgotten that the magnetic glow of the occasion cannot be reproduced; and the essays were of necessity too brief and too fitted to the popular assembly to be in most cases solid contributions to Christian literature. Indeed, several of the German visitors complained that there was more of American platform-talk than the scholarlike debate they expected. Yet this could not be avoided. The effect of such a conference must be far more in the grand impression it made of Protestant unity than in any theological reasonings; and thus understood, while we can not go so far as to say, with our enthusiastic editor, that this volume comes next to the Bible, it certainly is of great value as a history of religious thought and life all over Evangelical Christendom.

We can not more than glance at the rich variety of topics. The history of the convention, admirably written by the editor, prefaces the book; and is followed by addresses on the state of religion in all countries of Europe and the colonies. We have been much interested in the hopeful report of Dr. De Coppet, which shows us that Protestantism has yet a vigorous life in France; and his views on the benefits of a connection with the State are worth our thought, accustomed as we Americans are to look only on one side of the question. The sketches of German history by Krummacher and Tholuck are somewhat chilling as to the present state of Lutheranism; yet they anticipate a reaction in favor of a sounder faith since the school of Strauss has reached its last materialistic result in the *Alte und Neue Glaube*. All will read with interest the letter of the Old

Catholics to the Alliance, expressing such generous sympathy with the aims of Protestantism after unity. The next series of essays, on Christian Union, is admirable. Dr. Hodge, of Princeton, while he has his theory of the church invisible, is larger in his historic comprehensiveness than his school in the past; and the Dean of Canterbury, Bishop Bedell, and the venerable Dr. Muhlenberg in his striking essay on Representative Communion, utter the truly Catholic faith of our time, in one Church of Christ as consistent with denominational difference. In our view, the next division, of Christianity and its Antagonisms, would have been far better had it presented less the polemic side of Protestantism, and brought out more fully its positive claims in Christian science. There is, however, much sound and liberal learning in the writers; and they are specially noteworthy, while in essential harmony, as presenting the whole truth from varied points of view. The essay of Prof. Christlieb exposes fully the forms of modern unbelief; and that of Dr. Washburn, on Faith and Reason, states the claims of a true Christian criticism, and the dangers of a false dogmatism. Drs. Cairns and Van Osterzee are both manly thinkers, alive to the need of a sound learning against the destructive school of modern neology. In the department of Science, we confess some disappointment. Yet it arises, perhaps, from the nature of the subject, which could hardly be handled in brief and popular addresses. There is in the essay of Prof. Dawson a line of argument against the evolutionists, worthy of a further study. He draws from the facts of primitive history the conclusion that man's intellectual and moral characteristics reach back in clear lines to the earliest type, and that no period of transition, such as Darwin claims, can be found. The calm and dispassionate tone of all these essays is worthy of Christian scholars. Under the next head, of Personal and Family Religion, we note especially the noble essay of Arnst, and a thorough treatment by Anderson of the moral side of Political Economy. We think, however, that the Pulpit demanded a more scholarlike and ethical view, in reference to the wants of our time, than we find in the addresses of Drs. Parker and Beecher. Both lean too much to stage effect. The division of Romanism and Protestantism brings out the best strength of evangelical thought. Dr. Dorner's exhaustive treatise on the Vatican Council exposes with power the hollowness of the Roman claim to dogmatic unity. There is much, again, for us to ponder on the other side, in the sketch by Dr. Storrs of the secret of the Roman Church in her power over many minds of our time. Protestantism has yet to learn that its own

defects of theological harshness and the atomism of sect are its worst enemies in the battle with Rome.

But we have only half touched the rich volume. Christianity and Civil Government, Missions, Social Reforms, are the remaining subjects; and for many minds will have a deeper practical interest than all else. We commend to them the excellent arguments, on each side of the Voluntary Church question, by Dr. Woolsey and the Rev. Mr. Freemantle. The latter was heard with not a little American prejudice; but his plea for the National Church is that of the most liberal thinkers, like Arnold and Stanley, in the English communion. Count Gasparin, on the Care of the Sick, has some ideas of the Protestant sisterhood, which it would be well for our devotees of that order to read; and every philanthropist will accept with delight the views of Dr. Wines on work, education, and religion, as the three forces of Criminal Reform. But we must not stretch this notice beyond due limits. None who listened to the addresses, or read them, can, we believe, fail to acknowledge that the Evangelical Alliance has proven itself to be no dramatic show of union, as its narrow enemies claim, but a step toward the living unity of the Church of Christ.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

VOL. I.

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER, 1874.

No. V.

ARTICLE I.

THE NEGROES IN THE GULF STATES.

E. T. WINKLER, D.D.

WHEN the war between the States came to an end, a problem was presented to the victorious party, such as demanded for its solution the highest powers of statesmanship. What should be done with the freedman? In what manner and to what extent could he be invested with citizenship, so that no jeopardy should accrue to the public interests? How could the organic laws of established States be subverted for his benefit without overthrowing their institutions, and reducing their civilization to a barbarous anarchy?

One singular advantage was possessed by the Government when it undertook this task. The result of the war effectually prevented any interference, either at home or abroad, with the reconstruction of Southern society. The power and prodigious vitality of popular government had been vindicated. The pretensions of English Toryism had been shattered. A deadly wound had been inflicted upon the French Cæsar. As Mazzini proclaimed, the four years of conflict had done more for the cause of republicanism than had been effected by the previous half-century of discussion. As for the South, it was exhausted and prostrate. Its resources had been drained, its native leaders disfranchised, and its system of industry and of regularly elected government overthrown. Armed resistance could neither be prolonged nor renewed. The sword must be turned into the plowshare, and the spear into the pruning-hook; for hence-

forth the fight must be for bread. The beneficent arts were now the vital interest of communities where all the relations of laborer and employer had become confused and discordant, and tended to industrial and social demoralization. Thus every circumstance conspired to give the General Government an uncontrolled supremacy over the fortunes of the Southern States.

The appearance of the Negro in the historic movement of the New World was due, as every one knows, to a revolution effected by the arms of the Republic, and not to any effort for freedom put forth by the race. They were declared free by President Lincoln as a measure of public policy. When peace had been concluded, they were recognized as national wards, whose rights and liberties must be guarded by special federal laws, and by the power of the franchise. There was also another and perhaps a more potent reason for the gift. The plan of reconstruction depended for its success upon the political support of the colored population. As early as July, 1865, Robert Dale Owen urged upon President Johnson the extension of civil rights to the blacks, in order that harmonious and permanent peace between the North and the South might be secured. He argued, with considerable plausibility, that sectional agitation would cease so soon as society and government became homogeneous in all parts of the country.

We content ourselves with thus briefly indicating the new point of departure. To relate the earnest and persistent methods by which the proposed end has been sought would be to review the decrees of military and provisional governors, the undertakings of missionary societies, the history of the constitutional amendments, the regulations of the Freedmen's Bureau, and a large part of the debates and legislation of Congress and the acts of the Federal Executive. For the experiment has been conducted on a vast scale, and with every variety of appliance, for a series of years. During the past decade the Negro has been the paternal care of Government and the cherished object of philanthropy. He has been provided with schools and churches, votes and offices, courts and garri-sons and legislatures—all manner of privileges and safeguards. In his behalf a new political system was established at the South—a system at variance with the opinions and customs of both races—a system framed by a remote legislature, and enforced by the penal sentences of exotic judges and the martial power of conquerors. At whatever cost, the lowest of the human races was elevated to a full and equal citizenship with the highest.

It is time to inquire what the results have been. Has the costly experiment succeeded? Has the new citizen proved equal to the part assigned him in the name of humanity and by the sovereign decree? We propose to furnish some data for the decision of this question, by exhibiting the present condition of the blacks in the Gulf States, to whose industrial development their labors, in former years, have so largely contributed.

If the political affinities and services of the Africans have failed to satisfy the expectations of their benefactors, the failure must be referred simply, or at least primarily, to a want of knowledge and discretion. In performing the part assigned them in public affairs, they had no aid from previous experience. Hence they contented themselves with following implicitly the directions of those who claimed to be the representatives of a party of moral ideas. When counsel was wanted as to their personal affairs, whether secular or religious, they consulted their old masters; but, in the use of the ballot, they would neither ask such advice, nor follow it when volunteered, nor accept any propositions for the establishment of government, nor heed any appeals or warnings. They were deaf to the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely. The regular candidate, however illiterate or morally degraded, must have the office he sought. He might be charged with the public purse by a constituency who would not intrust a private dollar to his keeping. He might be set to making laws, when he himself was a notorious felon, and was even too ignorant to write his own name. The decision of the caucus was absolute.

The cause of this remarkable fidelity to party is complex. At first, the credulous freedman was assured that the victorious North would confiscate the lands and redistribute them among the colored population, as had been done at Port Royal. "Forty acres and a mule" would be the reward of their "loyalty." This expectation was encouraged by the largesses of the Freedmen's Bureau. But even more did the agitation of the question of Civil Rights inflame the imagination of the colored voter. He found himself invested with the power of the ballot-box, the privilege of the jury-box, the right of office, and the boon of education; and he impatiently awaited the crowning blessing of social equality from the hands which had already conferred so much. To vote against a party candidate would imperil whatever the race had or hoped for. A conservative triumph would undo all that had been gained, and would relegate them, as they were sedulously taught to believe, to a state of slavery.

On these accounts, the choice for office, wherever the colored race was predominant, was limited either to the renegade, "the scalawag," or to the adventurer, "the carpet-bagger;" or to the inexperienced Negro. None others could be elected. No possible concessions on the part of the former citizens could disturb the sway of the demagogue, who claimed honor and fortune as the prerogative of race, or who purchased them by the sacrifice of principle; who easily won the suffrages of his dusky following by nursing their prejudices and self-conceit, and inflaming their passions; and who enjoyed the patronage of Government, as the upholder of its policy and the protector of its wards.

Upon the classes thus invested with authority, the precedents of free States, the opinion of civilized communities, and the supreme exigencies of the Republic had no influence whatever. Office they regarded, not as a trust, but as an opportunity. They recognized no restraint upon the power of taxation, for they themselves paid little or nothing into the public treasury; but, on the contrary, they imposed new burdens, for the avowed purpose of thus adjusting the inequalities of fortune. In many parts of Alabama, and the other Gulf States, the lands have already been confiscated by the taxes. Bribery also has been reduced to a system in every State controlled by the colored vote. The official desk is a booth in a market-place, where an *ay* or a *no* may be sold as innocently as a fish or a pancake. The article is wanted: then it is worth something; and the applicant ought to pay the price. The arrangement was too profitable to allow such trifles as principle and honor and official oaths and the public interest to interfere with it. And so "the party" became a joint-stock company, which must be held together by whatever means. Hence a deeper descent. Elections were declared or annulled at pleasure. The facilities for fraudulent voting were multiplied. The courts were secured by the appointment of incompetent and lawless judges. Every safeguard of property was swept away. A new Reign of Terror was instituted; but now the tax-payer was the victim instead of the aristocrat, and the drain was of money, instead of blood.

How thoroughly and relentlessly the system has been pursued may be illustrated by the increase of the public debt of the Gulf States during the last decade. From the year 1861 to 1871, the debt of Texas increased from two millions to nearly fourteen millions; that of Louisiana, from eleven millions to forty millions; that of Mississippi, from nothing to one and a half million; that of Ala-

bama, from nearly eight millions to fifty-two millions; and that of Georgia, from two millions to forty-two millions. All this, be it remembered, represents just one among the various methods of spoliation. Nor, indeed, can the evil be confined to the sections it infests. It acts upon all parts of the country. It depletes the public resources. It deprives the tax-payers of the means to respond to the demands of their States and of the General Government. It paralyzes trade between the sections and commerce with foreign nations. There is no merchant who deals with the South, in New York or Liverpool, whom our Negro legislatures have not mulcted. Unless the system be arrested in some way, it will cost the country more than would be required for the transfer of the whole race to Africa.

The Southern whites have been blamed for this condition of things; but they really have had no resort. Their natural leaders were excluded from office. They themselves could not join a party of public plunderers, who, whether from ignorance or social and moral degradation, had become insensible to shame. Whatever overtures they made to the Negroes, for the establishment of just governments, were rejected; for the Negroes were as little disturbed by the public disorders as a flock of petrels is by a storm that brings to the surface food for these ebon and airy foragers. If, in some instances, a few moderate and sanguine men succeeded in entering into alliance with the freedmen, in the hope of directing their action, they soon found themselves under the party lash, and were driven out when they ventured to protest against iniquitous men or measures. And when others, in their despair, armed themselves against private wrong and ruin and public outrage, bayonets were arrayed against them, and they were delivered to the tender mercies of courts. We even know of cases where citizens who had committed no crime, have confessed judgment and paid fines, to deliver themselves from intolerable persecution.

So far as the blacks have taken part in these political and public villainies, their conduct has been dictated neither by gratitude toward the one party nor malice against the other; for the mercurial and shiftless temper of the African retains neither of these sentiments. He forgets and forgives with equal facility. Of allegiance as a principle and a sentiment, he knows as little as he knew when the Emancipation Proclamation was published; when the military strength of the South was withdrawn from the Gulf States; when a general uprising there would have precipitately ended the war;

but when he, for his part, philosophically picked the cotton and plucked the corn to the tune of Dixie. Now, as then, his political affinities have been decided by his immediate or seeming interest alone. He gives weight to those who carry him—the weight of spoils and the weight of majorities; but the gift may prove like the golden shields which the Sabines threw upon Tarpeia.

In dealing with the ballot-box, the Negro has a guide. When he is set in the jury-box, he has none: should the case submitted to him touch his political or social prejudices in any way, his verdict may be prognosticated, whatever the law or the evidence may chance to be. If one of the same race is tried for an offense against a white man, the dusky juror “stands by his color.” If one of the advocates employed is of his politics, the juror “stands by his party.” If the conflict concerns two Negroes, the solicitor who has the last speech wins the victory. This, indeed, is so well understood, that negroes in such an emergency prefer to be tried by white men. If the case involves the computation of accounts or the principles of equity, the juror is too bewildered to make any thing of the affair. Hence lawyers prefer to plead such causes before a judge in chambers, or to settle them by compromise or arbitration. The colored juror is a failure. He knows but little of the principles of justice and the system of law, and cares less.

As might have been expected, the result of such an application of the laws has been an enormous increase of crime. Notwithstanding the multitudes that have escaped punishment, the rate of convictions in 1870 as compared with those of 1860 is as follows: In Alabama, 1,269 instead of 179; in Georgia, 1,775 instead of 251; in Florida, 335 instead of 33. Louisiana is the only exception. There the worthlessness of the courts and the general license will probably explain the apparent decrease. Crime has never been so rampant in that State as during the recent years.

But not only by his caprices and partialities has the colored juror interrupted the processes of justice: his verdicts are also influenced by his peculiar code of morals. In his estimation, the two capital crimes are murder and witchcraft, the latter being the more reprehensible. Theft, perjury, and adultery are minor, if not venial offenses. They are assigned to the category of indiscretions and pardonable weaknesses. Some suppose that they have been condoned by the scriptural requirement that “we must bear one another’s burdens.” Of the number of these offenses, which are steadily on the increase, the public records afford no adequate idea. Comparatively

few ever come before the courts at all. Perjury, for example, is so general, that the solicitors themselves pass it by. The colored witness has no sense of the sanctity of an oath. On the contrary, to testify to the truth when it would injure a friend, he esteems as an act of treachery.

The Negroes here, as in Africa, are adepts in stealing. A planter, who is most considerate toward his servants, and who enjoys great popularity with them, assures the writer that he dares not take two Negroes together into the store-house where he keeps his supplies, being sure that while the one is engaging his attention, the other will be robbing him. Cotton and corn are stolen in large quantities from the fields, usually at night, and sold at the cross-road shops called "dead-falls," depositories for plunder which the law will not and the neighborhood can not suppress. At these places, old finery and vile liquors are sold to credulous customers at a profit of at least two hundred per cent. The corncribs and meat-houses of the planters are frequently broken into. The stock upon the pasture lands has been destroyed to such an extent, that regions which could supply the continent with food are, many of them, obliged to import all their meat from abroad. So common has larceny become that in some counties, as in Wilcox and Marengo, in Alabama, the jails cannot hold the convicts. The jail fees throughout the State of Alabama are enormous, especially in the "Black Belt." The prodigious expense of feeding felons in jail has necessitated the enactment of a law which encourages their flight beyond the borders. In misdemeanors, a man may be liberated on his own recognizance, and then use the money he has stolen to cover his traveling expenses.

The subject of the sexual relations is too delicate to admit of a free report. We confine our statements to a fact or two. There is little regard for personal purity, and little conception of the life-long union of mutual hearts. A distinguished Southern minister was asked to perform a marriage service by a freedman. At the time appointed, the groom, who was a favorite servant in a planter's household, and who had more than the average intelligence of his race, presented himself with a woman on either arm, and proposed that the minister should marry him to both. The reason of the refusal the man could not appreciate. "If he was willing, and the women were willing, he could not see why any body else had the right to object. Hadn't freedom come in?"

This case indicates merely an ignorance of the nature of the

conjugal bond. But other cases, reported to the writer by credible witnesses, attest also an extreme corruption of manners. The churches are constantly agitated by charges and counter-charges of domestic infidelity among the members. An impure infection contracted by a single person, has been known to extend its virus to a whole plantation, not sparing even children of ten years of age. Diseases of this sort assume a milder and more manageable type in the African than in the white race; hence their wide diffusion is not illustrated by the mortuary tables of the census. It is also stated that fœticide, a crime heretofore scarcely known among the Negroes, has become common. They have unfortunately learned that a tea made from the root of the cotton-plant may relieve them of the expense and burden of offspring. We have no means of verifying or testing the statement. The crime does not come before the courts. But a variety of acknowledged facts, occurring during the last decade, would seem to corroborate the statement—such as the barrenness and ill-health of the Negro women, the prevalence of uterine diseases among them, and the decrease in the number of children. The proportional gain of the colored element during this period ought to have been about a million. It is less than half that number.

As to murder, the crime increases rapidly in those regions where the African element preponderates. It used to be rare. The Negro is passionate, and subject to sudden fits of excitement, like his black kinsman of Southeastern Asia, but he has not the courage nor the blood-thirst of the Malay. Usually, when he kills, the act is done in a transport of rage in which the criminal is ignorant of the extent of the injury he inflicts. The wife receives an unlucky blow from a husband's hand, or the child is sacrificed to the scourge of an infuriated parent. But genuine murder is more apt to result from licentious rivalries. The carrying of deadly weapons by this passionate race, a custom prevalent in some parts of the country, is greatly to be deprecated.

Terror or a sensitiveness to ridicule make them unwilling to say much about witchcraft. Yet they acknowledge the existence of the power. They believe that certain charlatans among them are able, by the use of drugs, dried lizards, manipulations, or fetishes of rags and hair, to produce and heal diseases, plant living creatures in the body, and inflict death. The pretenders to this art are dreaded and yet resorted to, as the sorcerers of the Middle Ages used to be. Most of what is reported of Voudouism, however, is a mere fabrication. In Mobile, which has been indicated as one of its centers,

intelligent people can give no information upon the subject. The blacks have different local superstitions in various sections. In Wilcox County, Alabama, for instance, they often conclude funeral services by a dance upon the grave, after which a piece of cotton rag is burned, and the leader of the weird ceremony rushes away, the others, with shouts, pursuing him. Of the practice of jumping through fires, and "hunting for Jesus" in the bushes, a usage found on the South Carolina coast, we have observed no trace in the Gulf States.

These various particulars illustrate the social condition of the Negro. The thin varnish of civilization and sentiment can not conceal the barbarism of the race. Nay, notwithstanding the costly expenditures made for their benefit, and the occasional success of national and philanthropic efforts for their elevation, they are even retrograding morally. This arises from two causes. The want of self-control in the parents incapacitates them for training and disciplining the young. The most ominous circumstance in the condition of the blacks is the want of family restraint. The children were once controlled by the master through the parents, or were managed directly by him when they became old enough to be employed in the field. Now they are permitted, for the most part, to act as they please. The father can not govern them; for he is himself but a child. Hence they are growing up in idleness and shiftlessness. When necessity constrains them to labor, their services are reluctant and prove of little value.

Besides this, the Africans are without discretion when they undertake to settle the principles and rules of life. Like all the savage races who have been brought into sudden contact with civilization, they merely imitate the manners and copy and transcend the vices of the superior race. They have neither the self-control nor the courage to practice the hardy virtues that elevate society. The ambition to rival white families whose wealth and culture exempt them from the necessity of manual labor, has been especially unfortunate in its influence. The older Negroes, who have been trained to labor, perform about three-quarters as much work as they did formerly. The women, as a general thing, have abandoned the fields, in whose lighter tasks they equaled the men in dexterity, and have "set up" in their cabins. The young people are kept about the premises to idle, and "to wait upon the ladies"—a title claimed by all the women of color. Scarcely ever can a spinning-wheel or a loom be found in their retreats of contented, if not of elegant leisure.

Those whites in the country who are in moderate circumstances make their own clothing. The colored people could do the like, for they were employed in weaving and spinning before, and especially during the war. And the raw material is so abundant that enough of it to clothe the family is often wasted. But they will not resume the toil in a state of freedom. A large number of the laborers have even deserted the agricultural regions, with whose methods of industry they are familiar, and have congregated in the suburbs of the towns and villages. The disposition to form settlements on the outskirts of white communities is characteristic of the Negro in all sections, North and South—in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island as well as in Alabama and Louisiana. Thus, on the one hand, this people travesty the family life of civilized societies, and on the other, display the indestructible instincts of the tribal state.

As to the young men and girls, a large number of them have grown up without the training or restraints of discipline. Their presence is considered a curse rather than a benefit to the communities and plantations which they infest. Labor they esteem as a humiliation. They will not engage in any service unless compelled by urgent necessity; and when employed, are neglectful and resentful to a degree. Although they afford the only material for the future supply of menial service to the house and the field, the growing desire of good citizens is that most of them remove to other regions. The more industrious must be retained; for they can be used to their own profit and for the advantage of the community. The others will only consume and destroy what more industrious hands may produce.

The number of the children who will be redeemed by education will not correspond to the expectations of those who have befriended them by pecuniary gifts and personal services. We fear that too sanguine hopes have been encouraged by the remarkable success of a few city schools, with their select pupils; by the exceptional cases of intellectual aptitude appearing in other quarters; and finally, by the precocity of the black children. The observation of Sir Samuel Baker, that the Negro, in common with all the inferior races, is precocious but not persistent, is as true of the blacks here as in their native country. The enthusiasm for education, which they displayed just at the close of the war, has surprisingly diminished. The most of the pupils who remain attend but for a few months in the year. After attaining a smattering of reading, writing, and arithmetic, they regard themselves as educated, and resign the irksome

tasks of study. The elements they learn with greater facility than the whites; their difficulty is in the practical application of what they have memorized.

In the mean time the experiment goes on. Provision is made for the instruction of the colored as well as the white children. In Alabama, twenty children are a sufficient number to secure the establishment of a school in their neighborhood. The teacher of a primary school receives forty dollars per month for his services. Unfortunately, in not a few of the States, the tax collections for the teachers are appropriated by the Legislatures, who pay the salaries of these laborious and deserving persons with depreciated or worthless State warrants, instead of money. And even this fraudulent adjustment may be conceded only after long delays. Indeed, the effort to instruct the African has been prosecuted under circumstances too unfavorable to justify any positive conclusions either as to the range of his intelligence or as to his susceptibility to culture. He has displayed an aptitude for imitating, for memorizing, for public speaking, and for cooking: he must learn something more, if he would worthily perform his part as a citizen of the Republic. His education must be made compulsory; his studies must suit his capacity and his sphere; his teachers must be carefully selected and promptly paid.

But the agricultural condition of the Negro is the question in which the country is more immediately and vitally interested. How does he work? It has been asserted, on high authority, that the marketable value of the slaves should not be reckoned in our estimates of the losses produced by the war. The two arms of the laborer remained. The live reaping and sowing machine was uninjured. And more efficient work might be expected from it than it had ever before performed. Both for the African's sake and our own we would be glad to be assured of the correctness of this conclusion. But it is not substantiated by the facts.

All intelligent observers are aware that there has been an immense shrinkage of land values in the Gulf States, amounting to as much as sixty per cent. in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana; and further, that the shrinkage varies greatly in different parts of the same State. But another fact may not be so well known—that the depreciation is gauged by the relative number of Negroes in each section. Where there are a few or no blacks, the people are enjoying a higher prosperity than they ever had before—notwithstanding the unprecedented burdens of taxation. The expense

of living has not largely increased. The same amount of labor is applied to the soil. The price of the products has doubled. The lands in many instances have appreciated fourfold in value. On the contrary, where the Negroes abound, the lands, although the richest we have, can scarcely find a purchaser. The labor is shiftless and even capricious. The Negroes will not push the furrows, as formerly, from fence to fence, but resign the margin of the fields to weeds. They decline to ditch the lands—a neglect which not only interferes with the ordinary drainage of the soil, but surrenders the crop to the mercy of the freshets prevalent in all the alluvial cotton-belts. They refuse to plow thoroughly, or to use the subsoil-plow at all. They object that “dere is no use in dese new conventions; ole marster didn’t do so!” At critical times, when the harvest must be gathered promptly, they will not put forth any unusual exertion to save it from destruction. The crops dwindle. The fences and buildings are dismantled, and are even destroyed for firewood. The forests are disappearing with great rapidity. There are broad tracts of country, heretofore well wooded, where not enough material remains to rebuild the fences. Many of the plantations have reverted to the wilderness state, and the old malarial diseases, like the dreaded “yellow disease,” plagues which culture banished fifty years ago, are now returning. A large number of producers have resigned the labors of the field, and assumed the dignified position of consumers. Taking the quality as well as the quantity into consideration, we are assured that the labor of the Negroes has decreased fully one-half. This circumstance may explain why it is that the relative number of Negroes in any county or State gauges its present agricultural and financial condition.

It may be asserted, as a general fact, that every community where Negroes congregate, is embarrassed, if not crushed, by the burden. Hence many of the most intelligent planters watch with lively satisfaction the exodus that is drifting Westward. The amount of emigration is so large as to have changed the political complexion of Alabama within two years; and to have added over one hundred thousand to the colored population of Texas since 1870. And the momentum is so great that the point of the advancing column has already struck the Mexican frontier. They can be well spared; for our lands need workers, while a large proportion of these shiftless nomads are consumers and destroyers only. As they depart, the good time approaches when the fields of the industrious will no longer be subject to nightly visitations of plunderers, and when

stock-raising will cease to be, as it now is, impracticable. The depredations upon stock may be roughly computed from the census reports, for while a large number of animals were destroyed for the uses of the army, the brood-stock was retained, and time enough has elapsed since the close of the war to have admitted of an increase largely beyond the estimates of 1860. Accepting, however, this imperfect criterion, we find that the value of the live-stock destroyed in Georgia and Louisiana amounts to \$8,000,000 for each State; that in Mississippi, to \$11,000,000; that in Alabama, to \$16,000,000. Of the swine, which are easily captured and disposed of, and greatly relished for food, the number destroyed has been, in Mississippi, 700,000; in Alabama and Georgia, each 1,000,000.

The tide of Negro migration flows to those alluvial bottoms and virgin soils where the labor necessary to sustain life is least. It is encouraged, for the present, by the planters upon these rich lands; although none are better satisfied than they of the truth of the statement made above. Hence they prefer to rent the lands they cultivate, paying high prices for temporary occupancy; but they are unwilling to buy them as a permanent investment. Their hope is that they may make enough cotton in a few prosperous years to enable them to retire from the regions they have colonized with Africans. But to these improvident laborers the policy is likely to be most prejudicial. The fertile river-bottoms requiring less labor for production, the Negro will expend no more than they demand. He will become more enervated, if not more vicious. Deprived of the stimulus which the presence of a higher race imparts, he may quietly settle into a condition not unlike that of his ancestors on the fertile deltas of the Niger.

The races are separating at the South. The tendency of each color is to segregate to itself. The new citizen is the rival of the old. Muscle enters into competition with mind. What the result will be, no prophet need declare. The whites have the advantage. Notwithstanding their defeats and losses, they have reaped substantial benefits from the war of emancipation. The new crusade, like the old, brought isolated communities into contact with public affairs, and trained the ignorant to the knowledge of statesmanship, war, commerce, mechanical appliances, international relations. At home, necessity produced economy, and stimulated industry and the use of the practical arts. The war was a great popular educator; and when it ended, the South secured a higher price for cotton, and reduced the expense of living, except in the black districts.

The regions where the whites predominated produced home supplies in larger proportion than ever before; and so at once began the work of restoration. The work, interrupted for a time in the richer sections of each of the Gulf States, must go on. Whatever interrupts it—whether it be a system or a race—will be thrust aside.

The policy which has undertaken to manage the Negro question at the South should be carefully reviewed. Two unequal races living in the same land should neither be inflamed with mutual hostility—a conflict that would soon destroy the one; nor be persuaded into an unnatural social equality and commixture of widely divergent types—a union which would soon corrupt the other. The best interests of each require that they should be distinct, yet not divided. A respectful subordination on the one side, a condescending kindness on the other, and virtue and religion on the part of both, would enable them, each in its own sphere, to contribute to the happiness of all. Is such a relation wholly impracticable? Must the earthen vessel of the African, caught up by the tide of progress, strike and strike until it breaks against the iron strength of the Anglo-Saxon? Is there no resort in American philanthropy and statesmanship to save the humbler brother of our common race from ruin? At present the peaceful ballot has involved him in war and mischief; the legal contract has left him in idleness and beggary; and liberty itself offers him the alternative of extinction or colonization.

The disappointments we have encountered in dealing with this subject are due, for the most part, to one radical error. It has been taken for granted that the Negroes were depressed and demoralized by their servile condition merely, and needed nothing more than emancipation, with its concomitant rights and safeguards, to prepare them for the discharge of the duties of citizenship. Their past history has not been consulted. Their distinctive race-qualities have been wholly ignored. Thus they have come to be regarded as a class of Americans who differ from their fellow-citizens in no other particular than the darkness of skin. And most of the measures which either public policy or private philanthropy have devised for their benefit proceed from this point of departure.

That the position, however, is untenable, would seem scarcely to call for proof. The facts of the case were already set forth by the National Emigration Convention of Colored People, held at Cleveland, Ohio, in August, 1854. On that occasion, Dr. M. R. Delany, a Negro of pure blood, who was then recognized as one of the most cultivated and distinguished representatives of his people, and who

subsequently received the rank of major in the service of the United States, presented a paper on the Political Destiny of the Colored Race, which was adopted by the Convention without modification. The following extracts from this authoritative document are worthy of attention :

“Our friends in this and other countries, anxious for our elevation, have for years been erroneously urging us to lose our identity as a distinct race, declaring that we were the same as other people. The truth is, we are not identical with the Anglo-Saxon or any other race of the Caucasian or pure white type of the human family ; and the sooner we know and acknowledge the truth, the better for ourselves and our posterity. The English, French, Irish, German, Italian, Turk, Persian, Greek, Jew, and all other races, have their native or inherent peculiarities, and why not our race ? We are not willing, therefore, at all times and under all circumstances, to be molded into various shapes of eccentricity to suit the conveniences and caprices of every kind of people. We are not more suitable to everybody than everybody is to us ; therefore, no more like other people than others are like us. We have inherent traits, attributes, so to speak, and native characteristics, peculiar to our race, whether of pure or mixed blood ; and all that is required of us is to cultivate these, and develop them in their purity.”

In another part of the document, the intense self-consciousness of the African displays itself in the following language :

“They [our fathers] admitted themselves to be inferiors ; we barely acknowledge the whites as equals, perhaps not in every particular.” *

Now the circumstance of a permanent race-distinction between blacks and whites, the recognition of which was proudly demanded by the Cleveland Convention, has been quite overlooked by those who have had the freedmen in charge. The plan adopted was one that might have possibly suited a Caucasian race who needed only to be released from oppression in order to enter at once upon the path of progress. Nay, it was even thought that equal political privileges and general facilities of education would be an adequate substitute, in this case, for a want of forethought, of experience, and of self-control. Still further, while the perilous experiment was going on, the freedmen were led to believe that concert of action with the native whites, who could have aided them, and were willing to do so, would be a sacrifice of their liberties ; and that security against this danger could be found only under the tuition of unpracticed theorists and the guidance of worthless demagogues. Under such circumstances, the mistakes and extravagances into which the

* Life of Major M. R. Delany, pp. 334, 335, 351.

Negroes have been seduced can scarcely excite our wonder. Too much was expected of them.

Surely it is time that we should understand that such a case is too grave to be handled by temporary expedients and dexterities of "statesmanship." To multiply laws akin to those by which the peaceful relations of the two races have been already changed into discord and belligerency, will simply depreciate the industry and the character of the African more and more. Thus, for example, the Civil Rights Bill does not ameliorate any of the real evils of which we have spoken; but, on the contrary, threatens to augment them. On the part of the whites, pride of race will resent the humiliating association it calls for; and the interest of capitalists, to whose enterprises the Negroes have contributed nothing, except possibly an increase of taxation, will lead them to evade its provisions whenever and to whatever extent they can. On the part of the blacks, its assertion will produce frequent personal collisions, and its enforcement through the courts will intensify the hostility of races. But this measure will also seriously prejudice the interests of the latter. The improved arrangements it demands for them will enhance the expenses of travel, now lessened by simple accommodations and second-class cars. More than this, the enactment threatens the public schools and State colleges and universities with extinction. No legislation can induce the whites to send their sons and daughters to schools where they must mingle in daily and familiar intercourse with Negroes. Hence, in States where they have the power, they will refuse to make legislative appropriations to such institutions; and where they have not, they will send to private teachers, and leave the schools to be Africanized, despoiled by the ignorant and predatory Legislature, and eventually destroyed.

So much, we think, can be safely predicted as to the immediate effect of the Bill. And the final result of the conflict it inaugurates cannot be doubtful. Only an arbitrary Government—and ours is not—can succeed in regulating the associations of men, in prescribing the uses of invested capital, in arresting the laws of trade, and in breaking down the customs, and even the sentiments of a people. Peter the Great carried out an undertaking of a like character, but the mighty Czar was clothed with absolute power.

What the Negroes need now is not any additional guarantees of their political rights, but instruction and stimulation in regard to their personal and relative duties. The attempt is idle to lift them *en masse*, by any legislative expedient, in the scale of intelligence

or morality, of respectability or happiness. They need to be educated and Christianized. The philanthropy now contributing to their intellectual and moral culture, will guarantee their civil rights by a title higher than that conferred by statutes. For it seeks to confer upon the freedman the priceless gift of character—character, which does not ask for respect, but quietly and nobly commands it.

We desire to do justice to those who, in this unpretending and self-sacrificing way, have rendered service at once to the blacks and to the country at large. The chartered institutions, graded schools, and common schools, established by the American Missionary Association, in behalf of the freedmen, whatever local hostility they may have here or there excited, have certainly undertaken a work most important, and have displayed a rare zeal and liberality in its prosecution. Within the limits of the Gulf States this energetic Christian alliance has four chartered institutions with 1,034 pupils, and eleven graded schools with 3,878 pupils. The American Baptist Home Mission Society has received within the last four years \$200,000 for the Freedmen School Fund, and has secured for the same purpose \$100,000 besides, which did not pass through its treasury. What proportion of the amount has been appropriated to the Gulf States we have no means of indicating. The seven schools maintained by this Society at the South, as well as its school for freedwomen, in New Orleans, have been conducted with marked ability and discretion.

These and similar enterprises of benevolence demand our cordial recognition. Yet, after all, we are compelled to admit that they are not likely to make the freedman a homogeneous element in our American society. Neither school-house nor sanctuary prevents the divergence of the two races from becoming more pronounced every day. They confront each other in armed array in Louisiana and Arkansas. They maintain a temporary armistice in Texas and Mississippi. They agree to disagree in Alabama and Georgia. No where are they coming together. The alienation grows, and affects more and more disastrously the industrial and moral condition of the weaker race. The unsettled, embittered, and belligerent spirit, which ceaseless political agitation engenders, proves most unfavorable to the propagation of the gospel among them, and to their pursuit of those studies which demand "still and quiet airs." To themselves not less than to the Republic their transfer to a separate colony would prove of the greatest advantage. Could they even be assigned a territorial reservation, like that set apart to the Indians

the same sacrifices and expenditures as are now made for their elevation would become a hundred-fold more effective. The freedmen, undisturbed by social aspirations and conflicts, could devote themselves to their own affairs and interests. And the rich lands from which they were withdrawn would be opened to a beneficent tide of American and European immigration.

We throw out these suggestions with diffidence, for the problem of the destiny of the colored people is complex and obscure. Yet, while we wait and theorize, it may be that Providence is solving the difficulty. The Negroes are already emigrating. Since they first landed on our shores, they have been drifting toward the Southwest. The movement, once gradual or seemingly casual, has now become as continuous and steady as a law of nature. A mighty gathering procession has been marching onward from New England to Virginia, and from the Atlantic to the Gulf. And now, as we have already noticed, it is pouring into Texas, and even passing beyond. Twenty years ago, the Cleveland Convention directed the African exodus to Central and South America, and the West Indies; and to-day Mexico fronts these wandering tribes as the land of promise and the seat of power. There they may rest, amid such conditions of climate, soil, and company as suit their constitution, their habits, and their instincts. There they will feel at home, as they bask in the sun and feast upon the spontaneous fruits of the tropics. There they will find social equality already existing among all races and colors, and encounter no bar to their pretensions at the bed or the board or the bridal. This conclusion would finally solve the problem. The Negro would meet, among the sparse population of that vast and fertile domain, such unquestioning hospitalities as our country and our civilization can not give.

ARTICLE II.

LEONARDO DA VINCI AND HIS WORKS.*

PROF. GEORGE L. AUSTIN.

WE welcome the appearance of this sumptuous volume, alike creditable to both authors and publishers, for two reasons: it presents to the reader, in a manner singularly concise and unaffected, the most recently discovered *facts*; and is the only English account, at all valuable, of the great artist's life and labors. Having expressed so much, any further commendation of the volume seems to us unnecessary, unless, indeed, one word ought to be offered in praise of the exquisite illustrations, twenty in number, which add to its beauty and attractiveness.

The life of Leonardo da Vinci, as narrated by many of his biographers, is a strange combination of the elements of mystery, fascination, and repulsiveness. His works are no less enigmatical. Before one of his figures an observer feels as if he were standing upon the brink of a precipice—awed, confounded, troubled by a certain superior intelligence that seems to gleam therefrom. The angels of Fra Angelico incline us to God; through them Faith speaks. On the contrary, Leonardo raises us to a hitherto unknown sense of our own grandeur. The effect, which the ancients produced by a visible image, he produces by an invisible image. The beauty of Phidias and Apelles was corporeal; that of Leonardo is spiritual.

We are accustomed to speak of this man, Leonardo da Vinci, with a somewhat indefinite idea of both who, and what, he was. His genius strikes us as having been prodigious—indeed, something more than genius. Now, would it be possible to forget history for a single moment, and then to conceive of an inspired Leonardo? Perhaps, not; and yet, when he painted a picture he defied the pencil

* LEONARDO DA VINCI AND HIS WORKS: CONSISTING OF A LIFE, BY MRS. CHARLES W. HEATON; AN ESSAY ON HIS SCIENTIFIC AND LITERARY WORKS, BY CHARLES CHRISTOPHER BLACK, M.A.; AND AN ACCOUNT OF HIS MOST IMPORTANT PAINTINGS. LONDON AND NEW YORK: MACMILLAN & CO.

of Michel Angelo; when he formed a Madonna he challenged Raphael; and Correggio said of him, "He is my master." All the world is disposed to regard the artist of the Last Judgment as something super-human; while Raphael is "divine." But who ever dared to prate about the "divine Leonardo"?

His story is brief, more like a romance than a reality, and is characterized by a larger number of seeming incredibilities than of reliable facts. Mystery clouds his nativity, and, in some respects, his death. Between these two events, the *legend* is as a page written in cipher, to which the key is lost.

Leonardo was a "natural child," so says the genealogy; a "child of love," wrote Stendhal. His father, Piero Antonio da Vinci, a notary of the republic, lived at Castello da Vinci, a village in the lovely Val d'Arno, near Florence. His mother has but a name in history, Caterina, an invisible mother, so to speak, a mistress, who comes and goes like a bird of passage, and is soon forgotten. Her sole legacy to her offspring was an impress of charming beauty, and a smile formed of eternal regret and hope.

The preface of the boy's life was more joyous than brilliant. We imagine him as frolicking in the school of Nature, in full enjoyment of all the privileges of children of love; a youth, ever restless and inquisitive, flitting with the freedom of the butterflies amid the flowers and perfumes of his native hamlet; a youth, strong, robust, and manly in mind and mien. We imagine him as measuring distances with an eagle's eye, questioning the sun, penetrating the moon, pursuing the stars. We imagine him as investigating the grand mysteries of the creation—testing the powers of the air, of the water, and of the flame, at all times dismayed by nothing, and delighted with every thing.

Time flies; and youth merges into manhood. Athletic sports, which give energy and strength to the body, thereby insuring its healthful vigor, are, now, gradually dispensed with. The boy has laid aside his bat and ball, and takes up his books. His mind craves intellectual nourishment. He is fond of poetry; an adept in history; a genuine master of science. "In arithmetic," says Vasari, "he often confounded the instructor, by his reasonings and by the difficulty of the problems he proposed." And, then, he shows the promise of becoming a polished gentleman. He learns music and dancing. At every ball, at every concert, at every festivity, he is present.

What a dashing young fellow he is, too! Among the pretty

belles of the village he is as pretty a beau. A "born gallant, as beautiful as an Apollo," they call him. In the opinions of his associates, he seems to unite all the charming seductions of manhood, all the magic of a magician—eyes of penetrating lustre, features beaming with intelligence and good humor, a form than which not another is more graceful, more pliant, and more noble, limbs of exceptional mold and movement, and, finally, a heart neither pining for nor utterly indifferent to love. Such is the legacy of the invisible mother, of whom he may justly feel proud.

We have hinted that Leonardo was one of the handsomest men of his time. His beauty was both spiritual and physical—a beauty of mind and of body. Plato reasoned that "no one can know Beauty unless he himself is beautiful." According to Plato, then, Leonardo was predestined to comprehend and to create beauty. In other words, he was a man gifted with superior intelligence, with potent abilities, and with a mind impatient for satisfaction.

In speaking of the career of our artist, it is well to divide it into three portions. Without such a division, it is hardly possible to distinguish the three important and distinct phases of his character. The first period comprises the thirty years which he spent at Florence; the second, the fifteen years which he passed in Milan; the third, the twenty years or more, during which he wandered hither and thither, until, finally, he drifted to France, and there died.

Leonardo might have become a merchant, by heeding his father's advice. He was disobedient, and turned out an artist. Andrea da Verocchio was his master; Nature was his teacher; from the former he learned of Florentine models and methods; from the latter, precepts, beauty, and truth. Verocchio was a good man, his pupils were his "children," and their welfare was his own.

One day, Verocchio was at San Salvi, painting the Baptism of Jesus by Saint John, for the monks of Vallombroso. Leonardo was with him, and, taking up a brush, painted, in the style of his master, an angel in one corner of the picture. "Since you have surpassed me at the first stroke, take my palette, and I will return to my pyxes," remarked Verocchio. We wonder which enjoyed this scene the more—master, or pupil?

Leonardo continued to paint—another angel, and still another, a scene in Paradise, the head of the terrible Medusa, a Neptune in a tempest, the Adoration of the Wise Men, and how many more?

One triumph was closely followed by another; and the current of his genius seemed onward to flow without a wave, or even a ripple, to mar the level of its surface.

We should like to have peeped into his studio. It must have been a strange abode, abounding in rare curiosities, in mementos of charming excursions into the neighboring country, in old relics of the Past—perhaps some studies wrought by an earlier painter, like Giotto or Fra Angelico, or even Masaccio, some crude remnants of sculpture, chippings from an ancient temple, a few books, dog-eared and half-devoured, with as many more singular and striking objects.

But a man, such as was he, could not “add line upon line, precept upon precept,” pent up in an artist’s cell. There was need of fresh air, of green and smiling fields, and of society with its blendings, alternations, and contrasts of light and shade. Nature is the secret of human happiness; it is also the secret of an artist’s success.

Again, we imagine Leonardo pacing the streets of Florence, with a step firm and steady; with his eyes downcast, but ever ready to take in, at any moment, whatever is worthy of notice; and with his mind silent and pensive. A doublet of sombre hue, half-hidden beneath a long, flowing mantle, parted so as to give freedom of motion to his right arm; a soft, brown cap; hose, either black or brown, descending to his shoes of fawn-colored leather—each in the fashion of the earlier half of the sixteenth century; a belt, to which is attached a memorandum-book, wherein its owner is accustomed to jot down the figures of such personages as please his fancy—such is the attire, we imagine, of Leonardo.

While walking thus, he constantly falls in with old friends. Gay company it is altogether. They laugh and joke, discuss art in all its bearings, put questions and answer them, and indulge in criticisms on this and that, as if they were the worthy sons of Aristarch.

A man on horseback rides by; each matches the other in fine appearance, and the sight is attractive. A pretty maiden, whose face and form have equal charms, and whose ankles, bare and brown, seem to share the bashfulness of their owner, sees this gallant company approaching, and hastens to cross over to the other side. A man, bowed down with weight of years, with eyes dim, and with locks frosted by seventy-odd winters, creeps slowly by—each step leading so much nearer to the bourn of mortality. A young and stately matron, bearing in her arms her infant offspring, and each healthful and happy, scorns not, while passing, to wink sly and mischievous glances at these goodly fellows.

Here are a few of the living, moving pictures which Nature offers, in her sublime art-gallery, as it were, to all her admirers. Do you imagine Leonardo seizing with eager grasp his memorandum-book? Who can say that among the sketches which he hurriedly jots down, the face of some one of these, whom he has just passed by, will not, sooner or later, be forever immortalized in a saint or a Madonna?

And, here, we are forced to remark that Leonardo da Vinci did not follow after the ways of other men. One of his biographers has termed him the "sun of the Renaissance," thereby implying a resort on his part to the use of ancient models. But nothing can be further from the truth than this supposition. The secret of his greatness as an artist was in his being able to create beauty without copying the antique. He was a living proof that one may be as great as either Apelles or Phidias in the sole spectacle of Nature. Nature rarely misleads those artists who go to her in truth and seeking truth. She inspires them with soul and feeling; she satisfies their curiosity; she glorifies their success. It is the traveler who never sleeps while on his journey, who oversteps without anxious regard both laws and customs, who studies in every moment of his existence, that can say to his idle companions, "I have seen, and I know."

With the year 1483 opens the second period of Leonardo's career; and it is the date, usually considered, of his visit to Milan. That city was already rendered famous by its encouragement of the fine arts. When Giotto went to Lombardy, and there enriched with some of his choicest frescos the palaces of the Visconti, the number of the painters throughout all Italy began to increase. This primitive school occasioned the rise of others.

In the San Francesco Chapel at Milan one may still gaze with admiration upon a masterpiece of sculpture which dates back to this early moment of the Gothic Renaissance. It is the Assumption of the Virgin, wrought in marble in 1316. To this monument of art two others might be added—the tomb of the martyr, Saint Peter, in the Church of Saint Eustorgius, and the tomb consecrated to the memory of Lanfranc Settala, in the Church of St. Mark's.

At the time of Leonardo's arrival in Milan, Lodovico Sforza was the reigning sovereign, to whom the artist, prior to his eventful journey, had addressed a most remarkable letter. The prelude of this epistle reads as follows:

"Having, most illustrious lord, seen and duly considered the experiments of all those who repute themselves masters in the art of inventing instruments of war, and having found that their instruments are useless, or else such as are in common use,

I will endeavor, without wishing to injure any one else, to make known to your Excellency certain secrets of my own; and at an opportune time, should you see fit to put them into execution, I hope to be able to effect all the things enumerated briefly below," etc.

Then follow a dozen or more specified items, which the artist "hopes to be able to effect."

The man that could have written such a letter must have been either a foolish egotist or a superlative genius. But, *Chi non può quel che vuol, quel che può voglia*—"He who can not do what he will, must will that which he can do," says Leonardo, in his only remaining sonnet; and he himself seems never to have been troubled by the unending difficulty of willing and doing.

The artist found in Lodovico a man of two natures—one barbarous, the other refined. The latter he strove to cultivate, in order to oppose and counteract the former. That philosophical turn of mind, that power of invention, that skillfulness of procedure, and that cunningness of concealment of his, found ample sphere wherein to act their respective parts.

Tradition pictures Leonardo entering the royal court playing upon a silver lute of his own construction. He appeared not as an artist whose fame had preceded him, but as a wandering minstrel, a court singer, and trusting for an audience to the sweetness of his strains. Lodovico was charmed by the silver lute; by the golden words which fell harmoniously from eloquent lips; and by the beauty and grace of the singer. How often was he forced to exclaim: "I believe you keep always singing, Leonardo."

History furnishes striking pictures of Lodovico's court, where magnificent spectacles and brilliant sins vied with each other in producing entrancing effects. It was a maze of corruption, intrigue, and licentiousness, with neither limit nor distinction. The attractive center of such a court was the Duke himself, who was, likewise, its greatest dupe. He was a prince equally familiar with the sword and with poison; sometimes noble and condescending, generally arrogant and knavish; fond of grandeur and display; the tyrant of his people, the slave of his women, a seeker of glory and renown through ignominiousness. And yet, while a love of domination reigned uppermost in his mind, he cherished an almost equal love of the fine arts. Having laid aside his sword, he would float among his mistresses, his gentlemen, his architects, his sculptors, his painters, and his musicians. He would visit the churches, and there discourse learnedly upon the works of the Middle Ages. He would

order feasts, and revel in their intoxications. He would share the sin of the harlot, and then, in the seclusion of his chapel, offer up prayers to God for the safety of his soul.

Into this treacherous court Leonardo craved admission. A painter, draughtsman, sculptor, architect, mechanic, versed in mathematics, physics, astronomy, anatomy, and natural history, a good musician, a fair poet, an expert in manly exercises; in short, a universal genius, and "all-potent in every thing"—with all these professions, accomplishments, and vanquishing qualities united in the same mortal being, what wonder is it that Leonardo succeeded in making entrance into the Milanese court? A jack of all trades, surely; and a romantic existence altogether. In any other man, such a life would have killed the artist.

In 1484, Leonardo began the composition of his treatises on Painting, and on other sciences. Only the year before, he had modeled the equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza, and founded the Academy "Da Vinci." Although the artist was overburdened with the results of sad experience, he yet cherished many vague and untried notions. He was like a bee, which, in her constant quest of honeyed sweets, pauses but a second on a flower, and then hies away to another. He was industrious, but, as remarks Vasari, "so versatile and changeful." Always planning, and rarely achieving, his industry may be said to have been more futile than fruitful.

The festivities of Milan were fully as brilliant and grand as were ever the fêtes of Versailles. To whom was the Duke indebted for all this splendor, save to Leonardo? The famous Sancho Panza was not more devoted to his lord. It was the art of Leonardo—not one only, but many arts—which caused luxury and extravagance to blossom in the court of Lodovico. Not a banquet was given without the direction and assistance of the artist. One might justly suppose that he was the steward of the household. But no! He did all this with hand—not with heart. He was a courtier to please his master—not himself. No real delight he felt in material feasts; the intellectual feasts gratified him the more.

And hence it was no uncommon sight to behold him, after his menial's work was done, hastening to join the welcoming company of his disciples at the Academy.

Leigh Hunt has characterized the episode of Francesca as standing, in the *Inferno*, "like a lily in the mouth of Tartarus." The same thought would apply equally as well to Beatrice d'Este, one

of the most charming figures of Italian history. It was in 1492, and in the very bloom of her fascination and beauty, that she became the wife of the Duke of Milan. It is when contrasted with the excellent Beatrice that the nature and disposition of Lodovico appear in their truest and most contemptible light.

Notwithstanding his faults and excesses, Beatrice held the mastery over her husband. She aimed to direct his mind to nobler pursuits; she offered up prayers in his behalf; she was his strength, his counselor, his example; and in her pure and saintly womanhood he had found a Christian Sappho in an Egeria. In return for such fidelity, such devotion, and such piety, the unscrupulous scoundrel had the impudence to assure her, just before her death, that "he loved her more than any other one of his mistresses." In 1497 she died; and Lodovico threw himself into the arms of his artist, and begged, for his lovely wife, a funeral display grander than it is possible for the imagination to conceive of.

Leonardo shared, and with truer feeling, the afflicted grief of his master. He aroused himself, as never before, to render famous the Church of Santa-Maria delle Grazie, wherein the remains of the beautiful Beatrice had been laid to rest. It was while under the impression of such intense sadness that Leonardo painted the Last Supper, a work in which he fixed the visible type of Christ for all posterity, a work of which, notwithstanding this fact, scarcely the shade of its shadow now remains.

Dante has written of the religious of his age, as,

" Similimente operando all' artista
Ch' ha l' abito dell' arte e *man che trema.*"

It is related that when Leonardo da Vinci—a man who, it would seem, had rarely accustomed himself to sacred meditation—undertook to paint the head of Christ, his "hand appeared to tremble." He sought to make God in man, and man in God; in other words, to unite the visible truth to the sovereign ideal. His genius was continually absorbed in the contemplation of the divinity of his subject.

In despair at not being able to give to his Christ the desired perfection, he asked counsel of a friend:

" 'O Leonardo,' said the latter, 'the error into which thou hast fallen is one from which only the Divine Being Himself can deliver thee; for it is not in thy power, nor in that of any one else, to give greater divinity and beauty to any figures

- than thou hast done to those of James the Greater and the Less; therefore be of good cheer, and leave the Christ imperfect, for thou wilt never be able to accomplish the Christ after such apostles.' Which thing," Lomazzo adds, "Leonardo did, as may still be seen, although the picture is wholly ruined."

How striking the misconception of Goethe, how blinded must have been his eyes, when he failed to discern in that grand and sacred page aught but the work of naturalism, and signalized his delusion by asserting that each head was a mere portrait! All this of a masterpiece, which, when we consider its ideal character, its life, its passion, and its soul, towers as high above all other masterpieces of art as do the pyramids above the caravansaries of the African desert. But even granting that the heads of the apostles are naturalistic, that "they are all of them real living men with passions like unto us," that of the Master certainly does not share this character. Whoever will examine the studies which the artist made for this subject will be doubly convinced of this fact. "His hand trembled," and well it might. It was no Greek god that he had to represent, but "the loving Teacher of Christianity, the tender Shepherd of his flock, the Man of sorrows, the God-Man, it is true, but the Son of Man still, with human emotions and human tears."*

The painting of the Last Supper, although doomed to rapid destruction, remains the best known and most famous picture of Christian art. Our author truthfully remarks that "we find it alike in rich men's palaces and poor men's cottages, in splendid mosaic and in coarse wood-cut, as altar-piece and as scrap-book illustration." Surely, the manhood of the artist was not wholly wasted in the voluptuous court of his patron. "Travailleur infatigable," and "génie supérieur et universel," exclaims Rio, the learned author *De l'Art Chrétien*—and yet this is only a little, compared with what might have been expected from the vast genius of Leonardo.

Already the throne of the Milanese dynasty was beginning to totter. Luxury and extravagance had not brought riches into the treasury of Lodovico. He was poor when he escaped from Florence, but far poorer when forced to leave Milan. On the 8th

* Mrs. Heaton asserts that Leonardo accepted, for his Christ, "the type founded long before in Byzantium, and which, by its very antiquity and the worship so long paid to it, was held, perhaps, even in his mind, in a certain amount of superstitious awe;" and adds that this fact is evident in "such studies as she has seen, and in Marco Oggione's copy, which is generally acknowledged to be the most faithful translation that now exists of Leonardo's great work." We regret that we can not second such an opinion, in face of acknowledged historical fact. Sufficient documentary evidence remains, indeed, to prove the contrary. What the author has to say with regard to the inferiority of Raphael Morghen's Christ to that of Leonardo, almost every intelligent critic will readily admit.

February, 1498, a literary conference was held in the palace—"a scientific duel" Fra Pacciolo terms it—at which the prince and his artist together presided. This was the calm before the storm. War was declared, as fatal to art as to life. Lodovico was hurried away prisoner from Milan; while Leonardo da Vinci, arm in arm with his friends Pacciolo and Salaï, taking a final glimpse of the *duomo* of the cathedral, departed to Florence.

Two princes had dwelt in Milan. The greater one was he who had governed the arts, and, in his own court, had ruled by persuasion and by glorious effects. The enemy at the very gates of his studio terrified him not; not until the studio itself had fallen did its occupant take his leave. Leonardo it was in reality; in idea, he seemed to be Plato returned again to his school; in action, he was, at once, Socrates and Alcibiades, by his wisdom, his spirit, by the weight of his example, and by his natural grace.

Lamartine, on the morrow of that revolution of which he became master, said to his followers: "Have no anxiety; for I do well whatever I do." He spoke in words what Leonardo might have thought and uttered with equal justness, two centuries before. When, in his forty-eighth year, the artist left Milan, he wept bitter tears over the fall of the city; but tears more bitter over the ruin of his youth.

It was a change from bad to worse when Leonardo directed his footsteps back to Florence. Cæsar Borgia—that *Cæsar aut nihil* of his age—did not recognize him as his first painter, as Lodovico had done. We turn to our artist's manuscripts of this period, full of hieroglyphics, and are amazed by the vast number of designs therein treasured. How many thoughts, and sad thoughts, too, do we read in them!—thoughts expressed in symbols, and not in words.

On the 30th July, 1502, he was at Urbino; for, on one of his pages, he has sketched a dovecote, a strangely-looking ladder, and, finally, the citadel. The next day he dreamed and meditated, without lifting his crayon. On the 31st of August, he designed some farm-tools at Pezzaro; at Rimini, on the 8th, he caught the harmony of water falling from the public fountain; at Ceséna, on the 11th, he drew a house, and an apparatus for transporting grapes; and, so on, to the end.

Our knowledge of the artist grows fainter. Political controversies, and clouds tinted with crimson, are gathering around him. As the record of the times increases, that of Leonardo seems to decrease. In reality, he is losing himself in his own history; and just as he appears to be fading almost wholly from our view, the

gonfalonier of Florence interposes, and assigns to him the honor—of vying with Michel Angelo. The opening of the sixteenth century in Italy is characterized by the struggle of these two great artists. The story of the struggle is familiar. Neither of the artists was victor in the contest: the judges hesitated between their works as between the men themselves; and the State, rather than show a preference for either one of its glorious children, chose to lose forever a masterpiece of painting.

Bellencioni speaks in his verses of the famous portraits of Ginevra Benzi and of Lisa del Giocondo. Leonardo, in a letter to the Maréchal de Chaumont, governor of Milan for the King of France, says: "I shall hope to bring with me two Madonnas (Nosstre Donne) of different sizes, which have been done for his Most Christian Majesty," etc. There is good reason for believing that one of these Madonnas was the portrait of Mona Lisa, which Vasari terms "a marvel, a thing more divine than human," and which latterly has been generally regarded as "the despair of painters."

Surely, no work could ever be more beautiful than this masterpiece. Each passing day finds it, like the Last Supper, growing more dim and more mysterious. The background, a charming rural scene, where the sea-blue is hemmed in by picturesque mountains, is, in the painting, almost invisible to our modern sight. Still remains to us, however, that design of ravishing purity; those ideal forms so finely and so delicately rendered; those eyes whose entrancing gaze still glitter with moist dewdrops; ah, and that smile, so infinitely mysterious, before which the King of France knelt dumb. But where are the warm, lifelike, palpitating carnation tints that moved the enthusiasm of Vasari? Even as the picture appears now, hanging in its ancient place in the gallery of the Louvre, the observer feels, like M. Michelet, attracted, fascinated, and absorbed by it, in spite of self, as "the bird is drawn to the serpent."

"While the lovely Mona Lisa sat for her portrait," says an old biographer, "there were always near her singers, musicians, and buffoons, in order to keep her in constant gayety, and to avoid that look of depression, and of melancholy, then inevitable in portraits." And, yet, "the smile of Mona Lisa, however, was never produced by a jest. It is the painter's smile, and not the sitter's. Its 'ten thousand experiences' are his, and are all summed up in the words of the preacher—*Vanitas vanitatum.*"

Leonardo labored four years at the portrait, which, indeed, he never adjudged complete. Tender-hearted critics—how sorely have

they wrangled over this fact! Impossible; and yet, not so impossible after all, if one is only willing to believe that, after his return to Florence, Leonardo had come to lodge in the house of Francesco and of Mona Lisa, and that, being smitten by the latter, he had employed his leisure moments in painting her likeness. When one loves, one loathes to depart. If the young wife *was* really as beautiful as she now appears to us—the wonder is, that it did not require four times four years to accomplish what an indifferent artist might, perhaps, have done in as many months!

Rome always has had a special charm for the artist-nature, as much so in the fifteenth as in the nineteenth century. It was in 1504, probably, that Leonardo first arrived in the Eternal City, where he left a charming fresco in the cloister of St. Onuphrius. Ten years later, in the autumn, he was recalled to Rome, after a long absence; and Leo X. bade him “to begin life anew.” Both Pope and artist flattered each other in the spirit of the age. The former told the latter, amid numerous caresses and benedictions, to “work for the glory of God;” and the injunction was partly obeyed.

One day, the Pope demanded to know how Leonardo was getting along in his work upon a certain picture, which had been ordered by himself. He was told that the artist was distilling from herbs a kind of varnish more generous in its effects than any other varnish known. “Alas!” exclaimed the pontiff, “this fellow will assuredly do nothing at all, since he is thinking of the end before he has made a beginning of his work.” Leonardo heard of this remark, and resolved secretly to leave Rome.

“Leo X.,” says M. Rio, “could not have proved other than hostile to a devoted partisan of France, like Leonardo. There reigned at the time, wherever the influence of the Medicis was prevalent, an Anti-Gallican animosity, which, after the final reverses of the French arms in Lombardy, had ceased to keep within moderate bounds, and to which art, as well as literature, was, under penalty of disgrace, obliged to pay tribute.”

Words further than these from the truth could not possibly have been penned. Leo X. loved art too well to ever concern himself about artists’ political opinions. He admired Michel Angelo, for instance, but the latter was not only averse to many of his schemes, but even exceedingly willful, at times; and Raphael was certainly not of his own making.

In Rome, these three artists partook of the same feast, but not at the same table. Raphael and Michel Angelo were each in the height of his glory, and the former was about to wed the niece of Cardinal

Bibiena. The "lute-player of Milan" was of all men the most distasteful to Michel Angelo, who, wherever they chanced to meet, seemed to flash out the hostile inquiry, "What are you doing here?" Leonardo was completely foiled. Why? One might as reasonably ask why it grows dark when the night has come on.

France was the dream of Leonardo; and thither he hoped to drift ere his career was over. France was not so much France as it was Italy. When Louis XII., in 1507, conquered Milan, he titled our artist "First Painter to the King of France." Francis I. followed in the footsteps of his predecessor. He and Leonardo met together, for the first time, in full sight of the Last Supper. "Inasmuch as I am unable to carry this *chef-d'œuvre* home with me, I desire to convey the artist whose work it is," said the king. Leonardo nodded his assent.

Thus, after years of sorrow, neglect, and ceaseless wanderings, Leonardo was, at length, brought to a quiet rest in France. It was the Canaan that was set before him in his old age, for now he was in his sixty-fourth year. Amboise—this was the name of the town; and that of the château, Cloux de Murailles—now Clos-Lucé. Here, in this delectable retreat, the "First Painter to the King of France" was at liberty to spend the remainder of his days. The cozy interior of the mansion seems not to have changed from its old appearance. The large square-room where the painter worked and received his royal guests is still pointed out. Across the narrow hall is the little chapel, its walls and ceilings even now sparkling with the frescos of Francesco Melzi, wherein the present proprietor would have the visitor believe Leonardo offered up many a fervent prayer to his God. There, too, is his chamber, with its couch carved and gilded, whereon the artist slumbered, and dreamed of that beauty, so precise, which he often sought after, but never found.

The exterior of the château is in every respect delightful—a perfect Eden of smooth lawns, of gently sloping terraces, and cool sequestered bowers, abounding in trees of fruit and shade, in flowers of every hue and scent, and always musical with the trill of birds and the hum of bees. Altogether it was little more than the three acres of Plato at Colonus, and a little less than the park of Bonaparte at Saint-Helena.

It is pleasant to picture to ourselves Leonardo enjoying the breezes of the evening along with the gay company of his three faithful friends and disciples, Melzi, Salaï, and Malthurinus. How busily their tongues must have chatted after the day's work was

over, when the memory and the heart wandered back to Italy to be again refreshed by the legends and experiences of old!

In his château of Clos-Lucé, Leonardo found a friend whom he had hardly known, or had but little recognized—God. His love of science had inclined him to a worship of Nature. He regarded religion as another sphinx, the secret of which he had sought as a philosopher, a speculative dreamer, and a sage-artist, but had never discovered. The ancient revelry of court-life had confused his mind, chilled his heart, and blinded his soul. He had lived as other men lived, and sinned as they sinned. But, whether sinner or saint, whether religionist or infidel, it was he who fixed the type of his Lord, thus to remain until the sound of trumpets and the legions of angelic choirs shall have ushered Him to the judgment.

Vasari's *Life of Leonardo da Vinci*, as we read it now, differs somewhat from the first edition. In the latter, the artist is characterized as "a man filled with all manner of heretical notions, and who did not belong to any religion, but esteemed it better to be a philosopher than a Christian." We can not forbear quoting, on this point, from the latest biography of the artist, remarks fully coinciding with our own opinions:

"Fortunately, Vasari's charge of heresy is not such a formidable one at the present day as in the sixteenth century, when the Inquisition deemed it a duty to inquire into it, and when unquestioning obedience to the Church of Rome was insisted upon as the only safe means of attaining everlasting happiness. In Leonardo's time inquiry was looked upon as a crime, and the path of natural science was deemed a dangerous deviation from the straight road of faith. Even a century later, Galileo, as we know, had to retract and do penance for his discovery of the movement of the earth; and it is, perhaps, surprising, considering Leonardo's daring study of physical phenomena, that it should not have drawn upon him a more severe judgment than that of Vasari. Artists favored of princes, however, escaped many evils to which less fortunate mortals would have been doomed, as we learn most forcibly by Benvenuto Cellini's scandalous career; and it is not impossible that it was owing to this circumstance that Leonardo was enabled to pursue his scientific researches without drawing upon himself the fearful charge of magic or heresy, so easily made in his day."

We have never been able to discern in Leonardo's so-called philosophy, any thing very unchristian. To illustrate: His idea of beauty was similar to that of Plato. He did not seek it in the already-found figures of Olympia. No Phryne and no Laïs are visible in his Madonnas, or in his Virgins; they are, instead, evangelical, so to speak, genuine Marys and Marthas and Magdalenas. If we compare him with another artist, we shall find that even his Mona

Lisa is infinite and spiritual, and that beside her the eternal Fornarina seems to lose all of her idealism.

Writers have most ungenerously spoken of Leonardo's confession at the last hour, and have even pictured him as a penitent in despair of all forgiveness. We abhor such inhumanity to man, when not a record remains to point out in Leonardo's character either the stain of immorality or of more than ordinary sinfulness. As if his paintings were not the reflex of the true feeling of his soul, overflowing with love, reverence, and sincerity, and the only needed confession of his manhood!

Witness the Last Supper, in which the artist's idea of our Lord is measured by grandeur and submission! His majesty is unfolded in simplicity, and without display; and earnestness is less divine in the enthusiasm than in the meditation. As M. Houssaye so truthfully remarks:

"Leonardo is a doctor of the Faith, and a Father of the Church. Great patriarch of Christian painting, he has dared to place science before faith, but his last will and testament prove that the former had not destroyed the latter. For Leonardo da Vinci, science illumined the image of God with a glitter forever bright. Earth does not deny God, but rather explains and interprets Him."

Leonardo bloomed in France like an exotic; his life there was short and beautiful. It is altogether the most interesting period of his career, so full was it of quiet, contented happiness, and unalloyed friendships. Strangely enough, his biographers have touched only lightly upon this portion of his history. Was it because they were lulled into blissful silence by the serene atmosphere which enshrouded it, or because its own calm and unostentatious nature rendered it secret to the world without?

One other mystery, which antiquarianism has solved at last, remains to be recalled. On the 2d of May, 1519, Leonardo died at Clos-Lucé—not at Fontainebleau, as so often reported—just nine days after making his will. Tradition adds that he expired in the arms of Francis I.; and inasmuch as there is no direct evidence of the falsity of this assertion, surely there is pleasure in allowing it to stand as written truth.

Here we pause. We have purposely spoken only of the man, since the whole world is familiar with the crowning efforts of his genius. Posterity is too prone to forget the lives of great men in view of the works which they have left behind them. But it is not always the works that are the more interesting, the more instructive, or the more valuable. The manhood of Leonardo da Vinci is worthy

of the deepest study; it requires no apology. He was one who lived almost every where and under almost all circumstances—for to-morrow, and not for to-day. His great spirit was ever

“ Yearning with desire
To follow knowledge like a sinking star
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought.”

And yet, when conscious, as he was no doubt, of the end, which was approaching too soon for what he had hoped to achieve, he utters a cry of mournful regret: “When I thought I was learning to live, I was but learning to die.”

Mona Lisa was Leonardo's masterpiece; and it ought always to be regarded as his most interesting work, because in it we behold the ideal secret of the artist's life. He was, as we have endeavored to point out, a lover of beauty, and of a kind which unites, at once, sweetness, serenity, grace, and tenderness. He sought it in Nature, and found it as perfect as any that the Greeks had known. And, yet, Leonardo was not satisfied. He believed that he had not found the perfect and precise beauty which he so ardently longed for. The speculative theorist may properly discuss topics to which others of his fellow-men have neither occasion nor inclination to approach.

Thus do we find our mind wafted into the future; and beyond the gates of knowledge, it wonders whether, in that far-off, eternal realm of secrets, where the dream of the soul is realized, and where Life and Light are one, in that Paradise of Beauty, Leonardo ceased his longings, and found the beloved object of his quest.

ARTICLE III.

ARISTON: A TRAGEDY IN FIVE ACTS.

ACT I.

SCENE I.—*A Room in Athens, in which
a symposium has been just finished.*

ARISTIPPUS.

IOLO, hold him—hold him, lest he fall!
Our common manhood sinks in him to
earth.

PHILIPPON.

Jove! how the fellow reels! yet heavy
seems
And helpless as the dead.

ARISTIPPUS.

Ariston, stand!
Stand like a man, and be once more thy-
self!
No overloaded ship out on the sea,
And struck by winds, and bang'd by
spiteful waves,
Would toss and veer in such a staggering
way.

IOLO.

How beautiful the rule of not too much—
That bound where wine brings sparkle to
the wit,
But not a flame to craze, and burn the
brain!

PHILIPPON.

A first glass shunn'd, no second could
make harm:
Our gods may err to ever crown our feasts,
Since where none touch, none then can
turn to beasts.

ARISTIPPUS.

Cease thy philosophy, and lend thy hand!
Our strength is vain.

[ARISTON falls.

Our friend is down once more—
Down like a satyr snoring off his cups.

IOLO.

Athens ne'er show'd a form so fine, a
heart

So brave, so true—yet her Hyperion lies
A dribbling drunkard, senseless on the
floor—

The lustres gone from two half-open'd
eyes,

Vacant and red—a face that look'd a god's
Most pitifully blank—a head and limbs,
Whence Phidias took the majesty of Jove,
Immortal making his Olympian king,
Lie low together in that heap of flesh—
A soul that talk'd with stars, and molded
men,

And made to strike from States ignoble
chains,

Itself a slave to wine, bestial and dull
In sottish sleep!

Enter CALOPHOS.]

CALOPHOS.

Ye heav'ns! I grieve o'er this.
Oh! worse than death the sight! An
eyeless skull,
Whose worms proclaim our last and
loathsome doom,
Less sad than such a soul, so self-dis-
graced!

Where was your pledge to watch and
help our friend?

IOLO.

Where, rather, teacher, thine own power
to save?

See there thy work—the end of thy wise
ways!

Thy boast and paragon too weak for
wine—

The pride of thy free school a helpless
slave!

CALOPHOS.

Surprise and shame have stirr'd me into
storm,

While reason, seeking truth, is slow and
calm.

Here let us ask why men thus curse
themselves,

Earth's bounty turning into pain, and
death.

I say the cause of drunkenness is one.

ARISTIPPUS.

Calophos, I deny! One loves his wine
From jollity, because it wings his wit,
And warms his blood, until his merry
heart

With laughter bubbles o'er; while this
man drinks

To drive away life's gloom, and gild his
clouds

With light and joy.

IOLO.

My friend, with rotund flesh,
Imbibes as sponges soak the dews of
morn,

While his own brother, dry and lank and
thin,

Guzzles like some old pipe when summer
suns

Have touch'd earth's gracious springs
and made them low.

PHILIPPON.

Ariston is the type of each, and all—
Here Plato's genus, drunkenness, in one!

CALOPHOS.

Yet is the cause the same, e'en if I grant
Our gods help on the ill, and teach us
men;

Immortal Bacchus will make mortals reel.

Olympus drunk, the earth will stagger
more!

ARISTIPPUS.

Tripp'd thou at last—the thing's impos-
sible!

CALOPHOS.

Lads, not too fast! Youth is a snorting
horse

That dashes on the chariot to its wreck,
Where age will drive as silent as its rein.

IOLO.

Our Calophos, well said! Now for your
proofs?

CALOPHOS.

You grant Ariston is a type of all,
And hence that true of him, is true of
man.

What earth could give of good he has
possess'd—

Youth, beauty, rank, gold, slaves, estates,
and friends;

The spark of genius flash'd out from his
eye,

And Athens half-adored her godlike son.
This world for none had ever brighter
smiles,

Yet in his soul a void, which unfill'd here,
In wine forgets itself, and seeks to lose
In wild and fever'd joys, or dead'ning
sleep,

Its own infinity, and by its shame
Itself immortal shows—a drunkard's cup
Proves kinship to the gods!

*[While CALOPHOS speaks, ARISTON, arising un-
noticed, secures an immense flagon, and
drops into it an exciting drug.]*

IOLO.

My Calophos,
Behold the test of thy philosophy!

If thou be right, that flagon drain'd will
make

Ariston Jove, and for Olympus fit.

CALOPHOS.

Quick! I say, quick! arrest his clasp-
ing hand!

PHILIPPON.

Nay! master, thou hast shown wine
proves us gods;

Then let him drink, and plume his wings
divine!

CALOPHOS.

Ariston, stop! 'tis fire for thee and death!
That drug burns to his blood and makes
him mad!

Wrench quick the flagon from his clutch
and lip!

[*They rush at ARISTON, who resists, and drives them off.*]

ARISTON.

Master! I waked in time to hear thy
words.

Hail, sparkling cup, thou spring of deity!
Both fancy's fire and reason's wing in
thee!

Thou balm of sorrow, and thou cure of
pain!

Nay, heav'n itself is in thy flush and
gleam!

Wise Calophos, thy thoughts have sober'd
me!

Blest, magic wine, gay daughter of the sun,
Whose own paternal rays thy virtues
flash,

That man may drink the nectar of the
gods,

Who says a serpent coils round in this
cup

To sting my sense and poison life and joy?
How bright thy bubbling brim with flash-
ing proofs

Of an immortal light that knows no cloud!
Calophos, I drink to thy philosophy.

[*They again seek to prevent ARISTON, who suc-
ceeds in draining the flagon, and, when the
struggle ends, is excited into frenzy.*]

IOLO.

Gods, how the rascal raves! his eyes
stand out

As bursting from his head! his thews
seem steel—

No blind Cyclops ever had such strength!
Master, in wine this potency divine!

CALOPHOS.

Ariston, pupil, friend, my son, be calm!

ARISTON.

Ye heavens, the room flies round! my head
is hot!

Put out these flames that blaze about my
flesh!

Kill, kill these snakes that glare, and
twist, and hiss,

And crawl from out my hair! Oh! blast-
ing sights,

Where hell has burst to earth to clasp in
fire!

Water! water! water! help! quench these
flames!

[*HELIA, the mother of ARISTON, enters, silently
takes his hand, and subdues him at once.*]

Mother, I own thy spell! Thy look of
love

Goes to my heart, and cools my burning
brain!

Lead where thou wilt, and I will follow
thee—

No words! no words! 'tis silence moves
my soul,

And speech but maddens me!

[*Exeunt, HELIA leading her son by the hand.*]

CALOPHOS.

Maternal love!

More is thy magic than philosophy!

Where reason fails, thy touch the tiger
tames;

Love is more potent than immortal
truth,

And when States built by force lie ghastly
wrecks,

'Tis she will make in human hearts a
throne

So strong our earth will be one brother-
hood.

SCENE II.—*A Room in ALCANDER'S
house in Athens.*

ALCANDER.

O brother, Athens can not be so base.

Her honors on my brow for twice ten
years

Are proofs she knows how much she owes
my love.

HEROCLES.

Thy love of her, Alcander, or thyself?

Hast thou not lived and blossom'd on the
State,

And hung thy family tree with flowers
and fruits?

Democracies are quick to read men
through,

And weigh what they deserve of good,
or ill;

Too oft their breath with envy merit
 blasts,
And hurls from Fortune's height their
 idols down.

ALCANDER.

Herocles, thou art bold; I think, too bold.
Athens will never dare to frown on me!
If she is false, I'll pay her back tenfold.

HEROCLES.

Ha! this thy love! The tiger feed—a child
May stroke his skin, and count his varied
 stripes:
Keep back his meat—he glares and shows
 his fangs.

ALCANDER.

Not e'en from thee such insults will I bear:
Thy words are blunt beyond a brother's
 right.
The mob shall not exile me with the shell.
All the best blood of Greece is in our
 veins!
Nay! from the gods themselves our
 pedigree.
Thrice round my brow the crown has
 hung its leaves,
While shook the Agora with shouts that
 moved
Minerva throned on her Acropolis.

HEROCLES.

The mountain-tree invites the thunderbolt
Which blazes harmless o'er the modest
 vale.
Athens, Alcander, have you not yet
 learn'd?
Just where she most exalts she most
 suspects:
Shrill envy hisses in her wildest praise;
One hand binds the crown, th' other
 tears it off;
She sends her noblest worth to banish-
 ment:
The warmer her embrace, the blow more
 sure.

ALCANDER.

Curse on her fickle mobs! thy words
 are true;
But she shall find in me at last her match.
The snake, untouch'd, will slumber in his
 coil:

Yet, struck, will dart the venom from his
 fang,
Till all the quivering flesh thrills with the
 pang.

HEROCLES.

Thy threats but prove thy heart to Greece
 most false.
True love to her has not its life in self,
Seeks not its own, o'er pride exalts the
 State,
And like the tree whose shatter'd length
 lies low,
Will from old roots lift high new boughs
 to heaven.

ALCANDER.

I've been a fool; duped by the crowd's
 vile breath;
Fortune has beam'd across my sky so
 bright,
I thought could never come the shades
 of night.

HEROCLES.

While shines the day prepare for storm,
 and gloom.
Who mounts a gorgeous chariot of clouds
To seek the gilding sun, must know one
 blast
May turn his painted splendors back to air,
And drop him mid the crowd who wait
 with yells
To see their idol fall.

ALCANDER.

O Herocles,
I dread myself! I feel my frailty here!
Help me, ye gods, and keep me from my
 wreck!
Now I do see earth's blessings leave a
 gloom
As sculptured figures crown'd with grace
 and light
Cast spectral shadows in the brilliant sun.

HEROCLES.

Thou art indeed above a precipice;
A democrat from choice I may escape.
Thy boasted birth from gods, thy dignities,
Thy wealth, all tempt the blow. Thy
 stately form,
Thy head made for a king, thy spurning
 foot,

Thine eyes which flash o'er crowds as
made to serve,
Awake instinctive envy and distrust :
Men who shout thy praise intend thy
exile,
Unmaking thee to show *their* gift thy
power,
Which Fame loud trumpets o'er a listen-
ing world.

ALCANDER.

Why trust we then the treacherous mob
to rule ?
Let Persia plant her throne in our free
Greece !
Better one king than a vile tyrant crowd.

HEROCLES.

Just what I thought : here doth thy peril
lie :

Thy secret heart inclines thee to a throne,
And this the people know. Thy doom is
plain.

The shell will drive thee hence to live
with kings :

Yet not for them, for *all* this world was
made.

Our citizens, so fickle, so disdain'd,
Such children in the Agora's debate,
Upon the battle-field are matchless
men.

They have wall'd Attica with adamant,
And Asia's banner'd tyrants have defied.
The people shall at length be lords of
earth.

Our Athens shines the type of that bright
day

When they who own the State the State
shall sway.

*Enter Servants, bearing ARISTON on a litter,
stupefied after a debauch, and covered with
a robe.]*

ALCANDER.

Stop, knaves ! What bear you there ?

FIRST SERVANT.

We may not tell.

ALCANDER.

Tell, rascals, tell ! At once take off that
robe !

SECOND SERVANT.

Master, the sight will only stir thy rage.
I pray thee pause !

ALCANDER.

Cease, slave, I say—obey !

These servile dogs grow brazen like our
mobs.

[The Servants draw aside the robe.]

Ah ! there the thorn that pierces through
my pride ;

Our house's blot, our huge black spectral
wo.

My image traced on that unconscious
wretch !

My pedigree brought down from gods to
brutes !

Take, take the breathing infamy away !

Never again that curse beneath my roof.

Enter HELIA.]

HELIA.

My lord, relent !

ALCANDER.

Helia, is that *thy* son,

His features turn'd to loathsomeness by
wine ?

From thee, not me, his foul, disgraceful
taint.

HELIA.

His only hold on virtue is our love :

But cut that tie, and he is doomed to
death—

Nay, worse ! his life will be a curse and
pang.

ALCANDER.

But yesterday, before the Parthenon,
Whose pillar'd majesty might awe a
beast,

I saw him ivy-crown'd, a bacchanal
With thyrsus beating off the pelting boys,
Who laugh'd to see and hear the stag-
gering wretch,

And gloated o'er my shame and grief, and
rage.

HELIA.

Forgive, forgive our boy ! In mercy look !

All mortals frail should weep when
mortals sin ;

How then should parents bathe with tears
a son !

ALCANDER.

His presence in our house will madden
me ;

His face now wakes a demon in my soul.

HELIA.

[Kneeling before ALCANDER.]

Let pity move thy breast! Recall thy
kiss

First press'd on his sweet lips—the light
on thee

From his joy-sparkling eye—the answer-
ing smile

Which stirr'd thy father's heart—the prat-
tled word

Whose music-thrill awaked a world of
love—

His childhood's beauty, and his boyhood's
morn—

His glory of young manhood in a face
And form that seem'd for bright Apollos
made—

Moving to say, "There goes the pride of
Greece!"

Save, save our son, and bind him to thy
heart!

Exalting him, Alcander, lift thyself!

Oh! kindle for our house from gloom a
light!

Thy life beats in his blood—from thee he
takes

His majesty which mirrors only thine—
From out thy love was born his manly
soul:

By thee cast off, he wanders forth a
wretch,

In earth's dark night doom'd but to black
despair.

ALCANDER.

My heart is touch'd, and yet I fear thy
plea.

Expell'd our roof, we purge off his dis-
grace.

HELIA.

Oh! what can stop a mother's words of
love?

I kneel between my darling son and wo,
One hand in his, the other clasping thine,
And make 'twixt him and thee a link of
life.

I kiss thy feet; I beg thee to relent;
Let these warm drops melt down thy
stern resolve!

Oh, in his haggard face I beauty see
Come back, and love and light and hope.

He yet shall rise a man, our city's pride,
The glory of our State and age, and
thine.

Oh! where he goes I go, to live, to die!
With kisses on his lips I seal my vow.

HEROCLES.

A mother's cry, Alcander, should be
heard;

The gods speak to thee in those touching
tears.

ALCANDER.

Once more I yield; but my last weakness
this:

His next offense shall drive him from my
roof.

We will withdraw, and leave him to him-
himself

Until his soul returns from its debauch.

*[The Servants place the robe over ARISTON,
and all leave the room. He soon after
rises.]*

ARISTON.

Her tones of love down through my
spirit pierced

And scatter'd from its sleep the fumes of
wine.

A tranquil glory lingers round this spot
Like beams when radiant gods leave earth
for heaven.

Yes! here a presence of divinity
Which bathes my being with celestial
light,

My manhood wakes, and gilds my future
o'er.

Oh! matchless magic of a mother's love,
Which sees in midnight day, hope in de-
spair,

In death itself a promise of new life,
And hues with heaven the face of wild
debauch.

O man, thy heart how cold, how sharp,
how hard—

'Tis ice, 'tis stone, 'tis steel, 'tis adamant—
While woman's sympathies make Pluto
soft!

Hence may I conquer self, and Athens give
A life redeem'd from vice to liberty!

[Enter CALOPHOS.]

My master, friend, oh, help me keep my
vow!

Tell me, hast thou ever seen thine angel?

CALOPHOS.

'Tis to my soul, not to mine eye he speaks.
 In the still night, or when my way grows dark,
 And I, o'erborne, am sinking 'neath life's load,
 A whisper shows my path, a hand unseen
 Clasps mine to hold me up, and a light
 shines
 Before my doubtful steps.

ARISTON.

My guide is flesh'd—
 Is seen, is touch'd, is heard—yet is in me
 A tone of love soft as an evening sigh—
 A shape which glides in beauty to my side,
 Outshining nymphs—a presence bright about
 My erring life, which melts to tears,
 And smiles like Virtue's image on my heart.

CALOPHOS.

I have become thy jest, and thou dost mock.
 Oh, can Ariston join the jeering crowd,
 And speak such words to hurt and wound
 his friend?

ARISTON.

Nay! Calophos, I own in thee some power
 That lifts thy nature o'er the common herd,
 And helps thee climb to truth's pure mountain-height
 While others crawl in mists through crooked vales—
 A Guide invisible who leads thee on
 To immortality.

CALOPHOS.

It is most true—
 True as the voice of winds—true as the light
 Which folds around our world with life and bloom—
 Or that in man which yearns to ever be.

ARISTON.

Dost thou remember, Calophos, the day
 When, in the Persian fight, 'neath my
 boy's arm

Nine soldiers fell, and lay piled round in
 heaps,
 Helm upon helm, and shield on shatter'd
 shield,
 While I stood wounded on the slippery
 ground—
 My corselet cleft, a spear-thrust in my
 breast,
 O'er all my armor blood, and reel'd my
 brain
 And steps? Now in mine ear that battle-
 roar—
 Now swift I see thee come, strike right
 and left,
 And snatch me from my foes, and bear
 me off
 As Troy's great hero saved his sire from
 flames.

CALOPHOS.

And my old back can feel thy carcass
 now
 Press on it sore. Jove, how thy dangling
 legs
 Struck on my heels, as I went staggering
 on
 Beneath thy weight which made me pant
 for breath!

ARISTON.

Well, Calophos, not in that thick of death,
 That clash of meeting swords, that ring
 of shields,
 The tramp, the groans, the shouts of
 battle's hell
 Where ghosts flew shrieking o'er the pain
 and blood,
 Was I so weak, so lost, as here and now.
 I am a slave—a mean, ignoble slave—
 Slave to myself—slave to the foe I hate.
 I vow to break my chain, and tighten it;
 I curse the cup, and press it to my lips;
 I loathe the serpent's cold and snaky coil,
 Yet clasp it round my flesh; the fang
 invite
 Whose poison-fire burns in my madden'd
 blood,
 To scorch my brain, to blast my hope,
 and life,
 And wake its hissing phantoms twisting
 round.
 But a new strength is in me, Calophos!

Not from thy words, though wise ; not
 from thy school,
 Whose fame will gild o'er time ; not from
 our gods,
 Whose revels make their heaven worse
 than our earth.
 My mother's love, forgetful of itself,
 Spurning the laws of custom and of sex,
 Has search'd me in my haunts, come to
 our feasts ;
 Nay ! in the jeering crowd, the midnight
 street,
 Has lifted me from earth, thrill'd with its
 touch,
 Its tone, its look, its smile, till in my flesh
 Its virtue seem'd infused, and in my heart
 And will a power awaked above mine
 own,
 Through which I feel I yet shall be a
 man.

SCENE III.—*A Banqueting-room in Athens, where the guests, garlanded, are reclining around a table.*—ARISTON *presides over the feast.*

IOLO.

Ariston, nonsense thus to make a feast
 And touch no cup. Athens will laugh at
 thee.

Sings.

Youth is the time for Wine,
 Whose sparkling flow
 Makes pleasure glow.
 Do gods create the vine ?
 Then man should sip
 With grateful lip
 Bright gushing tides
 Which heaven provides.

PHILIPPON.

To Cupid drink, or on thy festal throne
 He'll strike thee howling with a thistle-
 spear ;
 And his wee tribes, who live in bloom to
 sip
 The dew of flowers, will hiss and sting
 thee off.

Sings.

Wine is the spark of Love,
 Whose thrill and fire
 Keen joys inspire.
 Gods feel its flames above.

Quick ! snatch the bliss
 From its sweet kiss,
 Since heaven, they say,
 Has shown the way.

ARISTIPPON.

To Bacchus drink, or he'll draw out thine
 ears ;
 Old Pan shall stride thy back, and with
 his hoofs
 Punch in thy sides, while Fauns and
 Dryads pierce
 With swords of thorn, and twist thee
 round with vines.

Sings.

Wine is the spice of Wit,
 Whose shouts arise
 To please the skies.
 Gods round their feasts will sit
 To joke and smile
 And care beguile,
 Till heaven will shine
 With wit and wine.

ARISTON.

Excuse, my friends ! I pray, this once
 excuse !

IOLO.

Ariston, nay ! quick ! pledge us in a cup !

ARISTON.

[Pours out some wine, and holds it before a lamp.]

I would not cloud, my friends, our festival ;
 And yet you drive me into serious words.

PHILIPPON.

Ariston, stop ! and curses on your
 gloom !

All sing.

Wine lends a wing, that Joy
 May fly away
 From Care grown gray ;
 Gods have no hard employ.
 Then flower-crowns bring ;
 We'll drink and sing
 Till heaven shall hear
 Our louder cheer.

ARISTON.

How bright this cup ! Behold its spar-
 kles dance
 And flash their joy ! Oh, burns my thirst-
 ing lip
 But for a drop ! My soul grows mad to
 rush

And quench its flames, and lose in wine
its wo.

Yet see beneath that light an adder coil
Whose sting is death, while hell lies
sleeping there,

To wake, may be, with an eternal pang.
O friends, one slightest sip would ruin
me,

Would set my blood on fire, palsy my
will,

Craze in my madden'd brain, my man-
hood slay,

And turn me to a beast—or worse, a
fiend.

Nay! I will never touch! My foe I feel
At last beneath my feet! I triumph o'er
Myself, and know Ariston is a man.

I pour this cup an offering to the gods,
And go wherever destiny may lead.

Now see before your eyes how hard for
slaves

From Pleasure's gilded chains to burst
away!

*The Deities of Greece enter.—JUPITER OLYM-
PUS, with his scepter, takes his throne, his
eagle at his feet, and at his side JUNO, under
a rainbow, with her peacock.—On the one
hand stand BACCHUS, VENUS, and CUPID,
with PAN and his Fauns, and Satyrs.—
On the other hand are APOLLO, DIANA,
and MARS, with the Muses, Nymphs, and
Graces.]*

JUPITER.

The majesty of heaven and earth, I
come

To hear your songs; and victory award—
I, who Olympus rule, and deathless gods,
Here grasp my scepter'd thunderbolt,
while sits

Beneath my feet yon kingly bird, the
lord

Of air and sky, whose gaze is o'er the
world,

Type of my high and universal rule.

Juno, my Queen, encircled by her bow
Of glittering light, appears with radiant
smiles,

While that bright thing of eyes in purple
gemm'd

And gold shows mortals her omniscience.

We now your songs await. Bacchus,
begin!

BACCHUS.

When young Spring breathes, and curls the
vine,

I watch its root;

And bud and shoot,

And grape and mantling leaf are mine.

From trunk to twig I make glad juices run,
Till glows the landscape purpling in the sun.

Now, Fauns and Satyrs, sing, and bless!

Pan, tune thy pipe!

The world is ripe.

Those hanging clusters pull and press!

Around the earth let bursting currents flow,
And shouts attest to heaven our joy below.

My crowns of ivy weave and bring!

Let Age and Care

Our banquet share,

And foaming wine-cups sparkles fling,

And kings and beggars swell the festal cry,
And gods for joy on earth forsake the sky:

JUPITER.

Apollo, king of day, respond in song!

APOLLO.

Nay! bend the noble bow!

The graceful quiver take!

Let nerve and muscle grow!

Let strength your courage make!

And thus on form and brow impress
The majesty of manliness.

Then strike the sounding lyre

Till your broad bosoms thrill,

And every pulse is fire,

And deathless grows the will!

Soon Greece will crown you in the game
With laurels of eternal fame.

See round my head these rays!

I, who the sun-steeds guide,

The earth, the heaven make blaze,

And life in light provide.

I counsel you to turn from wine,

And in the beams of virtue shine!

JUPITER.

Haste, Beauty's Queen, and try thy tuneful
tongue!

VENUS.

Kiss'd by the morn, from the foam of the sea

As I stept on its wave,

Bright Beauty her glory threw over me,

And I smiled as she gave.

Oh, soon in my breast glow'd Love with his
fire,

And quick-quiver'd the thrill
That conquers e'en Jove, the all-ruling sire,
Whom I lead at my will.

Immortals fly forth my train to attend,
And where brightens my face,
Olympus will rush its cycles to spend
In my beauty's embrace.

JUPITER.

Pure as a summer moon, Diana, sing !

DIANA.

Red midnight comets from their blazing hair
Will drop down horror on the waken'd
earth ;

And guilty Pleasures, like their fatal glare,
Start only wo and terror into birth.

'Tis I who rule in peace the virgin-moon,
Calm type of lawful wedlock's cloudless
bliss ;

Oh, at the marriage-altar seek life's boon,
And find the purest joy in virtue's kiss.

When bow and quiver on my shoulder press
As I at morn may brush the sparkling dew,
Oft smiling will I pause your home to bless,
And richest mercies o'er your life will strew.

JUPITER.

Quick, merry Cupid, charm us with thy
lay !

CUPID.

The rose my home,
My boat a shell,
O'er earth I roam
To cast my spell ;

And when above the clouds I seek to fly,
These radiant wings will bear me to the sky.

My head beams light !
My heart thrills love,
And all things bright
Wake where I move ;

And heaven bends down to take me with a
smile,

Since my small arrows men and gods beguile.

Make bare your heart !
I twang my bow,
Whose pointed dart
Rules all below ;

And e'en immortals, when I make them dream,
Too brief will find eternal cycles seem.

JUPITER.

Grim God of Battles, peal thy note of war !

MARS.

Nay ! clash the helm, and shield !
Brass-armor'd seek the field !
The battle-spear swift hurl
Where chariots flame, and whirl !
Prize on your face the scars
Which make you dear to Mars !

Your country served, return
When War's fires cease to burn :
Find deathless your renown
If Greece shall bind the crown,
And o'er a grateful land
Shall make your statues stand.

Yes ! seek my nobler strife,
Giving strength, valor, life ;
In heaven's eternal plan
But Battle makes the man,
Then brightens on the sky
His immortality.

JUPITER.

Valor and virtue here have won the prize
In noble strains which please both earth
and heaven.

But, lo, I see approach my Hercules :
In this world's clay the grace and fire of
gods—

Immortal glory shrined in mortal form !
See painted Pleasure lures him to his
death,

While Virtue stands, and smiling shows
him heaven !

*Enter HERCULES, preceded by Pleasure and
Virtue, who in pantomime enter in opposite
directions.]*

He stops ! Ah ! Passion stirs her flames.
But lo,

When Duty calls, he leaves the flowers of
vice,

And shuts his ear against her syren song,
And chooses virtue's safe, but rugged
steep

While from the skies burst forth celestial
strains.

*[Exit Gods and their Attendants amid tri-
umphant music.]*

ARISTON.

My friends, you saw the struggles of my
soul

In this bright pageant acted to your gaze :
As good and evil gods strove here in song,
So vice and virtue battled for my life,

<p>And kept unfix'd an ever-devious will. None longer linger'd in the revel's blaze ; None oft'ner sipp'd the bloom of honey'd love ; None deeper quaff'd mad joys from each full cup : But now I feel another destiny ; I'll break the coils that wind around my soul And hurl away this thirsting Cerberus ;</p>	<p>In toil, in peril win my fair name back, And place my image in the Agora Crown'd with the light of an immortal worth. Oh, should I fall unpitied by the gods, Since you, my friends, will never know my grave, To plant a cypress o'er my exiled dust, Let memory with a tear blot out my faults !</p>
---	--

ACT II.

SCENE I.—*A Garden in Athens, in view
of the Sea and the Acropolis.*

Enter INO.]

INO.

Truant, thou art found !

ARISTON.

For thy pay a kiss !

INO.

Not yet, bad boy—my lips refuse until
My ear and heart are both appeased by
 thee.

The thrill of love comes from united souls.

ARISTON.

Are not ours one, now and forever, Ino ?

INO.

Ariston, one ! when thou art running
 off

Like some scared school-boy from his
 master's rod,

Or a base fellow who has plunder'd
 shrines,

Or traitor who has Athens sold for gold.
Is it a man who will from perils fly ?

Stand like a hero where thou art, and
 fight,

And kisses thou shalt have from lips of
 mine

Many as the rose-leaves, the smiles of
 spring,

The notes of birds, the beams of summer
 moons,

And all the other sentimental things
Which crazy lovers in their letters stuff,

Lug into songs, or else distill to tears

When evening turns up languid eyes
 tow'rd stars.

ARISTON.

ATHENE glows o'er the Acropolis
Until she seems a goddess in the sun,
Whose lingering glory turns her form to
 flame

And flashes from her spear, while oppo-
 site,

The moon is lifting from the sea her face
Round, calm, and full, and there the star
 of love

Looks bright as Eos when he eyes the
 gods,

And from its urn of light drops peace on
 earth.

Now trembling into heaven are night's
 pure lamps

Which come and go from age to age, a
 mystery.

A breath of flowers is in the evening air,
And as the moonbeams slant along the
 grass

The crimson of the rose is turn'd to gold,
And shadows spread their silence o'er my
 heart,

While passion's waves sink gentle as
 this dew,

And reason bathes my soul in calm re-
 solve.

O Ino, come—than yon starr'd blue that
 round

Ensphears our world, more sweet and
 pure thy love

Which circles me, and smiles my canopy.

ARISTON.

Ino, I am in sorry mood for jokes.
 Once, girl, I would have laugh'd, and
 answer'd thee,
 And stol'n a kiss despite thy feign'd push,
 Clasp'g thee struggling to the arms you
 wish'd.
 But now a soberness is o'er my life :
 Before me is a battle long and hard.

INO.

'Tis not in sighs, and tears, and faces
 stern,
 Mid fear and gloom, dwells the most fix'd
 resolve.
 The bird that brightest carols o'er its
 nest
 Fights for its brood when ravens croak
 and fly.
 Our smiles as well as tears must help the
 will,
 And the gay laugh gives vigor to the
 thought.
 We mortals, like the earth, need sun and
 cloud.

ARISTON.

'Tis so, my girl ! thou like a ray of morn
 Hast follow'd me, as light the forms of
 gods,
 While I was yet a beast, lost to myself
 And thee—a slave to wine—an outcast
 wretch.

INO.

'Twas heaven lent me its strength, and
 whisper'd hope.
 Behold yon oak wave o'er the moon its
 boughs,
 While earth is glad to see the child she
 bears !
 This towering tree once in an acorn slept
 Amid decay, and coil'd round by the
 worm ;
 Yet from that seed this giant majesty !
 Thus thou shalt stand aloft the pride of
 Greece,
 And I, thy little Ino, 'neath thy shade.
 There, that is fanciful enough for thee.

ARISTON.

May all good gods smile on thy prophecy !
 E'en more than they art thou and Helia
 true.

Oh, woman's love, it seems a silver'd
 thread
 Bent down by dews, and trembling to the
 stars
 Beneath some fairy foot, and yet has
 strength,
 More than a cable's cords, to anchor man
 On virtue's rock when midnight perils
 roar.

INO.

And yet Ariston from his blessings flies ;
 Leaves those he loves, and turns their
 eyes to tears,
 The tendrils tearing which clasp round
 his heart.
 Why hide from home ? why steal away
 disguised ?

ARISTON.

I'll tell thee, girl ! My chain is snapp'd—
 my foe
 Beneath my feet—my will doth stand a
 rock ;
 Yet still in Athens, mid old scenes and
 friends,
 I seem a thing upon the whirlpool's edge,
 That circles round, imperill'd, not en-
 gulf'd.
 As age the cheek, vice wrinkles o'er the
 soul,
 Leaves scars, and wounds, and wild and
 burning thoughts,
 And voids, and hells behind. Its dead
 worms gnaw ;
 While its pale ghosts haunt shivering
 night and day.
 Oh, terrible the war ! Old habits cling
 Like centipedes, and burrow in the flesh,
 And taint the blood. They must be
 rooted out
 As interlacing roots which gardens spoil ;
 And that takes time, and will, and smiles
 from gods.
 By heaven's high help I'll make my life
 anew,
 From its foundations build mid other
 lands
 And other men ; and when my soul is
 strong,
 Transfigured in the glory virtue gives,
 I'll bring it back to Athens, Helia, thee.

So will the gods, and so my fate decrees.
But there draws near what figure robed
in black ?

INO.

Thy mother comes.

ARISTON.

Helia ! can this be she,
With frenzy in her eye, while sadness sits
Pale on her face, the sister of despair ?
Never yon moon has shone o'er such a
wreck.

HELIA, who has been seen in the distance, approaches, with CALOPHOS behind her unnoticed.]

HELIA.

Oh ! he has gone ! my son ! my son ! my
son !

Jove bore him off, and left me lone and
sad !

My heart aches—aches ! Gods, give me
back my boy !

Take this weight away or I will die—die !
O moon ! on thy bright feet bring down
my son,

Or let me go to thee ! Earth is too dark !

ARISTON.

Do you not know me, mother ? Ariston,
Thy dear son ! Look in my face ! Your
own boy's

Voice you hear ! Heaven have mercy on
our house !

HELIA.

Sings.]

My boy is in the sky :
Jove took him there ;
Lone in the world I cry
Despair ! despair !

My head is all a fire ;
My life a sea
Whose billows never tire
In beating me.

Oh, help me, moon, to thee !
Quick I will fly,
My boy, my boy to see,
Or die—or die !

ARISTON.

O mother, you will break my heart in
twain !

My Ino, let her hear thy loving voice !
Touch her dear hand with thine, and lead
her off !

INO.

Helia ! Helia ! You Ino know—Ino !
Ino loves thee, Helia ! come with Ino !

HELIA.

Thou art a goddess, girl ! I'll follow thee
On moonbeams up to Jove, and find my
boy.

INO.

Yes ! come with me ! we both Ariston
love !

[Exit HELIA, led away by INO, while CALOPHOS remains.]

ARISTON.

O Calophos, say, can my path thus lead
Me o'er my mother's heart ! How can I
leave

Her in her wo ? My absence crazes her !
'Tis hard, too hard !

CALOPHOS.

Ariston, life is hard—
Spun forth by tearless Fates, blind in their
work,

Since, could they see, their threads would
drop from grief,

And being cease to be. The *right* alone
Is guide through this wild maze of things.

ARISTON.

My friend,
The seed I sow'd I reap. Vice, a spoil'd
boy

With waving curls and roguish looks,
will, once

A man, plant on his slaves a tyrant-foot,
Leer out from bloodshot eyes, and with a
whip

Of hissing scorpions cut into the flesh ;
And when we break his chains we far
must fly,

To heal the wounds left by his serpent-
stings.

CALOPHOS.

Better to fly than be again in bonds,
And feel his lash !

ARISTON.

Too true, my Calophos !
My absence and Alcander's perfidy
Have thus overturn'd the brain of Helia.
My path to virtue winds o'er rocks, along
The chasm's edge, up to the light of
heaven.

CALOPHOS.

Thy lips are guards, not sluices to thy
mind:
Hence learn what else would bring me
to the block,
Or send the hemlock's torpor through
my blood.
Who touch her gods will Athens rage to
kill,
And yet my son will seek their aid in vain.

ARISTON.

I cry, and they are still.

CALOPHOS.

When Jove's a swan,
Or showering gold, a bull for beauty
mad,
All-burning to encoil some luscious maid,
Small time has he, or care, for mortal
prayers.
Mars clasping Venus in their silken net;
Or Bacchus puff'd, and purple as his
wine!
Mercurius stealing bright Apollo's lyre;
Queen Juno jealous of Minerva's shield,
While all Olympus laughs to see them
brawl;
Grim gods with swords, on chariots,
butch'ring men,
What noble guides are these to love and
truth!
Bards coin'd the lies for priests, who turn
to gain
Our mortal fears—lies into marble carved,
And temples wrought, and shrines and
altars raised,
Which move in pictures, and which thrill
in song—
Base lies to please the sense, and fancy
charm—
From man they sprang—hence vile as
man himself.
There is a Power, of all cause, law and
soul,
Who, like the air embracing round our
world,
Wide nature folds—her universal life—
And breathes new strength in those who
seek the right,
And gives new eyes to see the path of
light.

ARISTON.

As some sweet spirit of the viewless air
Will toss our words from hill across to
hill,
Repeated oft in murmurs dying far,
Long through my soul has echoed what
you tell.
Not light more suits the eye whose organs
drink
Its shining floods, and image this fair
world,
Than fitted to my needs are thy bold
thoughts,
Which fill a void within; and these the
strains
That make the groves of Plato musical,
As a low note of rare celestial sound
Floats forth amid wild instrumental din
Soft as the blue through thunder-roaring
clouds.

CALOPHOS.

Now let me tell where I life's secret
learn'd.
After our Persian fight you saw a Jew
Sick in our camp—a venerable man—
Whose eye dilate look'd through the
gloom of death
Across the grave. He told of oracles—
A law, a temple, and a priesthood too,
With yet a brighter hope and joy for
man—
Whose light prophetic streams out from
the Jew,
And falls in few and distant rays on
Greece.
Up to the Maker thus we follow truth,
As to the gracious father of the day
We track his beams which shine in deep-
est caves,
Or glance their gladness to the poor
man's hut,
Or flash in glory round the towers of
kings.

ARISTON.

Thine angel is His guiding voice within,
Thus named to not offend the common
herd.

CALOPHOS.

Ariston, you have guessed—my fancy
this—

A fool will risk his life before his time ;
I choose to save my lips, and teach the
men
Who else would dig for truth and me a
grave.

ARISTON.

Master, born in my breast new life and
hope ;

Yea, pluming there a new immortal wing,
Whose soaring strength shall bear me o'er
the clouds

To Him who is the spring and sum of
all—

Eternal essence bright of truth and love.

I will go hence with cheerful step to war,
And win the crown of a self-conquer'd
soul—

Now heav'n's own warrior arm'd in steel
and brass

Wrought by no mortal hands, and fit for
gods,

And flashing far the beams which dazzle
foes.

SCENE II.—*The Court of Persia.*

KING.

Greeks, I thought, stranger, never bent
to kings ;

Yet thou art down low as my eunuch lies
To kiss my feet.

ALCANDER.

'Tis wisdom's part to be
And do and speak as those with whom
we live :

Hence come this Persian garb, my words
and deeds.

KING.

Thou art but here to sell thy land for
gold,

And hurl thy selfish vengeance back on
Greece.

With this thy end, to this thy acts con-
form.

Now, no disguise—if we together work,
Each must the other know without a vail.

ALCANDER.

Not thus, O king. Athens forgot my life
That sought her good, and madly ban-
ish'd me.

VOL. I.—40

I hence thy royal power would plant in
Greece,

Which should prefer thy throne to rabble
rule.

KING.

Ha! all thy hope and wish to bless thy
State,

Which I had deem'd thee here to basely
sell.

Pure is thy aim to save immortal Greece
From tyrant mobs, and not avenge thyself!

Yet, if the shell had not thine exile made,
Who more than thee had stood against
our arms?

Nay! own the truth—thy pride, thy rage
have moved

To draw my fleets and troops to Attica,
And with my Persian scepter scourge thy
land.

A traitor always veils his reason's eye
To make his head false as he knows his
heart.

ALCANDER.

O king, with insults thou hast met my
plans.

A Grecian sword may find a Persian heart
Beneath a monarch's robe.

KING.

Just what I thought—

He who his country sells will murder him
Who buys—most false to both—all for
himself—

Cold as the gold he grasps, or hot his rage,
As his own purpose serves.

ALCANDER.

O king, I go—

No Grecian can endure thy Persian pride—
Before I know this blade will leap to thee.

KING.

Stand, traitor, stand! thou hast no more
a will!

Stay there thou must, and do thy prof-
fered work.

Keep in that spot! move not from it a
space

Wide as a hair above thy plotting brain!
Behold these spears which bristle round
my throne,

Whose glittering points cry thirsting for
thy blood!

Where wilt thou go? Who barter off for
 hate,
 Or gain, the soil, base Greek, which gave
 him birth,
 No more a country has, nor can have
 friends.
 Cursed by the sold, and scorned by those
 who buy,
 Nought he can call his own, but his black
 heart—
 A mean and loathsome waif upon the
 world.

ALCANDER.

I will not bear thy words, O king, but leave
 Thy face, and court.

KING.

Stay, Grecian! I say, stay!
 Here is this bond, and it must have thy
 name!

ALCANDER.

I will not sign!

KING.

Thou shalt!

ALCANDER.

Never, O king—

But I will tear the deed, and fling about
 Thy throne its rent and scatter'd parts,
 and tell
 Thee to thy face I will not write my
 shame.

KING.

Brave Greek, we'll see! Guards, draw
 your swords, and stand
 Around this wretch! A hundred naked
 points

Flash in thine eyes! Thy name! quick,
 down thy name!

Come closer, slaves! Ha! now the traitor
 shakes!

I see he likes not this bright gleam of
 steel.

Alcander, 'tis thy bond—drawn by thy-
 self—

By which you're pledged to give o'er
 Greece to me,

While I to thee ten talents pay in gold:
 It wants thy name to make the pact com-
 plete.

ALCANDER.

But should I sign, the act compell'd by thee
 Can hold me not.

KING.

That risk I take—'tis thine
 To fix thy name.

ALCANDER.

Forced by thy guards, I yield—
 Circled by death, with swords 'aim'd at
 my heart,
 I write my name, but not my faith I give.
 Escaped from thee, hence, know me, king
 thy foe.

[ALCANDER *signs*.

KING.

Wretch! thou art ours! thy flesh, thy
 soul, thy life
 Belong henceforth to us! Go home to
 Greece!

Thy deed will follow thee! Thy name
 subscribed

By thine own pen, to Athens sent, will be
 A mortgage on thy treacherous neck,
 and make

Thee do that which thou' most will loathe
 —will chain

Thee to our throne, a slave to work our
 will;

Though far away will move the hand we
 buy,

And open to our gold the gates of Greece;
 Or else will give thy carcass to the mob,
 And bring thy brother vultures on thy
 flesh,

Clouding thy house with black eternal
 shame.

We can not love, but we can use thee,
 Greek!

Thy land we hate! our armies on her soil
 Like clouds have been dissolved! Our
 ships yet lie

All shatter'd on her shores! Our trophies
 hang

Above her shrines, her streets and tem-
 ples deck,

And we will pluck them thence by force,
 or guile.

Thee we despise! thy race forever hate,
 Which, unsubdued, will overthrow all
 kings,

And give this world to lawless liberty.

We will pour over Greece, weak by thy
 gifts,

A Persian deluge, as when ocean heaves

Itself on shore, or heaven falls down in
floods.

'Tis thus we hold thee in the grasp of
fate,

Enclosed 'twixt Persian spears and Gre-
cian hate.

[Exit KING, and his Courtiers.]

ALCANDER.

What line can fathom my deep infamy!

Oh! how my past shows bright in this
lone gloom!

Athens, thine image shines, most beau-
tiful!

New glory rests on thy Acropolis!

Thy Parthenon, how grand! Immortal
shapes

Crowd from thine Agora! Athene's helm
Gleams o'er thy walls above Jove's maj-
esty!

And then my wife, my son, my friends,
my home—

All make in memory now a paradise.

O eyes, but weep till vengeance stops
your dew!

The husband loves the bride who charm'd
his youth,

Yet, stain'd by her his bed, will choke
her cries—

Will rend with steel the form he half
adores,

And drop his tears down in the blood he
sheds.

Athens, 'tis thus with thee—the more my
love,

The more my hate will blaze in ruin o'er.

An exile I, whom earth can give nor home

Nor grave—never in eyes for me a tear—

In hearts, distrust—to kill me, murderous
hands—

Around me nought save seas of gore and
gloom,

And rocks and gulfs impassable to me—

Stung ever onward to the doom I dread,

Afraid to live, and more afraid to die,

To my sold soul is left its one dire work—

By Persian swords to draw forth Grecian
blood,

And quench the fire of my eternal hate.

ACT III.

SCENE I.—*A Grove between the Grecian
and Persian Camps.*

ALCANDER.

YE gods, is this my doom? In Athens I
Dragg'd to the light the crew who bar-
ter'd off

Themselves for bribes—vermin fix'd on the
State

To suck its blood into their bloated flesh,
And who out-hunger the hyena's maw—

Like vipers sting, like vultures live on
death.

I loath'd the wretch who sold his soul,
then fawn'd

For higher bids—polluting all he touch'd,
False to the State, and to his buyers
false.

There Greek bribed Greek—I am by Per-
sia own'd.

Black spectral fingers reach across the
sea,

And with my bond forever lash me on.

O Greece, thy stones cry out against my
sin—

Thy waving banners flaunt it to the
winds;

The swords of heroes flash it in mine
eyes;

The seas in midnight yells fierce roar it
forth;

The hills to hills shout my dire treason
back;

And the still stars and the great sun
look down

On me in scorn—so paid my pride and
rage!

[Enter a Persian Emissary, in a Grecian garb.]

Who goes there? Stand!

PERSIAN.

I come from Persia's king

ALCANDER.

Ho! guard! A spy!

PERSIAN.

Be still, or thou art dead !

ALCANDER.

What means thy threat ? So near our
camp, my word

Will flash around thy heart ten thousand
spears.

PERSIAN.

This scroll, Alcander, is thy pass to me.

ALCANDER.

I know thee not—a lie !

PERSIAN.

'Tis truth, false Greek.

ALCANDER.

What, this to me, and here ! I'll have
thy life.

PERSIAN.

Nay ! pause ! put up thy sword, and
note

This parchment in my hand—my helm
and shield !

It will ward off from me all Greece, and
thee—

These lines of thine would stir your
camp to storm,

And bring upon thy head an army's
wrath.

ALCANDER.

Thy riddles cease, and tell what tempts
thee here !

PERSIAN.

Behold thy bond—thy name, thy seal, thy
pledge !

Redeem thy promise to the king of
kings ;

Take this our gold, your allies buy, and
give

Greece to our arms !

ALCANDER.

Nay ! slave, hand me my bond,
Or feel my sword ! I'll tear my infamy
To shreds, and scatter to the winds its
proofs !

My bond, or death ! Ho ! guards ! fall on
this spy !

Give me my bond !

PERSIAN.

Be not too fast, my Greek !
This is the copy of thy treasonous pact,
And if destroyed, out from our royal chest

Would leap thy bond, thy ghost to haunt
thy life,

To scare thy dreams, and hurl all Greece
on thee !

I dare thy blow, that on thyself would fall,
And give thy carcass to the vulture's beak
Cast out on lonely shores ; to furies send
Thy shivering soul, and blacken thee with
shame.

Receive our gold, and with it do our work !
Dost thou consent ?

ALCANDER.

In evil hour, compell'd
By flashing swords, I wrote my name
from fear.

But slight the deed, and vast the penalty !
Ye gods, no place for pardon to my tears !
Must I be goaded on by fate to death !

PERSIAN.

See thou to that ! 'tis ours to claim our
right.

Tell to the Greeks our weapons forced
thy name,

And made a coward sell their liberties !
This more than treason would arouse
their rage.

ARISTON and INO are seen in the distance.]

Behold thy chief ! Ha ! how thy color flies !
One word of mine to him will seal thy
doom.

Thy path is plain ! fulfill thy bond, or die !

ALCANDER.

Soft, Persian, soft ! stand back ! we will
retire

Deep in the wood, and there talk o'er our
plans.

I'll take your gold ! I only tested thee,
To prove thee from the king. Greece
do hate,

And yon vain boy, her chief—to ruin both,
I dare eternal flames hot as my pride.

*[ALCANDER and the Persian withdraw, while
ARISTON and INO enter together.]*

INO.

Ere you left Greece, when training for the
games,

Who was the slave that waited in your
tent—

A rosy boy ?

ARISTON.

Jove, what mean you, Ino?
You knew him not.

INO.

Indeed! perhaps too well.
With grace he brush'd your robes, and
comb'd your curls,
And kept, mid summer's fires, your gob-
let full
Of water sparkling from the fountain's
brim.

Once, when your chariot with its lion-
crest

Whirl'd through the dust, and thunder'd
by the goal,

While you like Mars stood high with
guiding reins

And sounding lash, and Greece decreed a
crown

Around a head unknown, he pick'd for
you

The ivy from the dust, there fallen down,
And bound it on your hair.

ARISTON.

How knew you this?
My brain is in a maze—surely, surely—
But I shut out the thought.

INO.

In Lydia, too,
When you had scaled a wall, and a fierce
blow

Had dash'd you to the ground, that other
slave

Wiped off the blood, pour'd balm into
your wound,

And nursed, through weary weeks, you
back to health.

ARISTON.

Ino, thou art a witch—in secret league
With some supernal power—'twas birds
of air

Steer'd by the gods from Asia bore this
news.

INO.

Feel here if I have wings! they are not
grown.

May be I borrow'd his from Mercury;
Or Cupid bound his pinions on my feet.
Again, at Tyre, the king, who gave a
feast,

Laugh'd at your fast from wine, and
challenged you:

Then your third boy, black-eyed, and
mischievous,

Who bore your cup, fell down, and spill'd
it o'er,

And saved your vow, but earn'd, oh! such
an oath

As shook Olympus on its mountain-seat
With all its gods.

ARISTON.

If now Alcander's page,
Why not once mine? A woman's wit
will match

A woman's love, and do what scares a
man.

INO.

And when, return'd to Greece, the grap-
pling ships

Like clasping tigers fought, and tinged
the sea—

You gaining fame that makes you archon
now,

Then, as still, your name unknown to
Greece—

Who near your side did watch each manly
blow,

And spread upon the deck beneath the
stars

A couch where evening winds touch'd
light your cheek

With envied kiss, and fann'd you as you
slept?

ARISTON.

Ino, I see it all—'twas thou, 'twas thou!
'Tis this explains the mysteries of years:

I felt a sacred presence round my life—
My angel thou—thy love in Protean
shapes,

And far-off lands—on sea and shore—
found out

My devious way, and track'd my steps, to
save.

Come to my arms! Henceforth I'll wor-
ship thee,

And not the gods.

INO.

Archon, be not so rash—
The chief of Greece must not clasp round
a slave—

Alcander's page by his commander kiss'd !
 Hands off ! the act will hurl thee from
 thy place,
 And cost thy life ! See how I quench the
 flames
 I make so fierce ! Most meek the mas-
 ter is
 To mind a slave ! Wait till victory drops
 Her crown immortal on thy conquering
 brow,
 And then, before all Greece, the slave
 will deign
 To touch thy hand ; or more, perchance
 thy lips.

ARISTON.

My soul, subdued from vice, may claim
 thy love :
 From habit's coil set free, oh, be my wife !
[They embrace.]
 Each here to each we pledge our hearts,
 and lives.
 May Peace soon come to link in wed-
 lock's chain !
 Now perils press—some foe lurks in our
 camp.
 Ye powers who made yon moon, and bent
 yon dome
 In starry glory round our circled earth,
 Our country watch, and girdle with your
 care,
 And for her freedom give us strength to
 die !

INO.

Alcander is our bane—within his tent
 Are doves who daily bear to Persian eyes
 His messages.

ARISTON.

Thus knows our foe our plans
 Before their bud can blossom into flower.
 A traitor-presence seems ubiquitous,
 And yet is vail'd from our most search-
 ing gaze.

Ye heavens, oh, must a son a father
 track
 Like hounds a covert fox earth'd for his
 death !

*HELIA enters, still crazed, supposing herself
 Ceres in search of Proserpine.—She is
 crowned with flowers, and carries bearded
 sheaves.]*

As long months since, ye gods, my
 mother comes !

HELIA.

'Twas Pluto stole my dear—she lives in
 hell—
 Oh, weep, with Ceres weep, and weep
 and weep !

ARISTON.

How can I bear this sight ! It tears my
 soul ;
 More worn and sad than when I left our
 home !

HELIA.

Sings.]

O king of night, hear, hear my cry !
 Give back my child !
 A gloom is on the earth and sky
 That makes me wild.

O'er hell's black mouth I scatter flowers,
 And fruits and sheaves,
 To charm you up, infernal powers,
 Where Ceres grieves.

Send over Styx, send from your night
 My child to-day !
 Proserpine give to the light,
 I pray, I pray !

*Enter ALCANDER, who does not know ARISTON
 as his son.]*

ALCANDER.

Ha ! here my page ! Boy, I have sought
 thee long !
 And Helia, thou—who brought thee to
 the camp ?
 The slave shall feel the whip who let thee
 loose.

Both follow me !

HELIA.

Pluto has come from hell !
 My child ! my child ! oh, give me back
 my child !

ALCANDER.

Quick, wife, and slave, or I will force
 you on.

ARISTON.

Alcander, nay ! thou shalt not be thus
 harsh.

ALCANDER.

Shalt, archon, shalt ! thy insults stain my
 name,
 And leave a blot thy blood alone can
 cleanse.

*[INO rushes away with HELIA ; while ALCANDER
 assaults ARISTON, and falls insensible, after
 a brief, but, as it turns out, not fatal contest.]*

ARISTON.

Oh, blacker grows my life, supernal
gods!

A father's blood spots o'er this moonlit
earth,

And that red mouth cries out, "Thou
parricide!"

A sire kill'd by his son, as gives a tree
Its wood to help the ax which cuts it
down;

As wings the bird a shaft to its own
breast.

Yes! I have pierced the heart which fill'd
my veins—

Have quench'd the flame which lit my
soul to life.

But yet a traitor's that majestic form!
Those hands grasp'd Persia's gold! that
head did plot

The death of Greece—bent cringing to a
king—

A spirit held which hate has hurl'd to
hell.

Both shame and grief are in the drops I
weep:

The father melts mine eye to filial tears;
The traitor turns its gushing floods to ice.
Thus liberty groans up through death to
light.

Yet here, my father's flesh my altar now,
His blood my sacrifice, I, Freedom's
priest,

Kneel down, and swear to fight till
Greece be free.

SCENE II.—*A Tent in the Grecian Camp,
where the Archon and Generals sit in
council.*

ARCHON.

The trumpet's breath has call'd our coun-
cil now

To hear proposals from the Persian king.
Shall Greece at all receive his embassy?

HEROCLES.

What harm to see a tyrant's messengers?
Nor fear nor falsehood can impose on
men.

I must advise that we should hear the
terms:

If they advantage, ours will be the gain;

If they insult, 'twill rouse, and weld the
States.

CALOPHOS.

I think with Herocles that we should know
The foe's first aim; nor should his pres-
ence dread

In his ambassador. Our enemy
To see and hear will stir our hearts anew;
May wake in Greece more true and firm
resolve.

ARCHON.

Are all agreed to hear the Persian speak?

ALL.

Agreed! agreed!

ARCHON.

Herald, announce our will!

The Persian Ambassador is introduced.]

AMBASSADOR.

All hail, ye men of Greece most true and
brave!

I have come to you from the king of
kings,

Who, like the sun, would shed his beams
on all,

And make a world in his bright smile
rejoice.

ARCHON.

We have decreed to know thy monarch's
wish,

Supposing always nothing will be urged
To hurt the pride, or stain the name of
Greece.

This understood, we wait to hear thy
words.

AMBASSADOR.

My task is brief! My king's compassion's
great:

He fain would spare your blood, and
give you peace.

Our arms possess your land, our ships
your sea;

On yon high mountain-rocks amid the
clouds

Our monarch sits with Greece beneath
his feet:

White gleam his tents; his millions flash
round fear:

An ocean he, an earthquake to o'erwhelm,
Before destroying, sends you terms of
grace:

When you bring earth and water to his
throne,
He will recall his troops, except a guard,
Impose slight burdens on your tribute
State,
And through his satrap rule o'er Greece
in love.

ARCHON.

'Tis not for us, who feel no fear, to ask
For grace: our trust, our cause and
swords.
Had'st thou made threats of chains and
fire for Greece,
She would have scorn'd thee hence. We
can not grant,
Yet will discuss thy terms. The council
now,
When you withdraw, will interchange
their views.

[Exit Ambassador.]

Let the gods speak before frail man
begins!
But heaven can counsel earth in such an
hour,
Which must decide the future of our
State.
Bring in the priest!

[Enter Priest.]

Most venerable man,
What say the victims, and the oracle?

PRIEST.

I'll tell, ye Greeks, what I have seen, and
heard:
To eye and ear the gracious gods have
spoken.
White as the snow of Helicon, a lamb
Was on Apollo's altar laid, and burn'd:
The flame was bright—the blaze more
pure than morn—
Soon smoke curl'd up, and from its rolling
clouds
An eagle flew, as if 'twas born of them:
Then flashing down, he sat with balanced
wing
On Delphi's pinnacle, and eyed the sun.
This is a sign from heaven of victory.

ARCHON.

But, priest, have you yet ask'd the Pyth-
oness?
She from her tripod tells what will the
Fates.

PRIEST.

Before our Delphi's shrine, with streaming
locks,
With eyes that seem'd two sparks of
lightning-fire,
In whispers first, that rose to thunder-
bursts,
Mid smoke and flame, the frenzied priest-
ess cried:

When ocean conquers land,
And the sun leaves the sky,
Greece Persia will command,
And Liberty shall die.

[Exit Priest.]

ARCHON.

These words declare to us our victory;
Yet is our peril great: it is with us
Or life or death—'tis chains, or liberty.
Calm prudence sits in council with the
brave;
And courage takes no risk that it can
shun.
Let each speak boldly what each freely
thinks;
From various views is largest wisdom
born.
Alcander, tell us first what you advise!

ALCANDER.

You, youthful chief, I'm sure, will under-
stand
That my fresh wounds may make my
cause seem weak,
Since blood drain'd from the veins bedims
the mind.
Nor are the times propitious to my
plea.
Once Greece preferr'd gray hairs to curls
of youth,
And scars to boasts, and deeds to elo-
quence;
Now heroes hide, and boys to office flash,
While passion rules with wild impetuous
sway.
We seek not laurels, but the good of
Greece;
Our aim not crowns for us, but life to her.
Now what the facts? Our soil swarms
o'er with troops
Innumerable—they like sea-waves roll,
Ready to fling wild ruin on our land:

Can we beat back the flood? When we
 can hurl
 The billows from the shore. 'Tis no dis-
 grace,
 If brave men yield, whose blood has
 flow'd like ours,
 To save, at last, the State. Here, a weak
 few,
 And there a multitude—our coffers low,
 Against exhaustless gold—our discords
 fierce,
 While to our foe one will. Chains, fire,
 and death,
 If we resist; safety, if we submit.
 Let Greece repose beneath the Persian
 throne,
 And catch the brightness of an empire's
 beams!

HEROCLES.

Say, have my ears deceived? or is it so?
 Has Greece been counsel'd to crouch
 down a slave?
 Shall she bring earth to kings? her past
 blot out,
 And stain the glory which her fathers
 gave?
 How blush their shades to hear from us,
 base sons,
 We can not guard what they for us have
 won!
 Nay! what they conquer'd we will now
 defend,
 Or, fighting, die! a grave before such
 peace!
 'Tis said, our chief is young! At least
 he's brave—
 He bares his arm to strike where age
 would yield.
 Twice in the games he won from all the
 prize;
 Twice led our arms o'er death to victory,
 Till sea and land exult to tell his fame.
 Incarnate Greece lives in his form, and
 sheds
 Round glory where her hero fights, strew-
 ing
 With crowns his path to an immortal
 name.
 Are States disjoin'd? 'tis Persian gold
 divides.

Say, who, Alcander, scatters it conceal'd,
 And fills our camp with fears, and dark
 distrusts?
 Wilt *thou* to Persia bear demanded
 earth?
Thou carry water to the feet of kings?
 Wilt *thou* cringe there a slave, where
 Greece will hiss
 Thee with eternal scorn? We'll never
 yield:
 'Tis ours to fight for Greece, not give her
 chains,
 And bring a time, when, every fetter rent,
 Our race shall rise to universal sway.
 The gods choose us for freedom's mighty
 war,
 And in their strength is immortality.

CALOPHOS.

The powers above will smile if we will
 fight,
 Since heaven helps those to strike who
 will the blow.
 Upon our altars fires propitious blaze;
 Omens to triumph point, and oracles,
 So that the gods will blast us if we
 pause,
 While men will call us cowards in their
 scorn.
 Raise, Greeks, the battle-shout of liberty!
 When younger, I hurl'd down the rushing
 foe,
 And with his corpses piled our bloody
 soil:
 Again this wrinkled hand shall grasp the
 spear,
 And wave the sword—this whiten'd
 head shall feel
 The flashing helm where warriors strike
 and die
 To drive back tyrants who would chain
 our Greece.
 Let cowards shrink, and traitors counsel
 peace!

ALCANDER.

Cowards! for me this word!—traitors!
 for me!
 Gray hairs a license claim! Who dares
 to prove
 What Calophos would hint?

ARCHON.

Alcander, cease !
No challenge I permit in such a place.

ALCANDER.

Swell not, vain youth, with pride ! Thy
words beware !
Behold this wound ! Our eyes have seen
it bleed.
Thy flesh next rent may let thy life ooze out !

ARCHON.

Speak thus again, and I will call the
guard,
And chain thee to the earth—dare this
no more !

ALCANDER.

Dare, archon, dare ! An upstart thou,
unknown,
Till chance did make thee rule o'er better
men,
While in my veins the oldest blood of
Greece.
Who art thou, youth ?

ARCHON.

Thy son !

ALCANDER.

A lie !

ARCHON.

'Tis true !

ALCANDER.

That drunkard left my home, and died at
sea.

ARCHON.

My beard has grown, and war has bronzed
my face,
From which time long has worn the lines
of vice ;
But here the proof ! Behold upon my arm
A word traced there in infancy by thee—
Nor loved by thee, although mark'd by
thy hand—
Ariston read—then on my finger note
The seal of our own house set round in
gold !

HEROCLES.

Nephew, come to my arms—the mist
clears off—
We learn why thus our hearts beat warm
for thee,
And for her son Greece felt such sym-
pathy.

CALOPHOS.

Ariston, hail ! Thy voice, thy looks I know,
And marvel thy disguise could hide thee so.

ALL.

Ariston, hail ! All Greece will answer,
Hail !

ALCANDER.

Be still, ye dupes, nor trust the silly lie
Which time will tear, and fling in scorn
away.

Yet if my son, be his a father's curse !

ARISTON.

Here to this council I unfold my name,
Giving my secret to the ear of Greece,
Lest it may perish in the battle-shock.
Wild Pleasure stain'd my life ! Love
snatch'd from vice,
Watch'd o'er my way, and gave me back
to Greece,
That I, with you, may keep her free, or die.
For her henceforth we live, ourselves
forgot.

Her form I see as when Athene lifts
Through some dark cloud on the Acro-
polis

Her glittering helmet to the beams of
morn,

And flashes from the sun her light o'er all.
O Athens, Sparta, Corinth, Thebes, be
one !

Bury your strife, and here for freedom
stand !

Soon then before her glance will tyrants
fly :

A soul resolved is strength—is victory.
Hurl Persia from yon hill—drive off her
king !

Her fleets and armies sink ye, Grecians,
press'd

Beneath the weight of the eternal sea !
Our deeds will move our sons to nobler
deeds,

Will thrill in songs, in brass and marble live,
To glory shaped by art's immortal touch.
Only from martyr-drops is Freedom born :
The flames we light o'er all the world
shall blaze,

And in their splendor coming ages say—
Behold the spot where Greece saved Lib-
erty !

ACT IV.

SCENE I.—*Tent of the King, in the Persian Camp.*

KING.

WHO art thou, Greek?

ALCANDER.

One thou hast seen before,
O king, prays from the ground, and asks
thy grace.

KING.

Thy face is strange, yet o'er my mem'ry
floats
An image of the past that seems like thee.
Ha! now 'tis plain—changed thou art,
Alcander—
Thy hair more gray, and much more bent
thy form,
And in thy haggard eye a fiercer look.

ALCANDER.

Have I perform'd my work, immortal
king?
'Tis *that* made white my locks; *that*
shook my nerves;
That kindles in my glance a wilder fire.
Is not my bond fulfill'd—each promise
met,
And more, for thee—divided, Greece—her
friends
Bought off by me—she, cowering at thy
feet?
No part of my old pact but fully met.

KING.

O Greek, 'tis true—the motive we'll not
scan—
Revenge, or hate, or what—thou hast for
us
Been active as the winds, fiercer than fire,
And tireless as the sea. Our gold through
thee
Has poison'd Greece, until her bloated
flesh
Is falling off itself from round her heart.
Yea! soon our arms will push her to her
grave,
And with her bury freedom from the
world.
In her new archon all her hope of life.

ALCANDER.

Curse on his upstart head! I'll bring it low.

KING.

He is thy foe and ours—take him away,
And Persia soon shall chain the limbs of
Greece,
Forever fetter'd 'neath my conq'ring
foot:
No price to thee too great for such an end.

ALCANDER.

I ask not gold—I only ask my bond,
Whose work achieved is now to thee no
use—
A parchment dead—a carcass void of soul,
Its stench I'd hide away—a useless
corpse
To thee—to me a ghost most terrible,
That haunts my sleep, and stirs up ugly
dreams,
And with a leering eye stares o'er my
life.
I want my bond—my bond—give me my
bond,
And thou for it shall have thy pay in
blood.

KING.

Alcander, thou art mad—thy look is
wild—
Thy hand clasps round thy sword with
eager clutch—
I fear thy ways.

ALCANDER.

My work has shaken me—
In killing Greece I have unnerved myself,
And her own specter stands along my
path
To torture me. See, there, it cries, and
glares,
And will not down until I have my bond
To silence it—my whim's to get my
bond—
To hold it thus—to feel it in my palm,
And scan it well, and know it is my
bond.
I'll give it to the fire—I'll see its smoke
Roll off o'er heaven each token of the past.

My bond! my bond! It will wipe out my
thoughts,
And cleanse my soul, and lay this ghost
for me.

My bond, O king! I say, hand o'er my
bond!

KING.

Thou art most fierce—thy reason is dis-
turb'd

By these remorseful memories of thy life.
How to us canst thou be answerable?

ALCANDER.

Give me my bond, and that will tell me
how.

KING.

We will, if thou for it the archon slay:
Persia will bless thee, too, with rank and
gold.

ALCANDER.

What such poor stuff to me! Nought but
my bond!

The tiger says, what, to the silly kid
Who gambols near his lair? A spring, a
tooth,

A piercing claw! then a low growl of joy
As he sits gorging flesh, and stain'd with
blood,

While sparks fly out from his too eager
eyes,

And quivers with delight his spotted skin.
'Tis nature in the beast, and not his crime:
He wants the kid—the kid was made for
him—

'Twas right the kid should feel his hungry
jaw.

So I, O king, first wrong'd by Greece,
then struck

Down by her chief, urged on by hate and
fate,

To my own self but true, will kill my foe,
And thine. My bond give me, and he
shall die.

KING.

It is not with me now, but three leagues
off

Lies in my chest—thy promise pass'd to
me,

I'll get thy bond, and tie it on thy dove,
Whose wing shall bear it to thee ere this
eve.

ALCANDER.

O king, enough! I trust to thee my bond:
Send it through air to fly more swift than
winds,

And pass on 'clouds the lightnings as
they wink,

Bringing across the pathless track of
heaven

To nestle in my breast my white-wing'd
dove,

Meek-eyed and beautiful, that bears my
bond;

And back his mate will sail with news to
thee

About his neck that e'en will turn to
blood

The skies along his way, make red the
earth,

And hurl down Greece to writhe in her
own gore—

While thou and I will yell to see her die.

SCENE II.—ALCANDER'S *Tent, in the
Grecian Camp*.—INO *disguised as his
Page*.

ALCANDER.

Boy, see this flame! It curls up with a
joy,

And seems to say, "Aha! I love my
work."

Give it more oil!

INO.

The lamp will hold no more,

ALCANDER.

Then with the bellows blow and fan the
fire!

Breathe on it, air, to aid me blast my foe!
It can not burn too eagerly for me.

Note in the flask that small but shining
drop!

Canst tell, my boy, what in its globe doth
sleep?

INO.

My master, no! How could a slave
guess that?

I am no alchemist, as thou, to sway
The shining stars, to bind or loose the
winds,

And raise the waves, or bring from herbs
with fire

Their sleeping powers that cure, or kill
for thee.

ALCANDER.

In Persia I learn'd that, from an old sage
Who read the heavens e'en as the books
he wrote,

And moved to life, or death, the elements.
His hair was snow, but then his eye was
flame,

And to his glance all hidden things stood
plain.

He taught me how to make yon glittering
drop,

Where life and death are lying side by
side—

There Persia's fate, and there the fate of
Greece—

All in a drop—a little sparkling drop—

To me, above all gold, or Asian gems.

Boy, I am free! See if the dove has
come!

INO.

[Standing at the tent door.]

The moon is up, just lifting from the sea.
Oh, quick she climbs above the summer
mists,

Flinging across the waves her track of
beams

Aloft from heaven—but in her light flies
nought—

All void, and motionless the moonlit air.

ALCANDER.

Thou liest, slave—look out with sharper
gaze.

I can not leave my fire—no, not for my
bond,

Which is by me less wish'd than this sweet
drop.

The bond! the drop! dear types of life
and death.

What dove is missing now from out our
cote?

That is the darling that will bring me rest.

INO.

He is a Syrian dove, and of the flock

I noted him the king. No arrow shot

From bright Apollo's bow, wing'd with
his beams,

Will fly more swift and true than he
will bear

Thy message to thy tent.

ALCANDER.

A noble bird!

His full and swelling breast with silver'd
hues

Gleams like the moon. His pointed pin-
ions seem

As made to outspeed winds. Oh, round
his neck,

And sailing on the air, Alcander's fate!

INO.

Why is it, master, that our Grecian doves
All fly but to and from the Persian
camp?

ALCANDER.

What means that, boy? Stand here
before this flame!

A guileless soul is beaming from thy face,
Although it sometimes seems as from the
past.

Thy glance is clear! Be still! I wish
no words;

My trust is in thine eyes, and not thy
lips.

If false, thy heart shall quiver on this
steel.

INO.

How thou dost scare thy slave! E'en in
thy dreams

Thy teeth will gnash—thy words freeze
o'er my blood.

ALCANDER.

What hast thou heard me say? tell, on
thy life!

INO.

Last night, when cried the watch the hour
of three,

The lamp was low: while I toss'd on my
bed,

In the dim ray, I saw thee work thy
face,

And grind thy jaw—thine eyes stood
from thy head—

Thy hands were clasp'd, and round thy
limbs did twist

In agony, and from thy breast came
moans.

ALCANDER.

Boy, 'twas a dream, and yet its torment
dire:

The moon pass'd o'er the sun fringed
round with flame,

And darkness sat on earth with twilight
mix'd ;

The stars next turn'd to blood, and whirling
fell

Caught in a comet's hair, while all the
sky

Seem'd like my shriveling bond—birds
sought their boughs,

And beasts cower'd to their dens—the
bat came forth,

And hooting owl, and shapes stalk'd
through the gloom.

Then on her cloud Athene grasp'd her
helm,

And shook her snakes at me to twist and
hiss :

She seized my hair ! she flung me from
the sky,

While monsters swarm'd o'er Greece to
tear my flesh.

But, boy, enough ! Look for the bird
once more !

INO.

I see it cross the moon ! it comes ! it
comes !

I hear its wings ! It circles o'er our
tent !

ALCANDER.

Quick ! slave, quick ! quick ! I can not
leave my fire !

Take from the dove my bond, and bring
it here !

It is thy life ! without my bond, come
not !

[INO goes to the dove, and untying the bond,
flings it behind the tent to ARISTON, and
brings a blank piece of paper to ALCANDER.

INO.

My master, all is right ! Here is thy
bond !

I knew our Syrian bird was true of wing.

ALCANDER.

Here, slave, here, quick ! I want to grasp
my bond.

Thanks, to the gods ! I'm safe if Persia
falls,

And Grecian eyes should search her con-
quer'd camp !

My bond will not betray ! Once in this
light

I'll read it o'er, and give it to the flames

To roll away my infamy in air.

[He opens the paper in the lamp-light.

'Tis blank ! I'm duped ! the villain king's
a cheat !

He lied—the Fates are at my throat to
clutch,

To kill—the ghost of Greece looks glaring
there !

Slave, art thou false ? Come, find my
bond, or die !

INO.

Master, oh, blame not me ! I wrong thee
not !

I took that from the dove tied on his neck,
And brought it thee.

ALCANDER.

Out, slave ! search for my bond
With me ! bring forth the lamp, and find
the dove !

[They go out of the tent together, and while look-
ing around, ARISTON enters from behind with
Soldiers.

ARISTON.

We seize Alcander in the name of Greece.

ALCANDER.

Back, I say, back ! nor dare to touch my
flesh !

Base slave who sold my blood, I hurl thee
down.

[ALCANDER flings INO to the ground.

Come on ! come all ! I chains and
Greece defy !

Mean upstart, I will never yield to
thee !

You stand, and fear, and own my better
blood.

Your fetters shall not bind Alcander's
arm.

[After a short, but severe struggle, ALCANDER is
bound, and forced away.

ARISTON.

My Ino sinks, struck by my father's hand !
Oh, live, my heart, or I will die with thee !

Now from the stream I'll bathe her cold
white brow.

Bring back, ye glistening drops, her life to
me !

Start, start one pulse to give this cheek its
bloom !

Ino ! Ino ! hear thy Ariston's voice !
Come, spirit, back, and dwell in this fair
clay !

Look from these eyes; speak out from
these cold lips
Which here I kiss, and to this marbled
flesh

Give grace that rivals heaven! Oh, smile,
ye gods!

Oh! he who hides in earth the form he
loves

Entombs his life, and makes the world a
grave.

She breathes! she stirs! I thank the
listening Powers!

SCENE III.—*A Dungeon.*—ALCANDER *in
chains.*

ALCANDER.

Ye gods! my brain is fire! my heart is stone.
Wild horrors throng these walls! What
sights, what sounds

Strike on mine eyes, mine ears, and shake
my soul!

Grim, goblin shapes come creeping o'er
my gloom;

Graves gape beneath, and spirits shriek
above;

Old warriors seam'd with wounds, meek
matrons slain,

And mangled babes, with their reproach-
ful eyes

Look down on me, while furies rush with
chain,

And torch, and knife, to blast the land I
loved.

All Greece, with corpses piled, lies on my
breast,

Mid moans, and tears, with an eternal
weight:

The cause—my bond, which signed me
o'er to hell

To do its work, and drive me on in night
Across the Stygian realm, forever on—

An everlasting lash to cut my soul.

The traitor sells himself, and buys such
joy!

This poison-drop for me, not him, my cure!

Enter ARISTON, bearing a lamp.

Out of my sight! This is the worst of
all!

The deadly snake more welcome here
than thee.

ARISTON.

Father, forgive! 'tis Fate decrees our
doom.

ALCANDER.

What, wretch, forgive! that word I will
blot out

From memory, whence too I'd banish
thee.

Look on my chain! who bound it to my
wrist?

'Twas *thou*! Who pierced my flesh, and
left this scar?

Again, 'twas *thou*! Who sent me to this
gloom,

And on my forehead fix'd a traitor's
mark?

Ariston, *thou*!

ARISTON.

I can undo it all,
And set thee free. To-morrow we must
fight:

We fear not Persian arms, but Persian
gold,

And know not whom to trust. On battle's
edge

Greece trembles o'er a sea of dismal
doubt;

Chief, chief suspects; and soldier, soldier
fears.

Show who is bought, and we will spare
thy life,

Forget thy past, thy name and place
restore,

And give its glory to our clouded house.

ALCANDER.

Let Athens die! My hand would hurl,
not quench

The torch of blasting war. Her, ingrate, I
Hate first, and thee the next, thou parri-
cide!

Let Persia plant on Grecian soil her
throne,

And rule with iron hand our dastard
mobs!

Should I accept thy boon, I yet would live
On Greece's roll a blot, while thou, my
son,

Would'st shine in contrast with a father's
shame.

ARISTON.

My father, nay! do not suspect me
thus!

I only seek in thine the good of Greece:
She first, she last, before or you or me:
Save Athens from the Persian sword and
chain!

ALCANDER.

Should I confess, you'd stand a traitor's
son;
Tainted thy blood; thy house and name
a curse:
Thy welfare and mine own would seal
my lips.

ARISTON.

Thou dost relent! Thy heart melts o'er
thy son!
I fall down at thy feet! Oh, bless me
here!
Then help me snatch from death im-
peril'd Greece!

ALCANDER.

Relent! I do! ha! would 'twere with a
blow.
This chain which weighs on me doth
save thy life:
But shake it off, and know how soft my
heart!
Relent! I do! as tigers mouth'd in
blood.
Relent! I do! like furies when they kill.
Give me in peace my chain, and infamy!
At least my prison should be free from
thee!
Leave me my cell, since thee I can not
drive.
Besides, where are thy proofs? Thy
quest presumes
My guilt—that I need grace from Greece
and thee.

ARISTON.

Too much we know—thy bond is in my
hand,
Borne through the air from Persia's
camp to me

About thy dove, to prove to Greece thy
crime.

ALCANDER.

My hour has come! my bond, with thee,
is death!

This snaps the tie which binds to this
grim earth.

Alcander can not live if lives his son.
My hate to thee, a babe, was prophecy—
It show'd thee spotted with thy father's
blood.

This drop my hope! my all is circled
here!

'Tis on my lip! I feel within its fire;
It burns my brain, and turns my veins to
flame:

Thy work, my son! These death-pangs,
all, from thee!

My slayer thou, I gasp to curse thy
soul,

And leave in death eternal hate for thee.

[Dies]

ARISTON.

Oh, this, indeed, is death! His touch,
like stone,

Chills on my flesh—about him all is ice;
His limb, cold as the chain that binds it
round!

In this dim flame his eyes stare on me
hate,

And on his lip stands yet his lingering
curse.

His guilty soul breathes horror through
this cell!

Oh, wretched son, to have so ill a sire!
Athene, from these clouds shine forth on
Greece!

Our hearts unite! hurl ruin on our foes!
Let morning shake them with a mortal
dread,

And evening see them driven from our
soil,

While victory binds round Greece immor-
tal beams

In which far ages shall exult o'er earth!

ACT V.

SCENE I.—*A Grove, before a Temple of MINERVA.*

ARISTON.

I AM once more a Greek, and joyance leaps
On through my blood fresh as this morning air,
Whose bosom throbs to fill the world with life.
The tug is o'er for Greece, and me; and hence,
Like some sad Jew, I'll live no more on groans:
Our manhood grows but in the light of joy.

INO.

Right glad am I, Ariston, at thy words:
Old thou before thy time—a Greek is gay,
Lives like a bird whose pulse has thrills of glee,
And sings each day, as if no next would be.

ARISTON.

Ino, I've had enough to sober me—
A father's death, a mother's wreck, the wars
Of struggling Greece—

INO.

Hush! hush! the shadow comes—

ARISTON.

And then the battle to subdue myself—

INO.

Enough: I'll run away—with kisses stop
Thy mouth, and thrust thy sadness down,
and keep

It down from me. Go seek the crown in
games,

Chase on the hills the boar, smile at
thyself

Hung in the "Clouds" to make thy
neighbors laugh:

Romp, joke, and play the fool; but do
not sigh.

Woman loves sunshine in the eye of man,
Has faith in him who in himself has hope,
Wants not dry trunks, but trees, stately
and strong,

VOL. I.—41

That lift aloft with joy their tops to
heaven,
To screen her, shrinking, from the storm
and sun.

ARISTON.

Well done, philosopher! Plato, avaunt—
Sell off thy cloak, and give to us thy
groves—
Us, partners hence in wisdom's gainful
trade!

INO.

Ariston, nay, before I join with thee
In teaching Greece, my tyro, tell me
first,
Tell, was it I, or not, who track'd thy
step,
And follow'd like a ghost to watch thy
ways;
Or others paid by me to bring report.

ARISTON.

Young wise-cloak, thou—a pretty boy,
Graceful and trim, and spicing life with
glee.

INO.

I say not it was I—but this I think,
Her air was manly if her cheek were
smooth—

Ah! once, twice, thrice, she changed her
look and name,

And e'en thyself did rival in the camp,
And took from thee almost the soldiers'
hearts,

Who stroked her sunny locks, pull'd out
her curls,

Said heaven began a girl, then made a
boy;

While, swaggering, she did joke more
than they all.

ARISTON.

My Ino, stop—that was not, was not
thou?

INO.

Strange if that boy had won thy place,
and fame:

Thine Ino might have stood instead of
thee

To please in marble's white the eye of
Greece.

ARISTON.

Do say no more ! Draw o'er those days
a vail !

INO.

Ariston, that the woman wakes in me.
I have no blush for what I did for thee.
Was I unsex'd ? that monster horrible,
A man in woman's form ? a spirit male,
With female nerves, and voice that
squeaks out thoughts
To show in flesh and soul eternal jar ?
Love sanctified the deed, preserved my
sex.

Look on my cheek ! there sits a woman's
bloom !
Gaze in my eye ! there beams a woman's
light !
Search through my heart ! there lives a
woman's love,
And my whole nature glories in itself.

ARISTON.

Right, my brave girl, my guide, and better
part !
I more than thee should boast the blessed
deed.
A truce ! a kiss !

INO.

My lips are thine ; then take
Thine own—there—there. Be hence a
wiser boy !

ARISTON.

Give me thy page's dress, and it shall
hang
High o'er Minerva's shrine, a gift of love
To heaven from me, and dear next to
thysself.

INO.

Sober, once more—but did I say 'twas I
Who follow'd thee ? Well, now I'll take
it back.
I joked, I lied—it was some other dunce
Who loved thee much—moonstruck—by
Cupid hit—
Perhaps my shade, that left myself behind
In Greece, to glide o'er earth to find its
mate,
And jealous keep him in her watchful
eye.

Trust not too much 'twas I, for, over-
fond,

I'd make thee sick, and tire thee of my
love,

Since men in us like coyness more than
sighs,

And value what they think they may not
get.

But see thy mother, there ! Smiles leave
us now :

She seems a form in which the gods
breathe grace,

Pleased to behold a matron's dignity.

Enter HELIA.]

HELIA.

I've pass'd hell's mouth, and Styx, and
Pluto seen,

To get my child, and come back to the day.
All earth I've search'd, and walk'd on
ocean's floor,

Olympus climb'd, and thence stepp'd into
heaven

To ask from Jove my child, my lost, lost
child !

INO.

Look, Helia, here !

HELIA.

Strange ! strange ! that voice I know,
And it is like the murmur of the sea
So sad in shells, or moans along the
shores.

INO.

I Ino am !

HELIA.

Oh, yes ! that name I've heard—
It floats up from the past. A cloud lifts
from
My memory.

ARISTON.

O mother ! I'm thy son !

HELIA.

How dear that tone, and how familiar too !
'Tis like Ariston's prattle when a child,
More manly grown. There, there I see
him now—

His curls, his dress—my boy, yes, 'tis my
boy !

ARISTON.

Our Helia ! mother, look ! Ariston I !
Oh, touch my face, and gaze into my eye,
And know thy son !

HELIA.

Yes, and 'twas thee I've seen
In marble stand along the Agora:
My boy was flesh, not stone.

INO.

Our Helia, nay!
These were his images placed there by
Greece;
This is thy son, thy true, thine only son!

HELIA.

Here! let me touch thy hand, and feel
thy face;
My fingers tell my brain more than mine
eyes.
The same! the same! he who in marble
stood!
My son in flesh! I've found my boy, my
boy!
My gloom is gone! I see a light like day!
Ariston, thou, and Ino by thy side!
I know you both, and take you to my
heart.

[All embrace.]

The world is fill'd with joy too great for
life.
Athene, goddess, from yon temple look,
And hear my words—to thee I vow
myself,
And for thine altar promise grateful
lambs,
While heaven and earth glow o'er with
light and song!

*Enter Girls and Boys, garlanded, who dance,
singing, around HELIA, INO, and ARISTON.]*

Hail, son of Greece! once like Mars in the
morning
Bursting through battle-clouds, red to the
sight!
Now peaceful o'er heaven thy glory adorning
Sends wide round the earth the beams of
thy light!

Hail, son of Greece! we beheld thee stand
lashing
Thy steeds from thy car, on-whirl'd to the
goal;
And then in the sun thine olive-crown flashing
Up to the skies made our plaudits to roll.
Hail, son of Greece! when the Persian's
mad minions
Bore torch and chain to the land that we love,

Thou seem'd an eagle hurl'd swift on his
pinions
Down from his mountain-nest, scaring the
dove.

Hail, son of Greece! bright around thee thy
glory
As that on the heads of heroes doth shine:
ARISTON shall live in song and in story;
Immortal with Greece his name shall
entwine.

SCENE II.—*A Porch before the Temple of
JUPITER, in the midst of a Grove.*

HEROCLES.

How bright Apollo drives his steeds
to-day,
That earth and sky may smile in light on
Greece!
The air breathes joyous life! the sea-
waves dance;
Sweet flowers from brilliant leaves give
grateful scents;
The very birds seem glad, and azure-
crown'd
Hymettus in his love stands kissing
heaven.

CALOPHOS.

Some Power unknown has thus hurl'd off
our foe,
Who more than Jove deserves a temple
here!
Be thanks to Him who sits throned o'er
our gods!
One day the Persian's arms are girdling
Greece;
The next, on land sees but his ghastly
dead,
And strewn upon the sea his shatter'd
ships.

ARISTON.

But terrible the price of liberty!
Brave Aristippus, Philippon the true,
Iolo, with the shades! With batter'd
helm,
And shield, and spear-pierced through the
neck, the first
I saw beneath a Median's foot pour out
his life.
The next, on snorting horse, whose eye
shot fire,

Was, dangling, hurl'd far on amid the foe,
Where Syrian darts in clouds hid from
my view.

Iolo, O ye gods, how hard his fate !
I saw him stagger, fighting as he fell,
Gash'd o'er with wounds, and striking to
the last,

Till on the earth, a Persian cleft his head,
And toss'd, in hate, it gory through the
air.

May such a sight no more salute mine
eyes !

CALOPHOS.

Well, now 'tis o'er—the dead beyond
recall ;

And it is ours in joy to give our thanks.

ARISTON.

Ah ! master, know that I have paid thy
debt.

Who press'd my back—as once I lay on
his—

Than I a heavier weight—with shorter legs
But bigger calves—enough to tire an ox—
Pursued by Persian wolves who wish'd
his flesh—

And groaning like some school-boy in the
spring

O'er-stuff'd with fruit ? I will not tell his
name.

CALOPHOS.

Ariston, truce, and keep thy secret well,
Or both of us will dangle from the
“ Clouds.”

HEROCLES.

And, nephew, I must cut thy brilliant
plumes

Before the players tear them on the stage,
While Greece laughs at the man who
saved her life.

Thy youth appear'd, in one mad charge
of thine,

Hurling a handful on a Persian horde ;
And up the hill, besides, thy murderous
rush.

ARISTON.

The only test of war is victory ;
That gives a crown where we deserve an
ax.

Our hope was not in flesh ! it was in
SOULS.

Muscle to muscle match'd, and man to
man,

And ship to ship, we were a few mad
boys

Striving to hurl away the ponderous sea.
Our will, and not our arms, our glory
gain'd.

One soldier strong in love to Greece is
like

A god in heaven's immortal panoply ;
And they who first stood firm 'gainst
Persian gold

Were then 'gainst Persian power invin-
cible.

Besides, despair but wins by boldest
deeds :

The *onward* snowflakes make the ava-
lanche ;

The *onward* flames will mountains wrap
in fire.

HEROCLES.

Ariston, 'tis well said ; and on the stage
May Greece prove kind to thee as I am
now !

But, see ! there come the spoils of Jupiter !
Well may our joy burst to exultant shouts.

ARISTON.

Yea ! let these trophies stir the heart of
Greece

And loose her lip to shake the dome of
heaven !

*Enter People and Soldiers, bearing the spoils of
battle.—After a brief interval, they separate
into a small and a large party, representing
Greece and Persia.—Then, in a mock fight,
the latter flies vanquished.]*

CALOPHOS.

See there a tatter'd Syrian banner float
Stiff with its splendid blazonry of gold !
One Spartan snatch'd it from a hundred
guards.

There come the quiver of a Scythian
chief,

An Arab's bow, and a fire-breathing
horse !

Behold a Persian shield round as the sun
That flashes from its brass ! That
Median helm

With batter'd crest, sat on some royal
brow ;

A jewel there burns like an eye of Mars—
Beneath, the crown of a long line of
kings!

Robes, girdles, chariots, arms—pile after
pile—

On sea and land our noble triumph show.

HEROCLES.

The crowd divides—on this side, few for
Greece,

And there, on that a multitudinous foe!

How loud the shouts! How wild the
mimic fight!

The Persian flies, while planted in his
camp

Our Grecian flag in triumph waves its
folds!

Good Calophos, the trophies are prepared.

Herald, peal o'er the grove a signal-blast!

*[The trumpet sounds, and all the people collect
before the porch of the temple, where the
trophies have been piled.]*

HEROCLES.

Let all Greece bow while earth gives
thanks to heav'n!

[All kneel.]

THE PRIEST.

Olympian Jove, we to thy image kneel,
And feel thy majesty, pleased now by
blood.

Thine, nature's crown, and thine, this
lower world.

Thine eye beholds, thy power encircles
all,

While nations can but rise and fall in
thee.

From thy high throne of clouds regard
our Greece,

Accept her thanks for thundering on her
foes,

And to her soil eternal freedom grant!

The spoils receive we place before thee
now,

And smile propitious while we utter
praise!

[All arise.]

HEROCLES.

Now, Calophos, discharge thy gracious
task!

CALOPHOS.

For her whose vigilance was bless'd to
Greece

Has been decreed this dove of Persian
gold:

The Agora to Ino votes the gift.

ARISTON.

To Athens thanks! I'll give it to my
wife.

CALOPHOS.

And here a picture set around with gems:
A youth on flowers sleeps near a preci-
pice,

Beneath which roars a torrent over rocks;

A mother sits beside her dreaming son;

Above I read these words in letter'd
gold—

"Helia's maternal love has Athens
saved."

ARISTON.

My tears dropp'd on the gift attest our
thanks.

CALOPHOS.

Ariston, taken from our battle-spoils
I hold a crown for thine own brow
decreed:

Bright-blazon'd on its jewel'd rim I see—
"All Greece ARISTON calls Deliverer."

*[ARISTON kneels, and is crowned by CALOPHOS
amid shouts of the people; and then rising,
speaks.]*

ARISTON.

My Calophos! first honor to the gods,
From whose immortal wings drops vic-
tory,

And in whose will men are but instru-
ments.

As their own gift we take the praise of
Greece;

Yet I, amid these shouts, and 'neath this
crown,

Stand here to blush since I can boast no
scar,

While I see those who from grim battle
snatch'd

Not graceful wreaths, but victory with
wounds.

The private soldier bears the brunt of
war,

And wins the garland his commander
wears.

There is a man whose arm is on the
field!

Another there who left behind his blood;

That soldier's eyes, cut into by a sword,	To find their dust whose spirits smile
Roll now in night and pain, nor see this	o'er Greece !
pomp ;	High on the soil where battle laid them
While, he, a sailor, on a grappling ship	low
Lost both his hands, which, dropping,	Be ours to raise their monuments in
tinged the sea.	brass
Yon brave man's breast was pierced by	Carved from their spoils ; and their
Scythian darts,	immortal names,
And from this vet'ran's flesh I pluck'd	Stamp'd on our coins, and chanted in
a spear.	our songs,
Then where our dead—true saviors of	Hand to our sons, taught thus to die for
our soil ?	Greece !
Go where the jackals yell, the vultures fly,	Eternal Freedom lives in martyr deeds.

ARTICLE IV.

THE MORAL CONDITION OF FRANCE

IN 1874.

E. DE PRESSENSÉ, D.D.

FOUR years have elapsed since France passed through a terrible crisis in her history. After having plunged into one of the most hazardous of wars, with a careless imprudence which was positively criminal when we consider the incalculable evils it entailed, she issued from it mutilated, impoverished, and a prey to internal dissensions. Then followed the terrible insurrection which, after all her other misfortunes, utterly overwhelmed her. It seemed for a while as if she must succumb in a crisis so prolonged and so complicated. This, however, was not to be. Thanks to a reparative and truly patriotic Government, having for its head the illustrious statesman who had energetically resisted the follies of the preceding administration, which at the last was more than ever culpable and fatal, France has been enabled to win respect, to suppress the insurrection, to pay five milliards to Prussia as a ransom for her invaded territory, to submit to heavy taxes, and to apply herself to agricultural and commercial industry, in order to promote the economy which engenders prosperity, while passing through, at the same time, a financial crisis which agitated both hemispheres.

It will not do for us, however, to cherish illusions: it must be acknowledged that the moral regeneration has not kept pace with the material renaissance. One of our most experienced statesmen, who has a thorough knowledge of his country, once said that a Frenchman showed as much wisdom in the administration of his private property as he was lacking in that attribute where public affairs were concerned. Economical, prudent, and industrious in family matters, he gambles recklessly with the destinies of his country, under the inspiration of a furious party spirit which puts every

thing in jeopardy. This explains the chronic instability of French political institutions. Hence the reason that the republic has to-day so much difficulty in establishing itself on a definite basis, since it responds to the necessities and possibilities of the present moment alone. It is true that the country at large shows itself much wiser than its governing classes, who have been unwilling to renounce their party prejudices. Like the idolaters of the East, who prefer their idols to the true God, the different parties have too often placed their respective fetishes above their love of country, albeit that country has need of all her sons to aid in her regeneration. We may say with truth that after our misfortunes, and in view of the impossibility which confronted the monarchists, owing to their own dissensions, of restoring one of the three monarchies, the republic was at once the *res publica* to which it was indispensable to subordinate all individual preferences. The French people not only failed to make this sacrifice, but they even deposed, on the 24th of May, 1873, the great citizen who had himself worked so strenuously to promote the late inevitable crisis. M. Thiers was by no means a republican in theory: his political life had always been allied to the cause of constitutional monarchy. He understood that the hour had come to break away from all prejudices and preferences, and he endeavored to found a conservative republic on a wise and patriotic basis. This is the crime for which it was impossible to pardon him. On the morrow of his fall, the parties which had coalesced to depose him found themselves disintegrated and powerless, and this will continue to be their condition so long as they refuse, as M. Thiers himself expresses it, to make that sacrifice of preference to judgment, which wisdom demands. The real cause of the delay in accomplishing this, is because they are actuated by religious rather than political motives. The royalist parties are nothing if not clerical, and clericalism has formed the project of reconquering France.

We are thus prepared to resolve the policy which we have but lightly touched upon, into a sort of moral statistic of the great country which has been in turn the terror, the admiration, and the pity of the world. Let us try to discover from whence come the influences which are dominant to-day in moral and religious affairs. It will demonstrate the philosophy of our contemporaneous history.

I. The triumph of Catholicism in France in the past, and the individual and exaggerated form it has worn in the present, constitute the secret springs of her destinies. It must not be supposed that the French character is incompatible with the austere and stalwart

religion of the Reformation, since it proved itself capable of assimilation with it in the sixteenth century, and imparted to it a new element without losing any of its own individuality. The Reformation has had no more eminent or heroic representatives than Coligny and Duplessis-Mornay, and it will only be sufficient to mention Calvin and Theodore de Bèza to recall what France has contributed to it in the ecclesiastic and theological sphere. If we descend from these lofty examples, which might possibly be regarded as exceptions proving no rule, and consider the masses of the French Protestants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they will not be found to be behind their co-religionists of other countries—firm, courageous, and indomitable, and displaying the noble qualities of their race. If France had followed the examples of Germany and of England in the sixteenth century, she would have escaped her subsequent stormy and variable destiny; we would never have seen her pendulous between despotism and anarchy. Was it not Protestant France, thanks to the genius of Calvin, which gave the type, in the synodical constitution, of the representative government in its wisest form? Unfortunately, it was supplanted in the sixteenth century by the Catholicism of the Valois, after a prolonged struggle, for there was a time when the chances were nearly equal between the two factions. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in the seventeenth century completed the work of the persecutions of the sixteenth. Had it not been for this abominable crime on the part of the ancient monarchy, France might have preserved a quiet, liberal, and industrious peasantry, which would have enriched and tranquilized the country by preventing all violent reactions. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes not only resulted in exiling from the country an aristocracy which it was impossible to replace from the middle classes, but moreover eliminated a ponderous element which would have preserved the equilibrium of forces in its great revolutionary crisis, and might possibly have prevented it altogether. An illustrious historian of the French Revolution, M. Quinet, has forcibly expressed this idea. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes made possible the events of the eighteenth century, and raised on high that terrible ax which felled not only the parasitical branches of the ecclesiastical tree, but strove, in the blindness of its rage, to tear it up by the roots. It was the odious régime of the last years of Louis XIV.'s reign, to which Madame de Maintenon gave the impress of her dry, narrow, and implacable spirit, that led to the reaction during the Regency, and, what was perhaps even worse than the "petits soupers" of the Duc d'Orleans, to those

intellectual orgies in which the D'Holbachs and the Diderots carried atheism to its furthest limits. The French mind had been confined in a species of *in pace*. It emerged intoxicated with anger, eager for independence, and ready to demolish all that it had previously adored. The French people knew religion merely as a yoke, and therefore they exclaimed, with Voltaire, "Away with the curse!" To do him justice, the great scoffer of the eighteenth century was the great avenger of the national mind; a melancholy vengeance, since it proved as fatal to the nation as the abuses which so justly called it forth. Thus it was that the great and generous movement of 1789 was perverted from its outset; that, born as it was in part from religious anger, it eliminated the divine and Christian motive from its work; that it addressed itself only to the rights of man, while denying the rights of God, to whose service we are pledged. Therefore it was incapable of laying the foundations of a truly solid structure, aside from a few indestructible social reforms. It was not grounded upon a rock. Hence the instability to which France is even yet a martyr.

It was not alone Protestantism that was overcome in the seventeenth century, but also the truly Christian Catholicism of Port Royal. France, after having rejected Protestantism, still preserved a happy alternative, which was to develop the Gallicanism she had professed at the Council of Constance in the time of Gerson. She could in so doing inaugurate a more tolerant if less complete reform than that of Luther and of Calvin. Jansenism was an attempt at a mitigated reform, which was more than animated by the most earnest Christian spirit. St. Cyran, Arnould, Sylvestre de Sacy, Mère Angélique, and Mère Agnes, combined to form a pure and radiant focus of exalted Christianity, which glorified the doctrine of grace, and with its holy flames consumed while it assayed the hypocritical and worldly devotion then every where prevalent. Pascal still remains the greatest writer of France, the highest type of her genius. While, in his *Pensées*, he has simply sketched the most sublime and the most conclusive of Christian apologies, as persuasive and powerful to this day as when it first saw the light, his *Provinciales* have proved the most terrible of scourges to those modern money-changers of the temple who sell holy things at the price of their worldly authority. It is these barterers, alas, who had put to flight the true spiritual priesthood. The adversaries of Port Royal suppressed by force those whose doctrines they were unable to refute. They accomplished its destruction after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The

tombs of the holy companions of Mère Angelique were desecrated, and their ashes scattered to the winds. The plow has passed over these sacred precincts, but, in the furrows it has made, nought can germinate but revengeful impiety, or the subjugation of conscience. The Bull *Unigenitus*, by carrying persecution to the death-beds of the last remaining disciples of Port Royal, achieved the demolition of the ancient Church of France.

We know how all that had been suffered to remain of Gallicanism at the beginning of the century has disappeared. The Church has abandoned herself entirely to the Papacy, since, at the close of the Revolution, she was obliged to renounce her allegiance to civil power, which had then become wholly secular. The Ultramontane school grew in importance day by day. It counted among its supporters the principal bishops, all the religious orders, and a zealous press, which has been rightly called the "Monarch of Abuse." It was vain for a fraction of the French Church to attempt to resist the latest excesses of the Ultramontane school, by making an effort to establish what was called Liberal Catholicism. Notwithstanding the eminent men who placed themselves at its head—notwithstanding the eloquence of Montalembert and of Lacordaire, and the sincere and exalted idealism of Père Gratry, it was unable to resist the tide of contemporaneous Catholicism. It was beaten back, or what is still worse, engulfed by the stream. The Encyclical of 1864, with the commentary of the Syllabus, was a peremptory condemnation of all the aspirations of Liberal Catholicism. An attempt was made to construe the letter favorably to the cause, by means of subtile interpretations, which turned against the Jesuits their own methods of perverting texts from their true meanings. This *tour de force*, displayed in a celebrated pamphlet by the Bishop of Orleans, was no longer possible after the Council of 1870. The proclamation of the dogma of infallibility nipped all these equivocations in the bud; the only alternatives were either to reject every thing, or to accept all unreservedly. One voice alone was uplifted in the name of Christian conscience—that of Père Hyacinthe, who had already been forced to retire from the chair of Notre Dame for having combated the tendencies of the day with too much freedom. This noble voice was promptly suppressed, with the disdain and contempt affected by those who hastened to prostrate their consciences before that which Montalembert called the "Idol of the Vatican," and to disavow their declarations against papal infallibility. This absolute prostration on the part of Liberal Catholicism fell with cruel force on those earnest

men who had fought so long under its banners now lowered in the dust. Take for example the experience of Père Gratry, when he submitted himself to Rome, after having written those vehement letters against the new dogma which established the fact that, according to history, it was contrary to Catholic tradition, and that its defenders were obliged to pervert it by unworthy falsifications of texts. He launched against them this indignant apostrophe: *Indignatur Deus mendacio vestro*. He may be said to have died of this submission, but his death is not the only one for which it is responsible. It was undoubtedly, and above all, the tendency to liberality which rendered Catholicism even acceptable to all noble minds, by concealing from them its real nature. Hereafter Ultramontanism can develop itself at its pleasure, without encountering any check, and can pursue its system to its ultimate consequences. It is not difficult to conjecture what has become of pulpit teaching under its influences; it is now nothing more than a feverish exaltation of the Papacy. Every thing turns on its infallibility; religion is reduced to a simple question of power. It will be acknowledged that it serves as a poor nourishment for the soul and conscience, and that it contains nothing capable of elevating the nation. Piety tends more and more to become a fanatic and idolatrous devotion. The miracles of Lourdes and of La Salette coined money for the coffers of the Church. The worship of the Sacred Heart, a pitiable delusion clinging to the material side of religion even as much as did antique paganism, is the great fashionable adoration. Pilgrimages are constantly multiplying, and bear along to the feet of apocryphal miracles excited multitudes, who, by their mode of adoring the Virgin, recall the cry which nearly cost St. Paul his life, "Great is Diana of Ephesus!" by comparing with it the later cry of "Long live the Pope and his temporal power! Cursed be Italy and the French Revolution!" Last autumn this other acclamation was added to the list: "Long live Henry V.! long live the legitimate king, whose dynasty and modern society fall together!" The great Church of the Sacred Heart which is to be erected at Mont Martre by a colossal subscription for which the National Assembly petitioned the legislative body controlling appropriations, is destined, in consequence of a mandate from the Archbishop of Paris, to become the temple of triumphant Ultramontanism, a sort of protest in stone against the fall of temporal power, and against the abolition of the privileges of the Church. This very archbishop the summer previous had issued a mandate against Italy as a public enemy. It was

important that he should be supported in this dangerous proceeding by several other bishops, who took advantage of their position to fulminate threatening anathemas against Victor Emmanuel, while attacking at the same time the Governments of Germany and Switzerland for certain timid reservations they had made. The great campaign of petitions in favor of temporal power, inaugurated by the clergy at the close of the war, professedly in the interest of mutilated France, and assuming her moral regeneration to be its chief object, independently of the desire to regain the morsel of land they had lost, was completely frustrated, owing to the peril it threatened to entail upon the country. The majority of the members of the National Assembly were forced to resign themselves to the unqualified acceptance of the situation in Italy. It was useless to attempt a denial of the importance of this event. It will lead to the greatest historic consequences, since it denotes the definite termination of Roman theocracy. The Catholic party has sought to counterbalance this defeat, in making use of its influence in the National Assembly to map out laws which may eventually redound to its advantage. It forms a preponderating element in the chief councils of public instruction, in which its bishops take prominent parts. It has thus far succeeded in domineering over public instruction, and has discarded the great system of compulsory education which the country eagerly demanded at the close of the late disastrous struggle. It clamored through all its journalistic mouth-pieces for a decree enabling it to establish great Ultramontane universities for the purpose of creating a breach in similar lay institutions, in order that the rising generations might be trained in the doctrines of the Syllabus. It seeks to usurp authority over the national army, by passing a law upon almonry, giving the upper hand to the clergy, which is unprecedented in all the past. It profits by its influence with the present Government, to inspire it with prejudices against universal religious liberty, to obtain dishonorable injunctions against civil interments, and to exercise a truly insupportable tyranny over the entire country. This is the present condition of France in 1874, eighty-five years after the French Revolution. We can easily understand the irritation that such a reaction could not fail to produce. Unhappily, the feeling of animosity does not stop at religious observances as the sole object of contention, but rises to the spirit of religion itself, and we find ourselves confronting the lamentable antithesis of an oppressive Church, and a radical unbelief.

II. If we consider the moral condition of that portion of the

nation aside from Protestantism, which has escaped the influence of Catholicism, and of which the contemplation brings us to the conclusion of this study, we will find that the opposition to Christianity has greatly developed itself within the last few years. It has even acquired an absolute character to which it has long been a stranger. For thirty years the prevailing philosophy was the deistic spiritualism of M. Cousin, which at bottom, would have been able, from a religious point of view, to resolve itself into a profession of the faith of Rousseau's *Vicaire Savoyard*. The eclectic school, so called because it pretended to derive the elements of truth from an extended research among all systems, ruled supreme over the French University. It was rationalistic at heart, and rejected revelation, but it affected a great respect for Christianity, which it was pleased to regard as a tradition of its own system, appealing to the people at large, where miracles, like the pictures in children's books, served as illustrations of the texts. This inconsistent spiritualism, which acknowledged a personal and living God, and which still denied him the rights of mediator in our unhappy state of affairs, could not maintain itself a great while without challenging serious attacks. The invasion of Hegel's philosophy dealt the first blow. Auguste Comte at the same time established the school of Positivism, which declared that all was uncertainty beyond the veil of things visible, that we must needs be contented with positive facts, and that we should organize science by abolishing the category of the absolute. M. Littré contributed powerfully to the success of this school by his learned works, of which the style was so clear and concise. The most brilliant *littérateurs* gave it the support of their talents, and it is well known that M. Sainte Beuve, our late eminent critic, became toward the close of his life an almost zealous disciple. Simultaneously the bold and decided materialism of Büchner diffused itself over Paris, and immediately created a preponderating influence in the school of medicine. The mystic, and at bottom skeptic Pantheism of M. Renan, exercised a morbid charm over minds which were repulsed by materialism, but it certainly did not tend to lead them toward Christianity, as a perusal of his *Life of Jesus* will testify. Finally, the school of English skepticism, which, beginning with the moral obligation, dissolves the primary intuitions of the soul in the crucible of a subtile analysis, has recently obtained many disciples in France.

From all these combined influences, strengthened as they are by the legitimate antipathy aroused by Ultramontanism, there has

resulted a marked intellectual movement, which tends to lead our rising generations far from the cause of Christianity, and from all that is spiritual. This constitutes the gravest side of the situation: the minds of men have not known where to stop in their opposition to Catholicism. They begin by an unqualified acceptance of its tenets; then, when it proclaims itself the sole authentic representative of Christianity, instead of distinguishing between the essence of religion and its outwardly defective form, they jump at the conclusion that it is their duty to reject religion itself. Not satisfied with this, they moreover involve all laws, moral and divine, in the same anathema, and fall, without even passing through a transition state, from an authoritative faith to the depths of a fearful skepticism, or an absolute materialism which neither acknowledges the soul nor God, and which borders upon the denial of moral liberty. What is still worse is the fact that this radical unbelief is not confined to the heights of literary and scientific culture alone. It descends to the laboring classes of the population, and inspires them with a furious hatred for every thing that suggests religion, as if they could perceive the spirit of the Paris Commune still animating its decrees. Naturally enough, the authoritative proceedings of Catholicism, and the privileges it enjoys, encourage this tendency.

We must not exaggerate, however. Between these two extremes there is an important body of the French people, which has preserved its religious faith, and, taking but little account of the changes Catholicism has undergone, still seeks in it the gratification of sincere religious sentiments. The present hour is a grave one, nevertheless; and it can not be ignored that there is a great falling off in the influence exercised by Christianity. This is as plainly seen in the domains of literature and art as in that of public morals. The heaven-sent inspiration is wanting in the greatest productions of the pen and the pencil. Full relief is given to the picturesque side of things, or rather, in speaking of literature, an appeal is made to an enfevered passion over which moral ideas have no control.

The mundane life whirls through its frivolous turmoils with more ardor than ever before. A terrible ennui gnaws at hearts which seek to drown it in the cup of dissipation. From time to time a tragic death or a suicide floats to the surface of luxury, and denotes the bitter dregs that lie at the bottom of the soul that is without faith in Heaven.

We will say little here of French Protestantism. It deserves a chapter by itself. A great and beautiful mission is certainly opened

before it, could it only escape internal dismemberment. The Reformed Church allied to the State is, we know, divided between two great factions: one remains true to the Christian faith; the other inclines more and more to rationalism, and is determined to reject every profession of belief. The State made a concession to the orthodox party, allowing them to convene a General Synod, which assembled in June, 1872. They were in the majority, and they decreed that a profession of Christian faith, broad and concise throughout in whatever concerns the great supernatural facts upon which Christianity rests, should constitute the basis of the Church, and be incumbent in the future upon all clergymen. The rationalistic faction, which forms an important minority, since the division of voices was as ten to twelve, refused to sit at the second session of the Synod, in November, 1872. It was the perfection of schism. The Government, which had convoked the Synod, naturally accepted its decisions, but it was none the less disposed on that account to treat with the dissenting party, and to bring about a settlement of the revenues of the Church, which accords an equal portion to each of the factions. So the matter stands at present. Let us hope that, once independently established, the Synodical Evangelical Church will be at liberty to devote itself to the furtherance of a salutary propaganda in our country. It is easy, at all events, to predict that it is not yet at its last stage, and that present occurrences prepare the way for the rupture of its connection with the State. The Synod of 1872 has even issued a vote to this effect. A certain number of evangelical congregations have already been established for several years in perfect independence, and serve to indicate the course of future events.

Even in spite of divisions and dissensions, Evangelical Protestantism has been enabled to exert great zeal in propagating its doctrines in France. It has won precious victories over Catholicism; has been the means of widely diffusing the Sacred Scriptures, and, whenever a way has been opened to it, has embraced the opportunity to profit by it. It is universally respected, and we may well hope that the separation of Church and State, which is inscribed on the heart of every true Liberal, will be proclaimed here in a few years, to the abolishment of those official schemes tending to maintain religious torpor. A vast career of interior missionary labor will thus be opened, and the Church will be prepared to enter it with energy and courage.

We do not wish to conclude this study of the present moral condition of France with words of discouragement. We feel assured

that she has not passed through the terrible trials of the past few years in vain. They have done great service in revealing the incapacity of all but true Christianity to effect a country's regeneration. When France, to all appearances, was about to expire, the old physicians whom she had summoned, the Religion of Authority, and the Philosophy of Unbelief, presented themselves at her bedside; their efforts failed to revive her, and they withdrew ignominiously from the scene.

From this we dare to hope that she will turn at last to that which alone can say to society in general, as well as to each individual, *Ascend!* France retains all her material and intellectual vitality. The day upon which she accepts the gospel of liberty she will have discovered the secret of her regeneration, which she has sought for in vain until now in a religion without liberty and in a philosophy without God.

ARTICLE V.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SUN.

PROF. C. A. YOUNG.

PROBABLY no subjects of scientific research have ever attracted more attention than those relating to the Sun. His preëminence in our system, as the controller of all planetary motions, and the origin and mainspring of all material energy in the Earth and her sister worlds, invests with supreme interest every problem concerning his nature and modes of action. And this interest has of late been deepened and freshened by the invention of the spectroscope, an instrument of longer range, and in some respects of higher efficiency, than any before at our command. Not that, as some seem to imagine, it is capable of solving all the perplexing problems connected with the subject, but it has opened many a clear path through former obscurities, and in all directions has improved our position and advanced our front. The progress in our knowledge of the Sun, effected during the past ten or twelve years, is really surprising; and although there still remain some wide divergencies of opinion, even upon important points, and among high authorities, it is not too much to say that these disagreements continually diminish, and we may fairly expect that researches and discussions now in progress will at no very distant day bring about a substantial concord, and a satisfactory decision of most of the questions still debated. Our limits forbid an extended history of opinions. It must suffice to say that the first real step in the study of Solar-Physics was made when Scheiner and Galileo announced, to the horror of all good Aristotelians, that the sun is marked with spots, and from their apparent movement deduced the approximate time of his rotation. Since then we may note as eras in the development of the science, the discovery and demonstration by Wilson, in 1769, of the cavernous nature of the spots—that they are hollows in the solar surface, and not supernatant clouds of any kind; the researches

of the elder Herschel near the beginning of the present century, and the speculations of his son thirty or forty years later; the observation of the solar prominences in 1842; Schwabe's remarkable discovery of the periodicity of the spots in 1851; the researches of Langier, Carrington, and De la Rue, revealing the significant law of the sun's rotation, viz. that there is a regular diminution of the angular velocity of the solar surface as we proceed either north or south from his equator, so that while a spot on the equator completes its circuit in a little more than twenty-five days, a spot 40° north or south of the equator would require no less than twenty-eight. Then we come to the eclipse of 1860, and the first successes in eclipse photography by De la Rue and Secchi. A year or two more brings us to the admirable work of Kirchoff upon the chemical constitution of the sun, the first, and even yet the most astonishing and important astronomical application of the newly invented spectroscope. Next we come to the eclipse of 1868, and the spectroscopic analysis of the solar prominences immediately followed as a most brilliant corollary, by the invention of the method which, by means of the spectroscope, enables us to study at any time, and as easily as the spots themselves, the phenomena of the sun's atmosphere, before visible only during the fleeting moments of totality—an invention which opens before us a new science of solar meteorology, and has justly associated in an undying renown the names of Lockyer and Janssen.

The eclipse of 1869 brought the spectroscopic solution of the problem of the corona; and the subsequent eclipses of 1870 and 1871 have each added something to our understanding of the subject; while the discussions as to the nature and cause of the spots, now going on between Faye, Zöllner, Secchi, Tacchini, and others, can hardly fail to eliminate many errors, and to establish important conclusions. The present year, moreover, is sure to be historical, on account of the transit of Venus which distinguishes its closing month, and is expected greatly to increase the accuracy of our knowledge of the sun's distance, and therefore of his dimensions.

For our purposes, the sun may be regarded as composed of four distinct portions, which may be considered more or less apart:

First, a central core; inaccessible, of course, to any direct observation, so that its nature and conditions are only to be inferred with more or less certainty by methods indirect and circuitous.

Secondly, the photosphere, or luminous shell, which forms the visible surface of the sun. This is the seat of the processes which evolve the solar light and heat; to it pertain the spots and faculæ;

and until the invention of the spectroscope, this was the only region subject to our observation, except during an eclipse.

Third, above the photosphere, and resting upon it as a foundation, lies the so-called chromosphere, an envelope composed largely of glowing hydrogen, portions of which, here and there carried high above the solar surface, form the now well-known clouds and flames designated as the prominences, whose spectroscopic investigation has so much occupied all students of solar science for the last four or five years.

Fourth, and finally, we have what Janssen has named "the coronal atmosphere," since to it is mainly due the corona, or glory of light which surrounds the sun during a total eclipse, and constitutes the most beautiful and impressive phenomenon of the whole event. This atmosphere, if such a word can properly be applied to what is not a sphere at all, envelops the whole sun and chromosphere with a close array of luminous streamers, which extend in some directions nearly a million of miles from the solar surface, and in structure, density, and instability bear some resemblances to those of our Aurora Borealis.

As to the sun's central core, the opinion which now generally prevails, though not without some dissent, is that it is *gaseous*. The reasons which almost compel this conclusion are easily stated. In the first place, knowing the sun's distance, we readily compute its diameter, which turns out to be nearly 108 times that of the earth, or, in round numbers, 860,000 miles.* Now, since the bulks of different spheres are proportional to the cubes of their diameters, it follows that the *volume* of the sun, to use the technical term, is $108 \times 108 \times 108$ times greater than that of the earth; in other words, it would require about 1,250,000 of the earth to make a globe as large in volume as the sun.

Again, we can also find how many times the weight, or more properly the *mass* of the sun exceeds that of the earth: the process is not very difficult, though perhaps its explanation lies a little beyond the scope of these pages, nor is the result doubtful, except by a small percentage, which depends chiefly upon the uncertainty of our present knowledge of the sun's distance. Now, according to the

* Very few, we imagine, get from this bare statement any adequate conception of the vastness of the solar orb. Conceive the earth placed at its center so that the inner surface of the photospheric shell should be our sky; then the moon, which is distant nearly 240,000 miles, would pursue her accustomed orbit far within the bounding sphere; and indeed, if the earth had a second satellite at almost twice the moon's distance, this also would come within our firmament.

best determinations, we find that the sun is about 320,000 times as heavy as the earth; and since, as we have seen, it is a million and a quarter times as bulky, it follows that its average density is less than that of the earth nearly in the proportion of one to four; and this, although we know by means of the spectroscope that conspicuous among the materials of which the sun is composed are metals, whose density, even when not under pressure and in the liquid form, far exceeds that which has been mentioned. For since the earth has a mean specific gravity of about $5\frac{1}{2}$, it follows that that of the sun is only about $1\frac{4}{10}$, while the density of iron, titanium, manganese, chromium, copper, zinc, magnesium, etc., range from 1.75 to 9. Of the substances known to exist in the sun, only sodium and hydrogen are lighter than the sun's mean density. It is to be remembered, also, that since the force of gravity at the sun's surface is twenty-eight times as great as on the earth, the effect of the weight of the strata near the surface in compressing and increasing the density of the central parts must be correspondingly powerful. As things stand, then, there seems to be no possibility of admitting that the substances which compose the sun are mainly in the solid or liquid state, for in that case the mean density must almost necessarily far exceed that of the earth. This conclusion is strengthened by what we know of the intensity of the heat at the solar surface, where, although exposed to the cold of outer space, we find a temperature sufficient to keep the solar atmosphere charged with the vapors of the metals we have mentioned. We can hardly doubt, therefore, that in the interior of the sun the temperature must be such as to make the existence of the metals in the solid or even the liquid state quite impossible. And yet the theory that they are in a gaseous state is not without difficulties. A few years ago it would have been urged with great plausibility that, under such a pressure as must obtain at the center of the sun, every gas would necessarily be liquefied; and it would have been impossible to meet the objection by any knowledge then in our possession. The recent researches of Andrews have, however, shown that a vapor or gas, if above a certain critical temperature, refuses to be liquefied by any pressure whatever, but, growing denser and denser under the pressure, still maintains its gaseous characteristics,* which are continuous expansibility under

* Perhaps a little fuller explanation may be allowable on this point, which is often misunderstood. Suppose a mass of liquid to be contained in a close vessel which it just fills, and compressed by some enormous force: now let the vessel grow gradually larger, thus relieving the pressure; the liquid will expand, at first keeping the vessel full, but at last,

diminishing pressure without the formation of a free surface of equilibrium, continuous expansion under increasing temperature without the attainment of a boiling-point, and, in the case of a mixture of different substances, a uniform diffusion of each through the whole space occupied, according to the law of Dalton and without regard to specific gravity.

These essential distinctions between liquids and condensed gases are often misunderstood ; but it is the more necessary to keep sight of them, as in many most important respects the mechanical properties of gaseous matter condensed by pressure to the specific gravity of water are identical with those of liquids ; especially if at the same time intensely heated—for then, as Maxwell has shown, the viscosity, or power of resisting motions, is greatly increased ; so that a mass of hydrogen at the sun's center may very possibly in its mechanical behavior much more resemble pitch than what we are familiar with as gas and vapor.

It must be noted further, and is urged as an objection by many, though we fail to appreciate its force, that if the sun's central core is gaseous, then the temperature at the sun's center must be enormous—to be reckoned in millions of degrees, perhaps millions of millions. If it were not so, even the lightest gas, as hydrogen, and at the temperature of the sun's surface, would by the inconceivable (but not incalculable) pressure be condensed so as to be hundreds of times heavier than platinum itself. We speak somewhat vaguely, even if heat is supplied to keep its temperature from falling, a time will come when the liquid will no longer fill the vessel, but an empty space will be left above a well-defined surface—a space empty, that is, of the liquid, but of course occupied with its vapor. Now, if we take a similar vessel filled with a compressed gas whose density at first may even exceed that of the liquid before mentioned, and allow it to expand in the manner described, supplying heat enough to keep its temperature from falling below the critical point, there will never come a time when it will cease to fill the vessel, nor will it ever form a surface like the liquid.

Again, if we take a cylinder with a weighted piston fitting closely in it, and, filling with a liquid the space below the piston, apply heat, the liquid will for a while expand gradually as its temperature rises, but at last, when some certain temperature, depending upon the nature of the liquid and the pressure of the piston, is attained, it will cease to grow hotter by the further application of heat, but instead will begin to boil. If, however, the space below the piston be occupied by a gas, no such thing will happen ; the gas will, without limit or discontinuity, grow hotter and expand regularly on the application of heat.

As to the third criterion distinguishing even greatly compressed gases from liquids. In a mixture of liquids of different specific gravities, having no chemical reactions upon each other, the different materials tend to separate and arrange themselves according to their specific gravities—for example, quicksilver, water, and oil ; but a mixture of different gases, under however great pressure or at whatever temperature, behaves in no such way ; each gas distributes itself precisely as if the others were not in existence, only more slowly.

because the numerical conditions of the problem are not very accurately known, though the general correctness of the result is certain. Heat alone, of enormous intensity, can counteract this effect, and give us the small density observed. For our own part, considering what we know of the amount, constancy, and permanence of the sun's radiation, we find no difficulty in conceding any internal temperature which may be necessary to account for the facts. As has been intimated, however, this theory of the gaseous nature of the sun (which seems to have been first suggested by Secchi, and has since been developed by Faye, who is its most conspicuous defender, and generally credited with its paternity) has not always been in vogue, and is not yet accepted by all. The Herschels, especially Sir William, contended vigorously for a solid, dark, and habitable globe within the photosphere, protected from its blaze by a layer of non-luminous cloud. Kirchoff (and Zöllner follows him) asserts that the central globe is liquid, or at least has a liquid shell. Spoerer affirms, as a result of his observations, that there is a marked tendency in the spots to break out at certain fixed points on the solar surface rather than others, and therefore the sun's shell, or some portion of it, must be solid—at least sufficiently so to make it somewhat permanent, and to allow it to possess what we may call, by way of accommodation, geographical peculiarities. If he is not mistaken as to his fact there would seem to be no escape from his conclusion, but at present the fact is doubted, and it is generally supposed that he has been misled by accidental coincidences. Time will show. Others hold yet different views; and it must be admitted frankly that the theory we advocate as on the whole the most satisfactory, can not yet be regarded as any thing more than an hypothesis: it is not to be held as a scientific certainty until further researches shall have cleared up many difficulties. At present, as Mr. Proctor has very forcibly pointed out, we find the validity of our inferences continually impeached by the great difference between solar and terrestrial conditions. It is risky, to say the least, to reason confidently as to the state of affairs on the sun by applying laws based upon experiments made under such circumstances of temperature and pressure as we can command in our laboratories; especially when some of the most important of those laws are, confessedly, even on the earth's surface, mere approximations.

As to the nature of the photosphere, or visible surface of the sun, opinions are much more accordant. All the observable phenomena, with hardly an exception, concur in representing it as a

sheet of luminous cloud: its peculiar granulated structure, the swift mobility of its constituent filaments, and the remarkable appearances presented by the spots and faculæ, are all consistent with this idea and readily explained by it. And if, as is most likely according to what has been said, the main body of the sun is in fact a huge globe of mingled vapors and gases at such a temperature that even the enormous force of solar gravity can only reduce them to a density a little greater than that of water, it is perfectly easy to account for the existence of such a cloud-sheet: it is simply a necessary consequence of the cooling of these vapors at the outer surface of the globe, where they come in contact with the cold of space. Under such circumstances condensation must result, for just the same reasons and in the same manner as that which produces the water and snow clouds of our own atmosphere: minute drops or flakes must be formed, not of water and ice indeed, but of the materials which we know to exist upon the sun, and must descend in fiery rain and hail into the central depths to be again reëvaporated. And as the descending matter is continually replaced by fresh supplies from below, there must result a vertical circulation of ascending streams and jets of vapor contesting the supremacy with down-pouring cataracts and sheets of the products of condensation, and in consequence the upper surface of the cloud layer must be in a state of continual and intense disturbance, as observation directly shows.

For it is found that the solar surface when examined with a powerful telescope is by no means uniformly bright, but mottled with a peculiar texture which has been very variously described, but may well enough be accounted for by supposing it to be formed of columnar clouds, floating vertically in the atmosphere of vapors out of which they are formed. The ends of the cloud columns, turned toward us, would appear like bright flecks on a less brilliant background, of irregular and unstable form, moving rapidly and continually changing their aspect. The measurements of Prof. Langley would assign to these granules an average diameter of from one hundred to two hundred miles. How long these cloud columns are it is not easy to tell, but judging by the appearances presented in the neighborhood of the spots, where we probably see them less foreshortened, they may be supposed to be from one to five thousand miles in length, and the whole thickness of the photospheric sheet may be even greater. Here and there the surface is marked by brilliant streaks known as the faculæ, most conspicuous near the edge of the sun's disk, which on account of the absorption of the solar

atmosphere is much less brilliant than the center. They are simply photospheric clouds, whose summits rise above the general level of the surface, and sometimes form visible projections on the limb. But the most singular objects, and the most interesting, are the spots, whose origin and phenomena have as yet, we think, failed to receive any completely satisfactory explanation. They are dark blotches, of exceedingly irregular form, and consist essentially of two parts, a central "umbra" as it is called, surrounded by a lighter fringe known as the "penumbra." The umbra contains usually one or more rounded spots much darker than the rest, and known as "nuclei:" even the darkest nucleus, however, is dark only by contrast with the intenser light around; for when by means of a peculiar eyepiece, invented by Mr. Dawes, who first discovered these nuclei, we examine the umbra, excluding all light from the surrounding regions, it is found that even the darkest points are far too bright for the unprotected eye; and by the help of Prof. Langley's polarizing eyepiece the color is seen to be a purple tint closely matching that portion of the spectrum near the fixed line H.

That the spots are hollows, having a depth varying in different cases from two to ten thousand miles, may be considered as an established fact, admitted now almost without dissent. It was first ascertained by Wilson from the appearance which the spots present when near the sun's limb, and has since been abundantly confirmed by the elaborate measurements of Langier, Carrington, and others. Selecting a quiet, well-formed spot, such as is sometimes found remaining almost unchanged for weeks together, observations are made daily upon the position with reference to the sun's limb of some well-defined point in the umbra, while at the same time other similar observations are made upon the position of some point near the edge of the penumbra. The result invariably shows that the point in the umbra describes, as the sun revolves, a smaller circle than that on the luminous surface, and that the umbra is several thousand miles below the general level of the photosphere. If the cavity be filled with transparent gas, as is probable, the effect would be to make the depth computed from the observations considerably too small, so that the real depth is likely to verge to the larger rather than the smaller values named. The spectroscope also gives consentaneous evidence. The spectrum of the umbra of a spot is found to differ from that of the neighboring portions of the solar surface, first, in a general darkening of the whole, second, in a widening and deepening of many of the dark lines, with, on the other hand, a thinning and sometimes

even an actual reversal of others, and third, in the presence of certain dark bands, sharply terminated on one edge, but shading out gradually on the other. Now all these phenomena are just what might be expected in a cavity filled to a great depth by the nearly transparent gases which elsewhere form a thin layer over the sun's surface. Another pretty well settled fact is that there is a decided inrush from the surrounding regions toward the center of the spot. Bright flakes are torn off at the edges of the penumbra and carried in toward the nucleus, where they vanish, as if dissipated by intense heat, or sunk beneath some covering veil—for both comparisons are used by partisans of different theories.

Spectroscopic observations on the chromosphere also show that *around* the spot there is an unusual and violent up-rush of hydrogen and other materials from the central depths: directly *over* the umbra, on the other hand, there can not often be detected any vertical motion, though quite possibly some such motion may exist not sufficiently energetic for our observation. Spiral motions are often noticed, sometimes lasting for several days, but not permanent nor continuous, nor bearing any relation to the solar latitude: the same group of spots often embraces vortices whirling in opposite directions and with widely different velocities. Passing over hypotheses which must now be considered as exploded (such as the idea of the elder Herschel, that the spots are holes in the photosphere formed by some eruption from the dark solid central core, and the somewhat similar one, for many years maintained by Secchi and Faye, that they are openings through which the less luminous vapors rush up from the gaseous mass beneath), we find three different and opposing theories, each with its own advantages and peculiar difficulties. Zöllner, who it will be remembered considers that the sun's nucleus is either liquid, or at least covered by a liquid shell like a gigantic bubble, considers the umbra of a spot to be a slag or scoria floating on the fiery ocean: this cuts off the supply of vapors which elsewhere bubble up through the liquid, and thus causes in the photosphere a chasm which is filled with the transparent non-condensable and feebly luminous gases of the proper solar atmosphere. At the same time the upward boiling is intensified around the edges of the slag (which accounts for the formation of a circle of hydrogen flames around it), and in consequence of the cooling over the spot-center a downward current sets in there, and a circulation is established like that of the so-called land breeze of night around an island in a tropical sea: by this he explains the penumbra and its phenomena. He

endeavors also to show that such a liquid surface must be affected by currents parallel to the sun's equator, moving, not like the equatorial current in our terrestrial oceans *against* the rotation of the sphere, but *with* it, thus accounting for the accelerated motion of the spots near the solar equator.

The hypothesis fairly represents the general phenomena of the spots, their peculiar forms and sudden changes, and agrees with the spectroscopic indications as to the increased pressure and lower temperature over the nucleus; in fact, so far as we can see, none of the facts yet ascertained are distinctly inconsistent with it. At the same time the idea of a liquid shell surrounding the sun, and forming an ocean for these slags to float upon, does not command general approval in view of the facts which have led to the accepted conclusion that the sun is gaseous; nor does the theory give any account of the distribution of the spots, which are confined to two belts on either side of the sun's equator, each some thirty-five degrees in width.

This last objection applies also to the theory of Secchi, who supposes the spots to consist of masses of less luminous matter, which, having been ejected from the depths by an eruptive action such as the spectroscope reveals to us continually in progress all over the solar surface, fall back into and sink down through the photosphere; the nucleus of the spot not being, however, the center of eruption, but one side of it. As to the fact that the formation of a spot is preceded and accompanied by such eruptions in its immediate neighborhood, there is no doubt whatever; it is a thing continually observed. During the past few months, Secchi and Löhse have recorded in detail two very interesting cases of the kind when the formation of the spot occurred so close to the edge of the disk that the accompanying eruptions could be most satisfactorily observed with the spectroscope. Indeed, a spot in which there is any indication of vigorous action never passes around the limb without exhibiting a brilliant retinue of prominences encircling it more or less completely. But that the spot is caused by the eruptions which surround it is by no means certain; more probably they are both effects of some deeper-lying disturbance.

The most recent theory is that proposed by Faye, and presents this great advantage, that it invokes, as a cause of the spots, what is undeniably a *vera causa*, however opinions may differ as to its adequateness. He considers the spots to be vortices formed in the photosphere by the different velocities of the different portions of the sun's surface. Whatever the reason may be, it is certain that

near the equator, the solar clouds complete their revolution more quickly by full two days, than those forty degrees distant on either side. Consequently neighboring portions of the photosphere drag by each other, just as do the filaments of a rapid stream near its bank, forming in consequence whirlpools. These whirls ought to be most powerful, neither near the equator nor near the poles, but at some intermediate latitude—in fact, just where the spots are actually most numerous. The photospheric clouds being denser than the overlying atmosphere, the whirl would assume the same funnel-shaped form with which every one is familiar, and the cavity, being filled with the cooler absorbing gases from above the photosphere, would look dark and constitute the umbra.

Or, perhaps, if we rightly understand M. Faye's latest modification of his theory, designed to avoid some of the weighty objections that have been urged by Secchi, Tacchini, and others, the nucleus may be only a cloud formed within the cavity by condensation from the intruding vapors. As to the ring of eruption with which the spot is usually surrounded, that is explained by supposing that the down draught through the center of the vortex is sufficient to carry beneath the surface of the photosphere hydrogen and other gases of the upper atmosphere, which afterward bubble up around the circumference of the spot.

As has been said, this theory has the enormous advantage of appealing to a *vera causa*, and of explaining rationally the peculiar distribution of the spots; but in the detail it seems to break down. The spots do not show any distinct and persistent rotation (against the hands of the watch in the northern hemisphere of the sun, and with them in the southern), as it would seem they must if the hypothesis be true; nor do the form and general appearance of the spots accord with what it would lead us to expect. Our limits will not permit consideration of the subject further than to say that the discussions between Faye on one side, and Secchi, Tacchini, Zöllner, Reye, and others, are full of instruction to all who are interested in solar science. One remarkable fact also remains to be stated, concerning these objects—a fact first published by Schwabe in 1851—this, namely, that their frequency and magnitude is affected by a law of periodicity, perfectly distinct and conspicuous. At intervals of about ten years they become exceedingly numerous, while during the intervening years there are comparatively few: 1829, 1837, 1849, 1860, and 1871 were years of maximum, while 1834, 1844, 1856, and 1867 were years of minimum. The cause of this periodicity is as

yet uncertain: the researches of Carrington and De la Rue tend to connect it with some action of the planets (Venus and Mercury especially) upon the sun's surface, an action perhaps tidal, perhaps of some less mechanical nature. Since the fact was discovered, many attempts have been made to detect its influence in terrestrial phenomena, but thus far with doubtful success, except in the single case of terrestrial magnetism. There is a well-marked periodicity in the frequency and violence of our magnetic storms, and their accompanying auroras, which exactly corresponds to that of the solar spots.

As has been stated before, the edge of the sun's visible disk is much less brilliant than the central portions, and this fact was long ago recognized by Arago and others, as evidence of an atmosphere of some depth covering his surface and cutting off a portion of the light. The brilliant discoveries of Kirchhoff taught us how to analyze this atmosphere to a certain extent, and to recognize among its constituents many of the most conspicuous of our terrestrial elements with the same certainty as if we were dealing with tangible specimens of the solar air. It would take us far beyond our limits should we attempt here to explain the manner in which the spectroscope leads to these results, and we presume it is not necessary in the case of most of our readers. It must suffice to say that the dark lines in the solar spectrum are found to coincide by scores and hundreds with the bright lines in the spectra of our metals; and further, that just at the moment when a solar eclipse becomes total, then the fortunate observer for a single instant sees the whole solar spectrum suddenly reversed into a rank of bright lines; showing that the darkness of the lines, as ordinarily seen, results from the fact that behind the solar atmosphere is the vastly brighter photosphere. Perhaps a single word of caution may also be permitted. The absence of spectroscopic evidence relating to a given substance must not be mistaken for spectroscopic evidence of its absence: because we fail to discover the lines of carbon, silicon, and oxygen in the solar spectrum, we are not warranted in drawing the conclusion, as some popular writers have done, that these elements do not exist in the sun.

This lower portion of the solar atmosphere, which is rich in the vapors whose condensation produces the photosphere, and in which most of the dark lines of the spectrum originate, is comparatively shallow; not more, probably, than from 500 to 2,000 miles in thickness.

But it is surmounted * to the much greater elevation of some 8,000 or 10,000 miles by the hydrogen and other non-condensable gases which form the rose-colored envelope to which Mr. Lockyer has given the name of chromosphere. This is a sheet of scarlet flame which clothes the whole surface of the sun, and here and there rises in cloud-like forms that ascend to enormous heights above the general level.

The upper surface of the chromosphere is exceedingly uneven, such as fully to justify the expression, "a sheet of flame;" for the whole appearance suggests the idea that it is formed of jets of heated gas rushing up from the central fire through countless orifices and rents between the clouds which constitute the photosphere. And yet "flame" is hardly the right word, for in the chromosphere, so far as we can learn, there is no true combustion; the heat does not come from chemical combinations. These solar flames are mere masses of intensely heated gas, absolutely too hot to burn—at a temperature above what chemists call the "dissociation point," where all play of chemical affinity ceases.

Occasionally the up-rushing jet attains a very great velocity, and spreads out in the upper regions of the coronal atmosphere into precisely such forms as those familiarly assumed in our own air by smoke and vapors. These solar clouds, the so-called prominences or protuberances, first attracted any considerable scientific attention only in the eclipse of 1842, although they had been seen on one or two previous occasions. For many years they were the subjects of much discussion, but in 1868 the spectroscope forever set the question at rest by showing that they are nothing but clouds of heated gas, largely hydrogen. Their spectrum exhibits conspicuously the bright lines of that element, and besides them another very prominent one, which, from the circumstance that its place in the spectrum is very near the two lines of sodium, D_1 and D_2 , is commonly referred to as the D_3 line. Many circumstances make it nearly certain that

* We do not mean that the chromosphere, which "surmounts" the sun's proper atmosphere, lies upon it as a layer of lighter liquid upon a heavier. On the contrary, the hydrogen and other constituents of the chromosphere are most abundant and conspicuous just at the very surface of the photosphere. There we have mixed together all the gases of the whole solar atmosphere: as we ascend, the proportion of the condensable gases becomes rapidly smaller on account of their precipitation, and they become less conspicuous also on account of cooling, so that at an altitude of some 1,500 or 2,000 miles they disappear from observation; the hydrogen and other chromospheric gases remain brilliantly luminous to a much greater height, while the mysterious element of the "coronal atmosphere" rides high above all the others.

this line is due to some other substance than hydrogen, a congener in lightness and many other properties, but as yet undiscovered by our terrestrial chemistry. To this hypothetical element the name of helium has been assigned by Lockyer and Frankland, though with rather doubtful propriety. Sometimes, not unfrequently indeed, other lines also appear, among which those of sodium, magnesium, barium, chromium, calcium, titanium, and iron are most common. The first two are sometimes visible to the very summit of the clouds; the others only at the point where the issuing jet bursts through the photosphere, and where, of course, the temperature and pressure are at the maximum. It is easy to see how just this might be expected to occur: the vapors which are densest and lose their luminosity at the lowest temperature, rise to the smallest elevation.

That the prominences are merely extensions of a continuous envelope had been maintained, on more or less satisfactory evidence, by several astronomers as early as 1855; but as they could be seen only during the brief moments of a solar eclipse, observations, of course, were few, and opinion remained unsettled until the spectroscope, in the hands of Janssen and Lockyer, brought them within the range of daily examination, rendering the phenomena of the chromosphere and its appendages as accessible as those of the spots. It is found that the prominences may be broadly divided into two classes, the nebulous and eruptive. The former, in their appearance, closely resemble our terrestrial clouds: of a delicate filmy texture, often enormous in extent, they seem to float in the upper atmosphere and gradually dissolve away; they sometimes attain an altitude of fifty or a hundred thousand miles, with a horizontal extent at least double; they change their form but slowly, often hovering for days over the same point, and are found over the whole surface of the sun, perhaps not quite as commonly near the poles as elsewhere, though not uncommon even there.

They are probably the mere débris of eruptive prominences; and yet this is not certain, for Secchi asserts that he has seen them gather, form, and rapidly increase in size, just as clouds do in our atmosphere. If this be so, they must in such cases be due either to a local lighting up of hydrogen already invisibly present, or else to some chemical process in the solar atmosphere setting free incandescent hydrogen from some before unseen compound. There appears to be no connection between this class of prominences and the spots, except that they have of late years become less numerous *pari passu* with the spots themselves. In 1870 and 1871, when the spots were

abundant, these objects were also abundant: a single examination of the sun's circumference would usually produce from six to eight. At present they are very scarce, and we have made lately as many as three successive examinations on successive days without finding a single one of notable magnitude.

The eruptive prominences, on the other hand, are much more intimately connected with the spots, appearing only between those parallels of solar latitude where the spots abound, and generally in their immediate proximity. These prominences are composed usually of vertical filaments, are very brilliant, and undergo the most rapid and extreme changes of form. Their spectrum is often very much complicated by the injection of metallic vapors, and the lines are often widened by pressure, and distorted by violent motions along the line of sight: dislocations of the hydrogen lines indicating in the ejected matter velocities of from 25 to 40 miles per second are common, velocities of from 50 to 100 miles are not extremely rare, and velocities of nearly 200 miles per second have been observed more than once. As a rule, these prominences do not attain so great an elevation or magnitude as those of the other class, but in exceptional cases they far surpass them.

The ejected filaments have been known to reach a height of 100,000, 135,000, and in one single instance of 210,000 miles; and in the last mentioned, the velocity of the ascending filaments was *seen* to be as great as 167 miles per second, without applying any correction for the foreshortening of the line of motion, which would increase the figure somewhat, and perhaps considerably.

In most cases, the appearance is that of a jet of heated gas issuing through an orifice, under a great but nearly steady pressure; but in those instances where the greatest velocities are attained, the action is almost invariably paroxysmal, and suggests the idea of veritable explosions. It was the jet-like appearance of these eruptive prominences that led Zöllner to the conclusion that the sun must be covered by a shell or crust (*trennungs-schicht*) of some kind, and he concluded it to be a continuous liquid surface. There seem to be almost insuperable objections to this view in its unmodified form: a stable liquid shell like that of a bubble, of greater density than the underlying gases, would seem to be impossible, considering that it must be every where pierced by up-rushing currents from within. But though such a shell can not well exist in a condition of statical equilibrium, something considerably like it may result from the constant down-pour of the products of condensation. If the evolution

of heat at the sun's surface be mainly due, as is likely, to the condensation of the vapors which rise from below, and the liberation of their latent heat, the amount of condensed material must be simply enormous; just how great we can not calculate, because we do not know what proportion of the heat may be due to other causes than condensation, such as the combination, at the sun's surface, of gases previously dissociated; nor do we know the qualities and latent heats of the vapors which condense, nor the specific gravities of the resulting solid and liquid particles. But if we suppose all the heat to be due to condensation, and that the falling drops have the same average density as water (which assumptions would tend undoubtedly to make our result too large), and that the latent heat of the condensed vapors is the same as that of water-vapor (a supposition which would probably on the other hand tend to give us too small a result), we find that a down-pour of liquid and solid matter must be falling from the photospheric clouds sufficient to cover the whole surface of the sun to the depth of five feet * every minute. Now the heaviest rain-storms known on the earth do not deposit more than six inches an hour, or a tenth of an inch a minute: we say the heaviest, even of tropical regions. A thunder-shower which gives even two inches in an hour is all but unprecedented in our latitudes. It seems quite possible, or even probable, then, that the descending masses of mingled liquid and solid matter, falling through increasingly denser layers of gas resisted and partially upborne by the furious streams of vapors rushing up from below, may unite into sheets or flakes of considerable extent, and form a kind of shell, which, though not continuous, would still answer many of the purposes of a continuous crust, by confining the ascending currents into narrow channels, in this way increasing their velocity, as well as by the pressure due to the resistance offered to its descent. It is quite probable, moreover, that in these narrow channels, the mingled gases, expanding as they rise, and becoming cooled by their expansion, may have their temperatures lowered below the point of dissociation, in which case explosions would certainly result. Viewed in this light, the phenomena of the chromosphere and prominences appear as natural

* The experiments of Pouillet and Herschel have shown that the sun's evolution of heat is sufficient to melt a stratum of ice 38 feet thick every minute over his whole surface. Now, since the heat required to melt one kilogramme of ice is 78.8 calories, while that given out by the condensation of one kilogramme of water-vapor ranges from 610 to 737 calories (as the pressure varies from that in the receiver of an air-pump to that of the full atmosphere), we find that the melting of 38 feet of ice would require the heat liberated by the condensation from steam of from 4.9 to 5.8 feet of water.

consequences of the received theories of the gaseous constitution of the sun.

Our limits forbid any thing more than a very brief consideration of the corona. Observed at every total eclipse from remote antiquity, and described by Plutarch in almost the same terms as one would now use, it seems to have eluded investigation until very recently. A prevailing opinion that it was merely an effect of glare in our own atmosphere, greatly lessened the interest which otherwise must have been felt in what is certainly one of the most beautiful, and, with our present knowledge of its dimensions, one of the most magnificent objects ever revealed to human view. That it is to be seen only at rare intervals, and at the cost of weary journeys, adds of course both to its interest and to the difficulties of its investigation. It appears during a total eclipse as a radiant glory surrounding the dark body of the moon; intensely bright near the edge of the lunar disk; fading gradually, but not regularly, as the distance increases, and terminating in a very irregular outline, which is perhaps rather more definite than might have been expected. It seems to be made up of brushes of light emanating from the sun, and reaching an elevation which in some cases fully equals his whole diameter. These brushes or streamers are, for the most part, straight and vertical, but here and there are curved into curious forms, like the petals of a flower. Near the extremities of the sun's axis, there is usually a marked deficiency of luminous matter; and all around the circumference there are numerous straight dark rifts reaching out through the whole width of the corona from the very edge of the moon, irresistibly reminding one of the shadows thrown through a hazy sky by clouds near the setting sun. The color of the light is slightly greenish (pearly is the term usually employed in describing it), in beautiful contrast with the ruby-colored prominences which blaze at its base like carbuncles.

That the corona is, in the main at least, not a terrestrial nor lunar phenomenon, but an appendage of the sun, was first demonstrated by the observations of the American astronomers at the eclipse of 1869, when it was found that its spectrum is characterized by a bright line in the green, coinciding with an insignificant dark line in the ordinary solar spectrum at 1474 of Kirchoff's scale. This alone is sufficient to demonstrate that the corona consists largely of glowing gas, and to locate it at the sun. The observations were for a while disputed, but in 1870 were fully confirmed; and in 1871, the splendid photographs obtained by Lord Lindsay's party at Bekul,

by Major Fernaut at Ootacamund, and by Oudemans in Java, added their unimpeachable testimony, by showing that, even in its minute details, the same corona was seen at stations many hundred miles apart—testimony the more valuable, because every one who can obtain access to the pictures is able to see for himself the truth of the fact asserted. As to the nature of the corona, we have as yet no certain knowledge; the principal line in its spectrum apparently coincides with one which has been ascribed to iron; but there are abundant reasons for refusing to believe that it is really due to iron; and if not, the chemists have presented to them an interesting and important problem to ascertain its real origin. The observations of Janssen and Lockyer in 1871, seemed also to show the presence of hydrogen in the coronal regions. Probably the corona consists of minute particles, solid and liquid, disseminated through a highly rarefied gaseous atmosphere; but to what extent it is composed of meteoric matter rushing toward the sun, or of solar dust thrown upward, and what forces form and direct the streamers and pencils of light, and why the polar regions are left so bare, these are problems of the future, to be classed with the explanation of the Aurora Borealis and the tails of comets, and more than probably require the recognition and investigation of other forces than that of gravitation.

ARTICLE VI.

CHARLES SUMNER AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE.*

GEORGE F. MAGOUN, D.D.

THE story of a great life is ended. The moral impression of a most unique character is complete. The most widely-known son of Massachusetts, the most renowned of recent American Senators abroad, the most profoundly honored of the great champions of Emancipation at home, has been fittingly followed to his grave. Scholar, reformer, and statesman, he has had his meed of mourning and of reverence—not only from like men, nor chiefly from those specially interested in either character—but from the people, and notably from the lowly. The pause and hush throughout his native land, the singular honors by State and Nation accorded him who had no kindred to bury him, the generous testimony of almost life-long foes, have all made his passing away memorable. Eulogy, sermon, essay, and editorial have celebrated, and will long be busy celebrating his high qualities, and pointing the moral of his life. Oftener than any other distinguished American in any one year has he been referred to on Commencement platforms with veneration and praise. After a life shorn of domestic affections, and a career and reputation regarded as discouraging familiar approach, his name is pronounced in accents of love by millions second only to those with which one other—that of our first grand civic martyr—is uttered.

The time of criticism upon his character will cease ere long—for

* THE WORKS OF CHARLES SUMNER. VOL. I-IX. PP. 534, 446, 547, 457, 508, 521, 524, 544. BOSTON: LEE & SHEPARD. 1874.

ORATION BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT OF BOSTON, APRIL 29, 1874. BY CARL SCHURZ.

ORATION BEFORE THE LEGISLATURE OF MASSACHUSETTS, JUNE 9, 1874. BY GEO. WM. CURTIS.

SPEECHES OF MR. SUMNER OF LATER DATES. PAMPHLET EDITIONS.

it presents no problems nor mysteries, and is large, plain, and simple in its features, like that of Franklin or Washington—and that of criticism upon his critics will begin. No one can pass upon a man in whom the moral element so predominated without passing upon himself. Great maxims like those by which he will be longest known—"Equality of rights, the first of rights"—"Politics, morality applied to public affairs"—place the man whose life was severely molded and made by them, and place all who judge him.

Thinkers who are prone to historical comparisons will recall the picture history gives of William III. of Orange, both for its likenesses to that of Mr. Sumner, and for its unlikenesses. The king was

"Not personally popular.* His grave, cold, and reserved manners repulsed the courtiers who remembered and had participated in the revels of the court of Charles the Second. He cared nothing for the gayeties of the palace. . . . Like many men who have consecrated themselves to a great public work, he had very few personal sympathies. What he most cared for was sympathy with his ideas, and his ideas were not those of the people by whom he was surrounded in England. They followed him in his foreign policy because they knew that he was the only man in Europe who could cope with the French king, and that the safety of England as a State, and the permanency of the new government depended on the manner in which that government was carried out. William the Third brought to the consideration of domestic matters the same breadth and strength of intellect which enabled him to be the master of the political future of Europe, but not quite the same sagacity. Foreigner though he was, he had larger and more patriotic purposes respecting the country the government of which he had undertaken, than almost any of the statesmen who sat in his council. His was the only vision that was not disturbed by party and personal prejudices. He indicated his want of sagacity by not taking such prejudices into sufficient consideration. Although a greater statesman than any Englishman of his day, he was by no means so great a politician as many men of smaller intellect."

Both of these men were capable of confiding without reserve where they had entire confidence; both were slow to confide otherwise—very slow to take advice from those about them who did not look at great questions from the same stand-point, not seldom from those who did. "No sovereign of England," it has been said, "before or since his time, ever endured so much personal mortification as William, 'deliverer of the nation' though he was, from both despotism and anarchy. He was surrounded by those who took pleasure in thwarting him." We need not point the comparison. The men were alike, too, in unsuspected quickness and strength of sensibility, as well as in universally recognized fortitude

* Skeats, *Hist. Free Churches of England*, pp. 118, 119.

in reverses and in perils. Macaulay makes William say,* in denying that he was guilty of temerity, that "it was from a sense of duty, and on a cool calculation of what the public interest required, that he was always at the post of danger." The daring of Mr. Sumner in the terrible conflicts with Slavery, and the personal exposures incident thereto, must be ascribed to the same cause. His courage was both moral and physical. They were alike, besides, in the utter impossibility of being turned aside from a dutiful purpose once taken. Alike, also, in the completer and more pliant mastery of their powers when great excitements raged about them. But William III. of Orange was altogether a soldier: "his personal tastes were those of a warrior rather than of a statesman."† Our Senator was his perfect antipodes in this respect. In physique the contrast was quite as great. Our American champion of peace was in body an athlete, a Hercules. The king had "a slender and feeble frame," "a cheek pale, thin, and deeply furrowed by sickness and care."‡ And there could scarcely be a greater contrast with our learned and studious statesman, among men resembling him in so much, than is offered by the monarch who affected no oratory, and ignored the science and literature of his day, who was speculative only in the Calvinistic theology, and gave the whole energy of his mind to practical business. If any other dissimilarity is to be mentioned with these, it is that between the ungainly Dutch manners the Prince of Orange brought to London, and the stately grace, touched with cosmopolitan culture, the Senator* carried from Massachusetts to Washington.

Probably with no one of his contemporaries will Mr. Sumner be so readily compared as with Mr. Lincoln. Neither of them was fitted—with all their renown—to be, in the proper sense of the word, popular. They were not enough like other men. Their unique and strong qualities removed them from the masses. Their minds pursued processes, the wisdom of whose results multitudes could see, who could not follow the processes at all. But the mother wit and humor which ran all through the President's mental constitution—traits in which the Senator was lacking—brought him back within the sympathies of ordinary men. The two would have interested each other profoundly in any circumstances of public life—only a supreme crisis like that which placed them side by side could have made them what they were to each other. Where Mr. Sumner was eager, unhesitating, impatient to put conviction into action, Mr. Lin-

* Hist. England, Harpers, N. Y., 1849, vol. ii. p. 155. † Ibid. p. 153. ‡ P. 149.

coln was diffident, wary, slow. Where the one lacked that discretion—as it is deemed—which withholds what is true and right when it seems better not to say it, the other was full of caution and precaution. Where the one was all passionate enthusiasm for a thought, a principle, and ready to risk every thing to bring others to accept it, the other was supremely careful not to put forth any thing the people were not ready for. “What does Mr. Sumner *think*?”—“What is Mr. Lincoln *going to do*?” were once standing questions, which meant more than that the one was a legislator and counselor, and the other an executive ruler. They indicated the instinctive popular apprehension of characteristic idealism in the one case, of the faculty to govern a democracy in the other. Mr. Lincoln could never have been in any circumstances, with the rare and felicitous combination of precious qualities which he possessed, as impervious to opposition and hate as was his chief Senatorial adviser. The unflinching fearlessness of the latter will look more sublime to men as time passes. The infirmities associated with it in their recollections will drop away. No man of this generation is more likely to be idealized by the Muse of History. Of the two men, it would have been the Harvard scholar, with his select tastes, rather than the self-educated Western lawyer, with his practical nearness to the masses, who would be expected to entertain the sentiments of Plato’s statesman: * “That can be the only true form of government in which the governors are found to possess true science.” “No great number of persons, whoever they may be, can have political knowledge, or order a State wisely; but the true government is to be found in a small body, or in an individual, and other States are but imitations, some for the better, some for the worse.” But future democratic thinkers and patriots will turn alike to the Emancipation Proclamation, and to the speeches in the Senate against Slavery, for inspiration. These two noble historic Americans—*par nobile fratrum*—differed vastly in respect to cosmopolitan knowledge of books and of the institutions of other lands, present and past, but they did not differ in broad humanity. They were both in advance of their times on public questions. They were both men of transparent honor, of white and shining integrity. They are both examples to foreign nations and to students of history of what our institutions can produce—how great things and how varied. They both died before their work was finished—unfortunate, men say, in this—fortunate, we must add, in the reverent sorrow this has awakened. They both won what is

* Dialogues, Jowett’s Transl., pp. 579, 583.

infinitely more precious than popularity, a national love—deep, vital, commanding, with all its characteristics and concomitants—accompanied by the late but profound intellectual assent to their views of the higher order of minds, by implicit personal trust, by exalted admiration, by a common pride on the part of all conditions in society, which makes them both grandly and permanently historic.

We are quite unable to keep out of our thoughts, in writing these lines, the fine strain in which one of Mr. Sumner's closest and most loved friends depicts character :

"Character," says Mr. Emerson,* "is nature in the highest form. It is of no use to assert, or to contend with it. Somewhat is possible of resistance, and of persistence, and of creation, to this power, which will foil all emulation. . . . Character is moral order seen through the medium of an individual nature. . . . All things exist in the man tinged with the manners of his soul. . . . Men of character are the conscience of the society to which they belong. . . . Character is centrality, the impossibility of being displaced or overset. . . . The uncivil, unavailable man, who is a problem and a threat to society, whom it can not let pass in silence, but must either worship or hate—and to whom all parties feel related, both the leaders of opinion, and the obscure and eccentric—he helps; he puts America and Europe in the wrong, and destroys the skepticism which says, 'Man is a doll, let us eat and drink, 'tis the best we can do,' by illuminating the untried and unknown."

Mr. Sumner's advocacy of International Peace, in every phase and relation of it, throughout his whole private and public career, illustrates how aptly this description applies to him. It illustrates all that has been said by all in admiration of his character. His intellectual and moral strength came out in this advocacy without the infirmities that sometimes appeared in his political course, and in his tremendous assaults upon Slavery. Freedom and Peace were the binary stars of his public life, they guided him ever in thought and action. All who have thus far written and spoken of him dwell almost exclusively upon his services to Freedom. It is our aim in the present paper to show that he stood equally for Peace. The immense amount of character in him came out as grandly in this. Senator Schurz says of him, as Chairman of the Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations:†

"His abhorrence of the barbarities of war, and his ardent love of peace, led him earnestly to seek for every international difference a peaceable solution; and where

* Essays, Second Series, pp. 114, 104, 108, 109.

† It was an *Anti-Slavery* majority, on the secession of Southern States, which placed this consistent and persistent Peace Statesman at the head of this committee. Senator S. says of his qualifications: "It may well be doubted whether, in the whole history of the Repub-

no settlement could be reached by the direct negotiations of diplomacy, the idea of arbitration was always uppermost in his mind. He desired to raise the Republic to the high office of a missionary of peace and civilization. He was, therefore, not only an uncommonly well-informed, enlightened, and experienced, but also an eminently conservative, cautious, and safe counselor; and the few instances in which he appeared more impulsive than prudent, will, upon candid investigation, not impugn this statement." "No statesman ever took part in our foreign affairs who so completely identified himself with the most advanced, humane, and progressive principles. . . . A profound lover of peace, he faithfully advocated arbitration as a substitute for war. The barbarities of war he constantly labored to mitigate. . . . In some respects, his principles were in advance of our time; but surely the day will come when this Republic, marching in the front of progress, will adopt them as her own, and remember their champion with pride."

Mr. Curtis gives even less space to this great phase of his character and career. In a single paragraph he ascribes it, together with his opposition to Slavery, his interest in prison discipline, his persistence for the Civil Rights Bill, his opposition to the annexation of San Domingo, *et cetera*, to his native hatred of public injustice. The eulogist indeed says truly that Slavery so occupied him because Slavery was the most prominent form of that injustice in his day. Rather, we should say, because it was the great domestic form. But against War as the great international form of wrong he constantly wrote and spoke and labored in the same spirit. In his eulogy upon Channing in 1846 at Harvard, he said of "the Philanthropist":

"The same spirit of justice and humanity animating him in defense of liberty inspired his exertions for the abolition of the barbarous custom or institution of War. . . . Slavery is an institution sustained by municipal law. War is an institution sustained by the law of nations. Both are relics of the early ages, and are rooted in violence and wrong."

He struck here the key-note of his own after life.

lic, the Senate ever possessed a chairman of (this) committee who united in himself in such completeness the qualifications for the important and delicate duties of that position." "He had ever since his college days made international law a special and favorite study, and was perfectly familiar with its principles, the history of its development, and its literature. Nothing of importance had ever been published on that subject in any language that had escaped his attention. . . . All the leading international law cases, with their incidents in detail, their theories and settlements, he had at his fingers' ends; and to his last day he remained indefatigable in inquiry." "On international law and foreign affairs he was the recognized authority of the Senate." What has been said in various quarters of his preëminent fitness because of personal acquaintance with the institutions and public men of other lands is quite as true, and all this gave him a growing weight of character and power for good in behalf of international peace such as no one man in American history ever possessed. The loss of all this now is not our loss only, it is the world's loss.

There is no one of the nine solid and elegant volumes of his Works before us that does not contain papers in some form or other arguing the cause of Peace. If the incidental discussions and utterances occurring in other writings were collected with these, it would be surprising to find how voluminous an author, how frequent a speaker, on this theme he was. Especially was he careful always to show—sometimes pausing in the flow of discourse to do so *—the natural and necessary connection between Slavery and all violence and bloodshed. His eloquence was leveled against War before it was employed in the reform of prisons, before it had attempted one great public utterance on the “Wrong of Slavery.” It was the proposed admission of Texas as a Slave State that brought him before the country and the world as a champion and defender of Freedom; and at a meeting in Faneuil Hall, Nov. 4, 1845, he presented his first political resolutions protesting against this admission—“in the name of God, of Christ, and of Humanity”—as a “scheme begun in stealth and fraud, and carried on to confirm Slavery and extend its bounds,” supporting the resolutions (in his first political speech) on the ground of the supreme requirements of religion, morals, and humanity. But he had already, on the previous 4th of July, made his first argument to his countrymen and fellow-men for Peace, in the earliest of his orations—that before the authorities of Boston on the “True Grandeur of Nations.”† This, appropriately in sentiment, as in time, stands at the head of his works. Peace was the first word upon his lips, Freedom the second.‡ It was five years before the fearless young orator made his first notable speech, in the same place, upon “Our Immediate Anti-Slavery Duties”—the speech which is said to have made him Senator. It was seven years before he had opportunity to open his twenty-two years’ Senatorial work against Slavery by his speech on the repeal of the

* See, for example, in “The Barbarism of Slavery,” v. 71 seq., on the Duel.

† Vol. i. p. 7.

‡ In the introduction to this oration, Mr. Sumner alluded to the danger, then imminent, of collision with Mexico and England. “Far from our nation and our age,” he said, “be the sin and shame of contests hateful in the sight of God and all good men, having their origin in no righteous sentiment, no true love of country, no generous thirst for fame, ‘that last infirmity of noble minds,’ but springing manifestly from an ignoble desire for new territory, strengthened, in our case, in a Republic whose star is Liberty, by unnatural desires to add new links in chains destined yet to fall from the limbs of the unhappy slave!” This is at once his first published sentence for Peace and his first published sentence against Slavery. There are a few other brief allusions to Slavery in this great oration, but few—of which that predicting Emancipation (p. 127) is chief; yet they show the moral bond between the two topics in the orator’s mind, and also that Peace was the earlier topic with him.

Fugitive Slave Bill, entitled "Freedom National, Slavery Sectional" (Aug. 26, 1852). Meantime, he had, in successive years, on literary and philanthropic occasions, mingled with his early and brief efforts against the extension of Slavery, and in favor of moral and political action on the subject, his grandest deliverances against War—the oration on "Fame and Glory," at Amherst College, Aug. 11, 1847—that on "The Law of Human Progress," at Union College, July 25, 1848—and that on the "War System of the Commonwealth of Nations," before the American Peace Society, May 28, 1849. Nothing that he ever did, nothing that any philanthropist and statesman ever did on such themes, surpassed the elaborate preparation of material, the exhaustive learning—directly and incidently bearing upon the subject—the affluent and diversified discussion, the brilliant characterization, the historic and classic illustration, the noble imagery, the fervid eloquence he there brought to the support of International Peace. He had also, in the mean time, prepared his first public paper on Arbitration, an Address to the People of the United States, after the Second General Peace Congress at Paris, Aug. 20–24, 1849, and preparatory to a third at Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1850, which was never held. This Address * immediately precedes, in Vol. II. of his Works, the speech on "Our Immediate Anti-Slavery Duties." It shows the providential order of his labors. The principle of it had been avowed five years before in the Boston oration (p. 90, 111). In a preliminary note, from his own pen we presume, it is said: "The question ceased to be pressed in Europe, under the influence of the prevailing reaction, while in our country it was overshadowed by Slavery, to which the general attention was now directed. It was often remarked, 'One evil at a time;' and thus the Peace Cause was postponed." But in his own mind it was merely postponed. When he died, twenty-four years later, it was one of his unfulfilled purposes to introduce to the Senate a motion in favor of a permanent system of international arbitration, and to support it with all the ardor of his youthful convictions, and all the resources of his riper age.†

* Dated Feb. 11, 1850.

† The subject had already been presented by memorial through Hon. W. A. Buckingham, Senator from Connecticut, Apr 125, 1852. The memorial proceeded from the "National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States," Nov. 21, 1871—the first religious body to act in the premises. It was signed by the Rev. Drs. Budington and Quint, moderator and secretary, supported by Senator Buckingham with appropriate remarks, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which Mr. Sumner had ceased to be a member. It ran in these words:

"THIS COUNCIL of the Congregational Churches of the United States, at its first Triennial Session, desires to express and record its profound satisfaction that the difficulties between

And the crowning legacy in his will—the ninth—discloses how dear the object was to his heart, directing a bequest of one thousand dollars (his only bequest of money to any permanent object) to Harvard College for an annual prize for the best dissertation “on universal peace, and the best methods by which war may be permanently suspended.” “I do this,” he adds in remarkable language, “in the hope of drawing the attention of students to the practicability of *organizing peace among nations*, which I sincerely believe may be done. *I can not doubt that the same modes of decision which now prevail between individuals, between towns, and between smaller communities, may be extended to nations.*” *

In keeping with what has now been said are many personal avowals of Mr. Sumner on the preëminent importance of Peace, one of which is already in print. To the Rev. Dr. Miles, of Boston, Secretary of the American Peace Society, he said, not long before his death: “Peace among the nations has been the great idea and purpose of my life.” After alluding to the Boston oration of 1845, he added:

“From that time to this, *Peace* has been the great end that I have sought. Slavery was a system of iniquity which I found in the way. It must be removed out of the way before the great object could be attained. Slavery was indeed a chronic state of war, one race warring upon another, and the Rebellion was the culmination of that war.” †

In an earlier portion of his eulogy than that referred to above, Mr. Curtis instances the oration upon “The True Grandeur of Nations” as an example of Mr. Sumner’s occasional “happy lack of logic.”

“It overstated its own case,” says the eulogist. “It exposed the citizen soldier not only to ridicule, but to mortal aversion. . . . What is military force, which he derided, but in the last resort the law which he revered, in execution? As a friend asked him, are the judgments of Story and of Shaw advice merely? Do they not, if need be, command every bayonet in the State?”

this nation and Great Britain, arising from conduct of citizens and the Government of Great Britain during the rebellion in this country, have been at length referred to an international arbitration in place of the fearful arbitrament of war—a reference which warrants the hope that this happy mode of adjustment and reparation may be always adopted here after in all cases of variance between us, on which side soever the wrong may be. We record, also, our desire that steps may be early taken by the Congress of the United States, at its session now at hand, to secure among all nominally Christian and civilized nations the establishment of a system of international arbitration.” (Minutes of the Council, pp. 55, 56.)

* Can a more noble and disinterested bequest be found than this?

† Advocate of Peace, for April, 1874, p. 28.

Were the eulogist an accomplished lawyer like the Senator, he would have taken here an obvious distinction. And he would have found his admired friend's logic less faulty. It was of War, *as "a public armed contest between nations,"* not of police, not of the enforcement of domestic laws, over citizens within the nation, the Boston orator spoke. It was of controversies between nations, not amenable to "the judgments of Story or of Shaw," he treated. He was arguing against naked force without law, above law, beyond law, not against force in itself. He ever argued that this should give place to law. But he never held to absolute non-resistance, never denied that law may properly use force. In the writer's last interview with him, in the month of November last, he expressed his dissent from some of the writings of Dr. T. C. Upham on Peace, while declaring, with rich fervor and great felicity of language, his admiration for the ethical and Christian consistency of the man. "His life as a friend of Peace," he exclaimed, "was sublime. Such purity, such truth, such absolute simplicity of conviction and faith." So he declared that while he could not go with the Quakers in much that they held, he had an utter and profound respect for them. "For none more," he said with emphasis. He always recognized the right of self-defense, public and private. In the oration in question he did so, carefully excluding defense and police from his discussion. (Pp. 16, 91.) So he did in the Phi Beta Kappa oration at Cambridge. Noticing Channing's recognition of the right of self-defense as "consistent with the example and teaching of Christ," he said :

"War, when regarded as a judicial combat, raises no such question, involves no such right. . . . Self-defense is independent of law ; it knows no law, but springs from sudden tempestuous urgency, which brooks neither circumscription nor delay." He expressly conceded "that overruling *necessity* on which the right of self-defense is founded." (I. 294.) So in the oration on "Fame and Glory," he said : "To all defenders of freedom or country the heart goes forth with cordial, spontaneous sympathy. May God defend the right ! Their cause, whether in victory or defeat, is invested with the interest which from the time of Abel has attached to all who suffer from the violence of a brother-man." (II. 37.)

So, in condemning the "War System" before the Peace Society, he said :

"I desire again to exclude all question of self-defense, and to affirm the duty of upholding government, and maintaining the supremacy of the law, whether on land or sea. Admitting the necessity of Force for such purpose, *Christianity revolts at Force as the substitute for a judicial tribunal.*" (II. 206.)

The italics are his own. Mr. Curtis goes on to ask :

"Is force wrong, and must the policeman not only be prohibited from carrying a pistol or a club, but must he be forbidden to lay his hand upon the thief in the act to compel him to the station? The young citizen-soldiers who sat before the orator were simply the ultimate police. To decry to them with resounding and affluent power the practice which covered war with a false luster was a noble service, but to do it in a way that would forbid the just and lawful punishment of a murderer disclosed a defective logic."

It is hard to see the pertinency of this criticism. Soldiers, as trained for and employed in foreign wars, can certainly never be confounded with police. And it was of these only Mr. Sumner spoke. Even when our Union Army putting down a civil rebellion was sometimes called a gigantic police-force engaged in restoring "domestic tranquillity," every one felt that it was a figurative use of terms. Where was, then, the "defective logic"?—in adhering singly and severely to foreign war between nations alone, and neglecting all departure from the vast indictment against it to recognize the use of force in punishing? How was just and lawful punishment forbidden by one who made no reference to it, said nought which included it? In after years Mr. Sumner wrote a brief letter against Capital Punishment,* as not necessary to society for self-defense, in his judgment—expressing the hope that "a comprehensive system of punishment," with "just penalties and privations," would take its place in Massachusetts; but nothing of this appears in the treatment of quite another subject ten years earlier.

Mr. Sumner's mind was not prone to multiply distinctions. His "natural abilities," says Senator Schurz, "were not of the first order;" and he certainly did not possess the genius for discovering, the talent for elaborating profound and far-reaching distinctions, on which whole realms of thought can be reconstructed, which the greatest minds display. As a scholar he took an interest in the higher philosophy, as he did in every thing which scholarship could compass and comprehend. But he never pursued the mazes of metaphysics for the sake of the science. He was learned on such things, but not original. "His mind did not invent and create by inspiration; it produced by study and work. Neither had his mind superior constructive capacity."† His distinctions were always lawyer-like, sufficient for his purpose, rather than exhaustive; they were conservative, rather than radical. A subtle discussion of the relation of law to force would hardly have interested him, certainly would never

* Letter to a Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature, Feb. 12, 1855, in vol. iii. pp. 527, 528. He seems gradually to have reached even this view.

† Schurz.

have employed him. He took the large and palpable view, which would not divert attention from the great point he was pressing. He was a reformatory thinker, but not a revolutionary one. It was constitutional with him to found reform on good and safe precedents. On such points as divide the friends of Peace, and lead to minute and intricate reasonings, he would not dwell. So it was characteristic of him that he should say, in this connection :

"If the sword, in the hand of an assaulted individual, may become the instrument of sincere self-defense, if under the sanction of a judicial tribunal, it may become the instrument of Justice also, *surely it can never be the Arbiter of Justice*. Here is a distinction vital to the cause of Peace, and never to be forgotten in presenting its claims. The cautious sword of the magistrate is unlike—oh, how unlike!—the ruthless sword of War." *

There have been many who regarded him as inconsistent with his own principles as an earnest and early friend of Peace, in supporting the Government as he did through the Rebellion. It has been suggested that, in this, the accomplishment of one great end of his life made him willing to sacrifice another great end—that in voting measures to sustain the Union Army and put down Secession by force, the zeal against Slavery, that had become a master-passion, consumed his zeal against War. He did not so think. That controlling anxiety for the preservation of his intellectual and moral consistency which so often laid him open to the appearance of undue self-assertion and egotism, which provoked the charge that he would sacrifice great interests for the sake of the integrity of his own record, was never disturbed on this point. To the last he would have opposed, no man so stubbornly, War for the purpose of Emancipation, or any unprovoked, spontaneous employment of the national force in freeing the slaves. But War precipitated upon the nation in the interest of Slavery, compelling the putting forth of national defenses, and offering the opportunity—even creating the necessity—of Emancipation as a military measure, was to this champion of Peace quite another matter. The distinction to his mind was large, gross, palpable. He never hesitated to act upon it. And there were no limits to which he would not go as a legislator in maintaining, by all the

* Vol. ii. 206. In the same passage he adverts to Christianity as "*sometimes supposed to forbid Force in any exigency, even of self-defense.*" So in the oration "Fame and Glory," after applauding "all defenders of freedom and country," he added: "But their *unhappy strife* belongs to the DISHONORABLE BARBARISM of the age—like the cannibalism of an earlier period, or the slavery of our own day." Here, again, the distinction was to him obvious, outstanding, unavoidable. The strife itself as human act, and the necessity for it as providential, he could not confound.

force and expense needful, the nation, law, liberty. In his speech on "Slavery and the Mexican War," * directed against the re-election of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop as Representative in Congress, he had censured that gentleman severely for upholding the War, and voting supplies. "With grievous insensibility to the sordid character of the suggestion, he pleads for the maintenance of the old Tariff," he said, "as necessary to meet 'the exigencies' of the Mexican War. 'In a time of war, like the present, more especially,' he says, 'an ample revenue should be the primary aim and end of all our custom-house duties.' Perish manufactures, let me rather say, if the duties by which they seem to be protected are swollen to feed 'the exigencies' of *unjust war*!" Eighteen years after, when it was proposed in the Senate to reduce the duty on railroad iron from seventy cents to sixty cents per hundred pounds, he took what to the superficial will seem opposite ground. The motion was made by a Western Senator, professedly an uncompromising Abolitionist, doubtless for the purpose of favoring railroads in his own State. Mr. Sumner advocated placing in the hands of the Government, on the contrary, every dollar that could be had for the war.

"I regard that we are now doing," he said, "as temporary or provisional. It is to meet the exigency of the hour; and on this account precisely I am ready to follow the Chairman of the Committee on Finance in opposing the proposition of the Senator from Kansas."

"Here I repeat, sir, what I have said very often on this floor since the Rebellion began, that there is one rule which I always follow, and, by the blessing of God, will follow to the end. It is this: show me how I can best contribute to the resources of my country, enabling it to reach the end we all desire, and I shall vote for it. At this moment I know no way in which I can contribute more than by adding to the financial strength. Show me how I can most surely secure means to carry on the war and obtain its successful close, and I shall vote for it. If, therefore, by a tax at seventy cents I can promise a larger increase than by a tax at sixty cents, I shall vote for seventy cents. To that extent I follow the Senator from Maine." †

To this he was compelled by his intense regard for principle and consistency. There was all the difference in the world to him between "unjust war," aggressive, in the interest of Slavery, and a just defense against both Rebellion and Slavery. Later in the same session of Congress, he persistently and repeatedly opposed adjournment till increased taxation for war supplies had been laid. ‡ It was

* Nov. 5, 1846, in vol. i. p. 332 seq.

† Vol. ix. 26, 27.

‡ Two Speeches, Saturday night, July 2, 1864, and Sunday morning, July 3, in vol. ix. 55-63.

in the same spirit that he constantly and powerfully urged the employment of all the Rights of War—free from all restraints of the Constitution—against Rebellion and Slavery alike; especially the extreme ones of confiscation and liberation, from which many, who had none of his scruples about War itself, nevertheless shrank.* He held every rebel in arms directly responsible: he was both criminal and enemy. No “Quaker gun would he have; no carrying on the contest *in vinculis*.” It was a striking spectacle—more than once exhibited—this great statesman of Peace invoking all the mighty energies and utmost prerogatives of the nation in arms to crush civil war and servitude together, at one tremendous blow!

“God, in His beneficence,” he said, “offers to nations, as to individuals, opportunity, *opportunity*, OPPORTUNITY. Never before in history has He offered such as is ours here. Do not fail to seize it! The blow with which we smite an accursed Rebellion will at the same time enrich and bless.”†

And in the same spirit he advised colored men to enlist as soldiers, on the ground that they were needed, that they had a special interest in the suppression of the Rebellion, and that such patriotic service was now due from them in return for justice and protection.‡

To some of Mr. Sumner’s eminent and numerous Transatlantic friends his relations to the question of England’s departures from neutrality during the Rebellion seemed inconsistent with his earnestly sustained position on International Peace. To his friends on the Continent, it should be said, however, the matter wore a very different look from that which it presented to his friends in England. We remember well with what emotion he spoke once of the reproaches of the latter, mentioning letters he had received, especially one from Mrs. Grote, widow of the historian of Greece. Even pronounced and advanced English Abolitionists proved incapable of putting themselves in the place of an American Abolitionist, standing on the watch-tower of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, surprised and alarmed, as he was, by a powerful English influence in favor of a slaveholding confederacy in America. Only the Peace party in Great Britain seems to have done justice to his attitude and his motives. His early outburst of horror at war with England as “unnatural” was forgotten; not even the magnificent service he had so recently done to the peace of the world, and to Great Britain herself, by sug-

* Rights of Sovereignty and War, vii. 1-77.

† Rights of Sovereignty, etc., vii. 76. Ibid. pp. 128-147, Speech on War Powers of Congress: Confiscation and Liberation, June 27, 1862.

‡ Letter to a Convention at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., July 13, 1863.

gesting to Mr. Lincoln the surrender of the Confederate emissaries taken from the British mail-steamer Trent, and vindicating the surrender in the Senate as just and right, and in accordance with the American precedents—(more humane and peaceful than those of England)*—protected him from misrepresentation and angry abuse. Both the Boston eulogists give due honor to his masterly and noble attitude in the Trent affair, and Senator Schurz vindicates him from all suspicion of ill-will or vulgar demagogism in the matter of the Alabama claims. Our only interest in either here is in relation to International Peace. Did he swerve at all from his high and consistent position on this subject? How? In showing that England had swerved from hers on the subject of Slavery? In setting forth the injury thus done to us? Is it incompetent for a Peace statesman to demonstrate that a national ally in an unfriendly straining of the bonds of neutrality, has trenched on the limits of war? Then was Mr. Cobden—fastest friend of Peace—all wrong. Then was Mr. Adams forgetful of the interests of Peace in his vigorous and effective protest against the fitting out and coaling of a Confederate ram at Birkenhead, when Earl Russell notified him that “Her Majesty’s Government can not in any way interfere.” The next day,† our Minister wrote the Foreign Secretary: “It would be superfluous in me to point out to your lordship that *this is war*”—adding that England had “ceased to be neutral.” Among all Mr. Adams’s great services to his country and to Peace during the Rebellion, this is the most notable, for this was the most supremely critical moment in our relations with England—the only moment since Mr. Lincoln’s first election when there was real danger of war with that country inaugurated by her own act. Three days after, Earl Russell informed Mr. Adams that the departure of the iron-clads from Liverpool had been prevented. Can an American statesman do more for Peace than by thus preventing war? And the whole tenor of Mr. Sumner’s words and acts during the years of misunderstanding with England was powerfully, intentionally, and only to that effect. When he first called public attention away “from the blazing lines of Gettysburg, Vicksburg, and Charleston, to the perils from abroad”—“present perils from England and France”—this was all his aim. It was an hour of pitch darkness—the midnight that hung over the national cause was blackness itself. It was before a great meeting of the citizens of New York at the Cooper Institute, ‡

* Vol. vi. 155-243, Speech, Jan. 9, 1862.

† Sept. 5, 1863. A contract had been made for six iron-clads in England. Two had been launched at Birkenhead.

‡ Sept. 10, 1863. Speech on Our Foreign Relations, vii. 327-492.

called to hear him, that he spoke. For a vigorous, unrelaxing prosecution of the war at home, *with Emancipation*, he plead. "Thus do I," he exclaimed, "who formerly pleaded so often for Peace, now insist upon Liberty as its indispensable condition*—clearly because, in this terrible moment, there is no other way to that sincere and solid peace without which is endless war." In the same breath he said: "We must not neglect that proper moderation abroad which becomes the consciousness of strength and the nobleness of our cause." Thus with even-handed discretion he maintained amity toward foreign Powers, and that establishment of Liberty upon the ruins of Slavery at home, which was needful to bring our national allies back to amity. It was at the bar of International Law, and Right, and Christian Justice that he impeached England and France—a peaceful tribunal, whose settlements are those of reason and not of arms. "Every principle of international law, when justly and authoritatively settled," he had said in the first sentence of his speech on the Trent case, "is a safeguard of Peace and a landmark of Civilization." It has never been sufficiently noticed that in resisting the Johnson-Clarendon Treaty he was as anxious for the improvement of international law as for justice and reparation. "In the interests of Peace it should be rejected," he declared in opening. That treaty had "no acknowledgment" in it, "not a single word. Such a generous expression," he said, "would be the beginning of a just settlement." The Treaty of Washington, it will be remembered, opened with such an expression. He objected to the earlier treaty that it was a mere provision for individual injuries—the whole subject was lowered from the high ground of the duty of nation to nation—"no rule for the future is established," "no recognition of international duty applicable to such cases." The Treaty of Washington, again, opens at once with such a rule. And the speech against the Johnson-Clarendon convention conduced more than any other one thing to the Treaty of Washington—was necessary to it. While all England was in flames of hatred and assault because of this speech—(which no English editor gave to his readers, and the only reprint of which for the British public issued from a Boston press)†—Mr. Sumner said to the writer in a private letter, from which we quote in manuscript:

* A most felicitous Latin quotation is added in the reprint at the bottom of the page: "Pax est tranquilla libertas; servitus postremum malorum omnium, non modo bello, sed morte, etiam repellendum." Cicero, Orat. Philipp. ii. c. 44.

† With Preface by Jno. M. Forbes, Esq., and containing his Worcester Speech, and the Speeches of Messrs. Baring and Cobden in the House of Commons, May 13, 1864.

"I have never known England behave so badly. My voice is the most friendly and pacific she will hear. My object was in all sincerity and simplicity to state our grievance, what I called our case against England, being all that causes our sense of wrong, leaving it to the Government hereafter to determine how much of this we would pardon or forego."

"In my judgment the first stage of the discussion must be what we suffered stated plainly. England must see and know this. Until she does, she will make no adequate overture, nor can we make any demand without danger of hostile rebuff. The recent conduct of England will compel us to do the work again." . . . "I am sorry that our case is retarded, because I do not wish this cloud hanging over our peace. But we can wait better than England can." (Letter from Boston, Aug. 3, 1869.)

In a speech, the next month, before the Massachusetts Republican Convention, Mr. Sumner said—what the Johnson-Clarendon speech completely sustains :

"I make *no demand*—not a dollar of money—not a word of apology. I show simply what England has done to us. It will be for her, on a careful view of the case, to determine what reparation to offer. It will be for the American people, on a careful review, to determine what reparation to require. I content myself with the aspiration that out of this surpassing wrong and the controversy it has engendered may come some enduring safeguard for the future, some landmark of humanity. Then will our losses end in gain for all, *while the Law of Nations is elevated.*"

So when the Treaty of Washington was framed—so framed as to avoid all his conclusive objections to its predecessor—his one criticism upon it was that it did not improve sufficiently an unexampled opportunity for the reform of International Law. He desired this more than the settlement of any "claims" whatsoever—especially, he said, in another letter to the writer, "the complete enfranchisement of the seas, and the recognition of those humane principles which our Government at the beginning proclaimed by the pen of Franklin. Such a triumph would have been more than any damages." Still, no one did more in the Senate to secure the ratification of the treaty than he.*

We must here group together several things in the life of this eminent man for which he has been blamed—sometimes bitterly—which simply grew out of his unalterable and supreme attachment to the principles of Peace. He was ever ready to call the attention of the Senate and the country to the barbarities of rebels in war, and to point thereby his famous phrase, "the Barbarism of Slavery ;"

* Both his consistency and his statesman-like self-possession are exemplified in his elaborate illustration of our seizure of the Florida in Bahia Bay, Brazil, by British seizures in neutral waters (Nov. 1864, and Jan. 1865), and his defeating meanwhile Senatorial action provoked by the St. Albans raid from Canada (Dec. 1864).

but he successfully resisted a joint Congressional resolution authorizing retaliation for their cruel treatment of Union prisoners. One of the resolutions which he moved as a substitute pronounced simple retaliation "a useless barbarism, having no other end than vengeance, which is forbidden alike to nations and to men." In the debate, he declared it an imitation of the very barbarism which was to be overcome. Of all that he said and did in favor of kindness to former rebels, nothing was more characteristic than his Atlantic Monthly article, in 1865, on "Clemency and Common Sense; a Curiosity of Literature with a Moral." But the sentiment had been anticipated in a letter to an Irish Festival thirteen years before, enclosing a toast on clemency, "which I trust may find a response," he wrote, "at once from our own Government and from that of Great Britain." His resolution of 1872 respecting names of battles on regimental colors, etc., there are many to excuse and defend to-day: Massachusetts herself withdraws her censure. But it is worth while to notice that seven years earlier he had objected to Powell's picture for the Capitol, on the ground that "no picture of a victory in battle with our fellow-citizens" should be allowed; and ten years earlier, he had moved a resolution against placing the names of such victories "on the regimental colors of the United States." Gen. Robert Anderson and Lieut.-Gen. Winfield Scott—military men—approved; but it is doubtful if any thing he was ever impelled to by moral consistency brought down upon him assaults so keen and so keenly felt. It was the heart of the statesman and moral reformer which came out in these acts, just as in all that he said and did in behalf of free colored men, or freedmen, or slaves. He was always ready to succor struggling races and peoples against foreign intervention—just as ready as to protest against intervention in our own affairs*—but "*Prudence* in our Foreign Relations" was his motto, and he successfully resisted our going beyond a moral and peaceful influence. His attitude toward Italy in 1860, his resolutions against the interference of England, France, and Spain in the affairs of Mexico in 1862, and his opposition to the Mexican resolutions of Mr. McDougall the next year, were founded on the same principle. And on this rested alike his advocacy of Mr. Seward's resolution of welcome to Kossuth a dozen years before, and his cautious protest against any thing that looked like belligerent intervention for Hungary.

* Cf. vols. vii. 365 and vii. 307 with vol. iii. 1-10. Also, his "two cardinal principles" avowed at Worcester—"first, peace with all the world; secondly, sympathy with all struggling for rights."

"Among the nations," he wrote to a Kossuth Banquet Committee at Philadelphia, "all violence, and especially all belligerent intervention, should be forbidden by international law; and I trust the day is not far distant when this prohibition will be maintained by the Federation of Christian States with an *executive power* too mighty for any contumacious resistance."

At the same time, from his place in the Senate, he besought the renowned Hungarian patriot to be content with national sympathy:

"Respect our ideas, as we respect yours. Do not seek to reverse our traditional, established policy of peace. *Do not, under the too plausible sophism of upholding non-intervention (the italics are his own), provoke American intervention on distant European soil.* Leave us to tread where Washington points the way."

In the proceedings concerning San Domingo, it is to be noticed that both the great master passions of the man's life, his love of freedom for oppressed races, and his love of peace, were painfully aroused. The result was anticipated by all who knew him well. Nor less easily could the unhappy personal conflicts attending these and the last Presidential election be predicted by any one familiar with his original convictions and prejudices—either or both, as men may deem them—touching the distinction accorded to military men. No public man among us ever so loathed this. Mr. Webster once declared—when his own political ambition was checked thereby—against civic preferment as a reward for military services. But his successor began life by laying himself out to disenchant his young countrymen of the passion for fame won in war; and the purpose that earliest drew out his elaborate youthful eloquence and marvelous learning grew with his growth and strengthened with his strength. His five early orations are leveled against the soldier. He set his whole being therein against the honor history has always given him. He pronounced it a blood-red phantom, irreligious, monstrous, preposterous. It was at Boston, before a military array, that he declared:

"Well may the modern poet exclaim, 'The world knows nothing of its greatest men;' for thus far it has chiefly honored the violent brood of Battle, armed men springing up from the dragon's teeth sown by Hate, and cared little for the truly good men, children of Love, guiltless of their country's blood, whose steps on earth are noiseless as an angel's wing."

And from that text, with endless variation, he preached all his days.*

In summing up what so unique a man and so unique a life as his

* Even more earnest are the denunciations in "Fame and Glory," 33-50, and "War System," 272-277.

did for Peace, it is convenient to distribute his efforts into two classes, the oratorical, and the practical. The frequency and ease with which he passed from the one to the other, the habitual blending of the two together, and the readiness with which the stores of his multifarious and often curious learning were ever ready to be poured forth upon this theme, show how deep was his interest in it, how it commanded all his soul. Into the former class of efforts fall the five orations just referred to, those at Boston, Cambridge, Amherst, Schenectady, and again at Boston—before the Peace Society—together with his lecture in 1871 on “The Duel between France and Germany, with its Lessons to Civilization,” the last not yet included in his collected works. These are the grand thesaurus of all in this country who speak or write upon the theme, and we constantly find traces of the debt due to them by prominent English advocates of Peace. The extraordinary wealth of quotation in them, and prefixed to them, has been approached even by no other man. The discussions they unfold are broad, deep, and exhaustive. Probably the world will never need, again, discourses of such a character from a man in such a position. It is difficult to imagine—surprising as he was in his resources on his two great themes—how he could have advanced in the future beyond what he had already said against bloodshed and strife. And it will be long before publicists, orators, philanthropists, reformers, and Christian preachers cease to draw from what his scholarly industry and humane zeal gathered to influence his countrymen and the nations against the vast and cruel Barbarism of War.

But his chief services were clearly practical. Cheerfully exposing himself to the criticism of being a mere doctrinaire and propagandist—as he ever did to any stigma, reproach, and hate in behalf of Truth and Right—it is striking how practical his views ever were. He never looked at the subject “in the abstract,” as men say. When he generalized most largely it was all concrete. He did not even philosophize by the way. He was too profoundly, sorrowfully in earnest over a monstrous and world-wide wrong for that. The woes of men had too deeply touched him. His motives were too simple and true. In the midst of strains of vivid and elaborate eloquence he never forgot any definite measure of good it was possible to secure or promote. And this even before he entered on public life. Thus, in his oration on the “War System,” etc., after showing that a Congress of Nations is not impracticable—which events are now more and more showing—he argued :

"There is still another substitute for War, which is not exposed even to the shallow objections launched against a Congress of Nations. By formal treaties between two or more nations, Arbitration may be established as the mode of determining controversies between them. In every respect this is a contrast to War. It is rational, humane, and cheap. Above all, it is consistent with the teachings of Christianity. . . . The complete overthrow of the War System, involving the disarming of the nations, would follow the establishment of a Congress of Nations; or any general system of Arbitration. Then at last our aims would be accomplished: then at last Peace would be organized among the nations. Then might Christians repeat the fitful boast of the generous Mohawk: 'We have thrown the hatchet so high in the air, and beyond the skies, that no arm on earth can reach to bring it down.'"

And, in a later passage, he invited co-operation in the effort at home and abroad to establish Arbitration treaties.

Just two years after this was said he accepted the office of United States Senator from Massachusetts, the first of our public men in high position thus pledged to Peace beforehand, and to this day the most extraordinary example our history shows of such a man steadily keeping his pledge. His first report from the Committee on Foreign Relations proposed Arbitration on the San Juan boundary. He wisely abstained in this his first act, as chairman, from any general argument for the principle. It was amazing how many occasions he found, or made, for striking earnest and vigorous blows against War in some of its details, never forgetting to bear testimony unqualified against its central principle. Not less effective than other things directly done, was his indirect and powerful influence in preventing any but "peaceful opposition" to that most hated of Congressional measures, the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Very skillfully in 1854 he suggested to the citizens of Boston a parallel, in the resistance of their fathers and his own to the Stamp Act—"with no aim at revolution" "until, without violence or collision, it was at last repealed." And his own steady and ever-renewed warfare against this Act, from his first great Senatorial speech, August, 1852, down to the hour of its repeal in consequence of the Rebellion, exemplified his principles. He illustrated his sentiment at the Publishers' Banquet to Authors at New York, in 1855, "The Pen better than the Sword." Perhaps he never promoted Peace more effectually than he did throughout the ferocious struggle of Slavery for the possession of Kansas. No one ever suspected him of being compromised with armed opposition. He was no more unwilling to use his own great muscular strength against bullies and assassins, or to bear arms on his person when his life was hourly threatened, than he was to see the immense host of lovers of Freedom in his native land employing force against Slavery.

His heroism in the one cause was as great as in the other; his heroism for Peace as wonderful as his heroism against Slavery, and they can not be separated from each other. When, later, threats of disunion filled all the air, he coolly set forth to a mass meeting in Massachusetts their absurdity—counseling all freemen to form a Vertebrate or Backbone party—but no suggestion of armed collision appears. It is known that he did not share in the roseate optimism of Mr. Seward touching the speedy end of the Secession movement, and that he was neither surprised, nor intimidated, nor moved from his principles when it took up arms. He traced sharply and vividly the line between compromise and peace.* No man was more anxious that the friends of Freedom should not embarrass themselves by making in any way “the first move toward hostilities;” no man was calmer when the friends of Slavery had made it—when Washington was hourly threatened, and all members of the Government in personal danger. With that peculiar blending of the moralist and the man of affairs which marked him, he took advantage of the Trent case to establish the American principle (against English precedents) of immunity of persons on neutral ships from seizure—the doctrine of contraband of war not applying—as a legitimate part of true international law, and to call for the abolition of the Right of Search and Contraband of War, along with Impressment on the High Seas, for the suppression of Privateering, and for the abandonment of Commercial Blockade. Never had statesman more critical task than he, to reconcile his countrymen—excited and gratified by the daring of one of their naval commanders in capturing the rebel emissaries, Mason and Slidell—to a reaffirmation of their own more peaceful policy in trying, even galling circumstances. But he could not be content without seizing the opportunity to enlarge the freedom of the seas. His practical method for abolishing Privateering was this:

“A simple proposition assuring private property on the ocean the same immunity it now enjoys on land, (relieving) commerce on the ocean from its greatest perils, so that, like commerce on the land, it will be undisturbed, except by illegal robbery and theft.”

Mr. Cobden had written to Mr. Sumner, a month previous:

“If I were in the position of your Government, . . . I would propose to let Mason and Slidell go, and stipulate, at the same time, for a complete abandonment of the old code of Maritime Law as upheld by England and the European Powers. I would propose that private property at sea should be exempt from capture by armed

* See, for example, his speech against the Crittenden Propositions, “No Surrender of the Northern Forts,” v. 468.

Government ships. On this condition I would give in my adhesion to the abolition of privateering," etc., etc. Mr. Cobden called this "a great strategic movement," that would "turn the flank of the European Powers, *especially of the governing classes of England.*"

Mr. Sumner modestly terms himself on all these points of International Law Reform "a fellow-laborer" with Mr. Cobden. But he had far the more difficult, critical, and influential position of the two. His unceasing opposition to the military government of States in rebellion was of a piece with his course on the subjects just mentioned. He was ready still further, on the broad grounds on which he ever acted, to abandon the whole policy of prize-money. When the extension of this policy to a new class of cases was proposed,* "the uncivilized character of the whole system," he suggested, "should make us pause." "It has been handed down from other generations, but I can not doubt, that in proportion as nations advance in civilization and refinement, it is more and more drawn into doubt." He did not forget, in drafting a Protest against Foreign Intervention,† announcing to foreign Powers the "unalterable purpose" of the American Congress and people, "that the war will be vigorously prosecuted, until the rebellion is overcome," to insert between the two members of this terse and weighty declaration, the qualification "according to the humane principles of Christian nations." It would have been entirely unlike him not to have favored the exemption of clergymen from military drafts,‡ on the ground both of precedent and right, and because they have entirely different duties in war—although his own colleague was on the other side. And quite as unlike him if he had not argued in Congress against letters of marque and reprisal§ as irrational, uncivilized, impolitic, and of bad repute, or if he had refrained from dissuading citizens owning ships from applying for them.¶ It was intensely like him to make all inquiry if his own Government had departed from neutral duty in selling arms to foreign belligerents. It had been a great omission *for him*, if he had not done this, whatever may have been the supposed spirit in which it was done.¶ On each and all of these points he not only manifested the practical statesman, compelling some to recognize him as such who had disesteemed him as a mere theorist, but he plainly never faltered nor hesitated because of any

* Works, vii. 38.

† Ibid. 307.

‡ 303-306, Cf. viii. 42, 50, on Commutation.

§ 278-300.

|| Letter to J. Austin Stevens, Jr., New York, in vol. vii. 313-315.

¶ Pamphlet Speech of Feb. 28, 1872.

loss of popularity or obloquy he might incur. In this cause, as in that of Emancipation, while he foresaw final triumph, he never trembled for himself, or paused because in going forward he would mar his brilliant reputation.

It is an extraordinary record we have been exploring. To pronounce sounding parliamentary platitudes in favor of Peace—while supporting the national ambitions, jealousies, and selfish interests and strifes that inflame and lead to War—is one thing; to adhere, as the sworn soldier of International Concord, through a long, busy, turbulent, exacting, sorrowful, painful career, in principle and practice, *sans peur et sans reproche*, to the one grand policy and sublime duty of Peace, laying all resources upon this altar, sacrificing to it all besides, is quite another thing. It is the signal heroism of Statesmanship. It is the foreshadowing of the stainless Christian Statesmanship of a glorious and blessed Future. And this is—and must ever be—the distinction of Charles Sumner in history.

BOOKS.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN OF BARNEVELD, ADVOCATE OF HOLLAND; WITH A VIEW OF THE PRIMARY CAUSES AND MOVEMENTS OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR. BY JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, D.C.L., LL.D. NEW YORK: HARPER & BROTHERS.

MR. MOTLEY has again been singularly happy in the choice of his subject. His Life of Barneveld has grown naturally from his past historical labors, while at the same time it prepares the way for those with which he expects to crown his career. Perhaps no man living is so well fitted to write a biography of the great Advocate of Holland as Mr. Motley. In addition to those distinguished qualifications which have given him an enduring name, he has had access in the National Archives of the Hague to private letters and public documents never before accessible. He has made the best possible use of his rich and unequalled opportunity.

The Life of Barneveld is interesting in two different aspects. It is at once a political and religious record of the times, and a vivid sketch of a great and good statesman.

John of Barneveld was born in Amesfoort in 1547. His blood was patrician. His inheritance scarcely corresponded to his rank. He studied in some of the first universities of Europe, became a profound civilian, and acquired early fame in the great war against Spain. After the assassination of William the Silent, he was the first statesman of Holland—indeed stood for years not only the pillar of his country but of Protestantism, which was then in Europe the symbol of liberty itself. If the prince was the hero of the independence of the United Provinces, the statesman was the founder of the commonwealth.

Mr. Motley gives but a brief sketch of the early years of Barneveld. His biography really begins with the period when the Netherlands had emerged from their savage conflicts of forty years with Spain, and is principally occupied with the events of the time when, for ten years, Europe enjoyed a tranquillity rendered necessary by

her exhaustion, and used to prepare her for the yet more terrible struggles of the long war of thirty years.

The Dutch Republic, although triumphant, and a mighty power by land and sea over the civilized world, was regarded abroad with mingled fear and hatred, and at home was rent by frightful personal, political, and religious discords. Spain, Austria, the Empire, and the Papacy were eagerly watching to strangle the young giant in its cradle. Catholic France secretly detested a Protestant ally whom she was compelled to use for her safety or her ambition. England, owing to the fickleness of James, and his absurd wish for a Spanish marriage for his son, was wholly unreliable. In the midst of these foreign entanglements and domestic difficulties, Barneveld seems to have been the single statesman of the Republic who understood the constitution of his country, grasped earliest the principles of religious toleration, penetrated the designs of kings, read the aims of the Papacy, caught the spirit of his times, and was qualified, in conjunction with Henry of Navarre, to make the Great Protestant Union successful against the artful and stupendous machinations of the Catholic League.

In no part of his work does Mr. Motley show more skill than in describing the movements of monarchs, princes, statesmen, ecclesiastics, and armies about the territories claimed by the Elector of Brandenburg and the Palatine of Neuburg. They were the central objects of European politics. Eventually, had not Henry been assassinated, all Protestantism and Catholicism would have been ranged in mortal strife around a few petty duchies, counties, and lordships, important only from their position. Nothing can be more interesting than to trace the masterly statesmanship of Barneveld—as shown especially by his letters to the able and treacherous Aerssens, Dutch ambassador in Paris—in unwinding the complications of diplomacy, in keeping his country in the path of safety and of honor, and in advancing the common cause of Protestantism over Europe. Nowhere in history are more important political and religious lessons to be learned.

But after all, notwithstanding his long and frequent digressions, Mr. Motley, with the true instincts of an artist, makes the chief interest of his work revolve about the personal events in the career of its subject. The clew to the biography is the strife for supremacy between Prince Maurice and John of Barneveld. They are therefore presented in contrast at the beginning of the book, and the deadly struggle between these eminent personages is the thread running

through the whole and binding it into a unity. The Dutch Republic was too small for a soldier and a statesman equally gifted and distinguished. Hence a fight for years between sword and gown, and with the usual fate of such struggles.

Maurice, the son of William the Silent, having princely blood in his veins, a general unequaled in his age, the hero of many battles, famous for his splendid victories, naturally aspired to the crown of his country. His life was far from pure, and his conscience not the most scrupulous. He evidently had from the beginning resolved on obtaining supremacy in the Republic. The event showed that he knew who would be his adversary, and that he would not hesitate to employ any agencies of military despotism necessary to his purposes.

Barneveld, on the contrary, was a lawyer, thoroughly versed in the constitution of his country, anxious to keep within the limits of his own prerogatives, and yet constantly forced by circumstances beyond them, vulnerable through the necessities of his position and a long diplomatic correspondence, having no opportunities, and perhaps no desires nor abilities for acquiring popularity, entertaining both political and religious opinions far in advance of his country and his age, and which made him thoroughly misunderstood by both. In the contest between two such men, the result could not be doubtful. The conscientious and independent statesman fell before the brilliant and unscrupulous soldier. Maurice stands perfectly revealed in the artful manner with which he turned religious passions to his own interest, and in the violent and tyrannical methods by which he subverted the constitution of the States, and packed their offices by his own minions ready for the work of death.

Mr. Motley describes with admirable skill and power the arrest and imprisonment of Barneveld, the scenes and events of his weary confinement, the hard and horrible conduct of his judges, his own lofty Christian fortitude and noble defense, and at last the tragic circumstances of his execution. Never in modern history have envy, malice, fraud, and tyranny more signally triumphed over true and sublime virtue. We will let Mr. Motley describe in his own words the closing scene in the life of the great Advocate of Holland :

“In the beautiful village-capital of the ‘Count’s Park,’ commonly called the Hague, the most striking and picturesque spot, then as now, was that where the transformed remains of the old moated castle of those feudal sovereigns were still to be seen. A three-storied range of simple, substantial buildings in brown brick-work, picked out with white stone in a style since made familiar both in England and America—surrounded three sides of a spacious inner paved quadrangle called

the Inner Court, the fourth, or eastern side being overshadowed by a beechen grove. A square tower flanked each angle, and on both sides of the southwestern turret extended the commodious apartments of the Stadtholder. The great gateway on the southwest opened into a wide open space called the Outer Court-yard. Along the northwest side a broad and beautiful sheet of water, in which the walls, turrets, and chapel-spires of the enclosed castle mirrored themselves, was spread between the mass of buildings and an umbrageous promenade called the Vyverberg, consisting of a sextuple alley of lime-trees, and embowering here and there a stately villa. A small island, fringed with weeping willows and tufted all over with lilacs, laburnums, and other shrubs then in full flower, lay in the center of the miniature lake, and the tall solid tower of the great church, surmounted by a bright openwork spire, looked down from a little distance over the scene. It was a bright morning in May. The white swans were sailing tranquilly to and fro over the silver basin, and the mavis, blackbird, and nightingale, which haunted the groves surrounding the castle and town, were singing as if the daybreak were ushering in a summer festival."

"In front of the lower window, with its Gothic archway hastily converted into a door, a shapeless platform of rough, unhewn planks had that night been rudely patched together. This was the scaffold. A slight railing round it served to protect it from the crowd, and a heap of coarse sand had been thrown upon it. A squalid, unclean box of unplanned boards, originally prepared as a coffin for a Frenchman—who some time before had been condemned to death for murdering the son of Goswyn Meurskens, a Hague tavern-keeper, but pardoned by the Stadtholder—lay on the scaffold. It was recognized from having been left for a long time half-forgotten at the public execution-place of the Hague.

"Upon this coffin now sat two common soldiers of ruffianly aspect, playing at dice, betting whether the Lord or the Devil would get the soul of Barneveld. Many a foul and ribald jest at the expense of the prisoner was exchanged between these gamblers, some of their comrades, and a few townsmen, who were grouped about at that early hour.

"At last, at half-past nine o'clock, a shout arose, 'There he comes! there he comes!' and the populace flowed out from the hall of judgment into the court-yard like a tidal wave.

"In an instant the Binnenhof was filled with more than three thousand spectators.

"The old statesman, leaning on his staff, walked out upon the scaffold and calmly surveyed the scene. Lifting up his eyes to heaven, he was heard to murmur, 'O God! what does man come to!' Then he said bitterly once more, 'This, then, is the reward of forty years' service to the State!'

"La Motte, who attended him, said, presently, 'It is no longer time to think of this. Let us prepare your coming before God.'"

"La Motte prayed for a quarter of an hour, the Advocate remaining on his knees."

"The statesman then came forward, and said in a loud, firm voice to the people, 'Men, do not believe that I am a traitor to the country. I have ever acted uprightly and loyally, as a good patriot, and such shall I die.'

"The crowd was perfectly silent. He then took his cap from John Franken, drew it over his eyes, and went forward toward the sand, saying, 'Christ shall be my guide. O Lord, my Heavenly Father, receive my spirit!'"

"The servant took farewell of him, and Barneveld said to the executioner, 'Be quick about it! be quick!'"

"The executioner then struck the head off at a single blow.

"Many persons from the crowd now sprang, in spite of all opposition, upon the scaffold, and dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, cut wet splinters from the boards, or grabbed up the sand that was steeped in it, driving many hard bargains for these relics to be treasured with various feelings of sorrow, joy, gluttoned or expiated vengeance."

ETRUSCAN RESEARCHES. BY ISAAC TAYLOR, M.A., *Vicar of Holy Trinity, Twickenham*. AUTHOR OF "WORDS AND PLACES."
PUBLISHED BY MACMILLAN & CO., LONDON.

THAT little province in a most beautiful and interesting part of Italy known as Terra di Lavoro has long been a study to those scholars whose devotion to synthetic art and past histories has led them to inquire into the origin of certain remarkable examples which were found among the ruinous remains of her ancient cities.

The olive-trees, the collected tufa and asters of the ages, covered something more than could be revealed to the immediate sight. Back of the conquests of Cæsar, back of the pastorals and georgics and epics of Roman letters, back of the luminous era which made Rome the ruling seat of the world and Italy the home of the arts useful and ornamental, was a history yet to be unfolded, a language unspoken. The legends of an obsolete people still remained, some by adoption into a new tongue, some by artistic acceptance. The story of Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf became part of the Roman tradition when the Etruscans from whom it was borrowed had vanished from the earth.

Nothing remained to tell the story of these lost people of Italy save a few fragments with inscriptions which were for a great part unintelligible.

To the archeologist these examples were an enigma the solution of which appeared to be more and more remote with each addition and new development. The source, history, language, and peculiarities of a race whose nationality expired half a century before the Christian era, were not easily determined by the few and feeble evidences left by them. Theory arose in conflict with theory, and Etruria, which in obscure past ages had been the battle-field of the Roman, the Greek, and the Trojan, bid fair to become again a scene of conflict in the less bloody engagements of the philosopher and antiquary. For half a century this dispute has been carried on,

testimony has been taken and retaken, but silence follows the question—what was the Etruscan tongue?

Two media were offered through which the recreant truth might be induced to reveal itself: some few inscribed and decorated tombs and sarcophagi remained; a still more potent and available witness was found in the fictile work, examples of which were quite numerous and intact, the decoration having existed with little deterioration through all the ages which fill the interval between our time and theirs.

Even these examples could scarcely be relied upon, for the reason that nothing which is portable and fabricated can be held strictly as the product of the place where it is found. Science, however, came to the aid of the explorer just here. The composition and quality of the clay used in the Etruscan potteries were taken into consideration and compared with the natural earth of the surrounding territory: they were found to be exactly similar. This test, however, could not be considered final, for there was in the outline and general appearance of the examples under consideration, much that very closely resembled the early school of Asia Minor and Ægina, and the bas-relief was not unlike Samothracian work and the coins of Magna Greece. Here was a complexity of conditions not easily accounted for.

Again, the decoration of the Etruscan potteries is but a repetition of Greek legend and mythology, and many of the characters appear to be Greek also. Without much hesitancy Winckelmann assigned all this work to Greek potters, who either as exiles or an organized colony early settled upon the Campanian shore.

The main obstacle in the pursuit of a knowledge of the Etruscan people is the entire absence of any literature; the monumental inscriptions alone remain. Regarding these, Mr. Taylor says, "No Etruscan 'Rosetta Stone' has yet been found. We possess, it is true, seventeen so-called bilingual inscriptions, but when they come to be examined they prove to be most disappointing. None of them contain *more than four words*. Many of these words are so defaced as to be illegible, and the remainder appear to be only proper names. The seventeen bilingual inscriptions, taken together, do not give us the absolute Latin equivalent of *a single independent Etruscan word*. At most, all that it has been possible to affirm respecting them is that they assign a positive meaning to one suffix." The excavations which are still actively in progress among the Etruscan cities and places of sepulture may possibly bring to light hereafter the neces-

sary media of information. What we have at present is vague and vexatious enough. It only establishes a fact of actual presence, without furnishing any clew to the extraction or history of the Etruscans.

The deductions presented in the volume which we have under consideration are an entire dissent from any opinions which have been previously advanced. Our author bases his reasoning upon philological grounds, with the single exception of that portion touching origin; and it is through other media—precisely those which we have briefly reviewed—that he derives his conclusion of the Ugric or Tatar extraction of the Etruscans; nor are we entirely prepared to take exception to this radical view, although the examples of their handiwork which are most commonly known to the public would tend to show a very intimate relationship with the Greek school. They are, however, harsher, and not so complete.

Having by unique and plausible reasoning traced the Etruscans back to their Ugric fathers, Mr. Taylor elaborates the remainder of his argument from philological sources, and his work is most laborious if not convincing. Notwithstanding the severity, or rather ferocity of English critics, to the philologist and student of races these "Etruscan Researches" will prove a most acceptable addition to the few works which have previously been offered on the same subject.

The wonderful activity of investigators and explorers in the various departments of information has left but little of the world in absolute obscurity. "Now that the Assyrian and Egyptian records have been read, these Etruscan inscriptions present the only considerable philological problem that still remains unsolved." Years have passed by, and yet the theme presents itself, tempting the laborious efforts of our best modern scholars to penetrate its mystical obscurities.

The bent of Mr. Taylor's argument is toward the establishment of the truth of his hypothesis of the Ugric affinities of the Etrurian people; he admits the probable statements of Niebuhr concerning the mixed character of the population—a theory built upon the positive statements of Livy, and concerning which there can be little room left for doubt. Indeed, even at this late day various evidences exist tending to show either a remarkable versatility or else the presence of various nationalities or tribes whose arts and employments differed essentially. A Corinthian named Demaratus, with the artists in his retinue, introduced the art of clay-modeling—an industry which was most extensively practiced in Etruria: still later, working in bronze was also derived from a Greek source.

Many of the inscriptions, however, upon the Etruscan fictile work,

are in Latin, while the forms partake of Egyptian, Chaldean, or Phœnician characteristics.

Of the bilingual inscriptions the Etruscan language does not form any part; consequently, comparisons must be advanced upon the basis of theory alone. There is no touchstone by which to prove the correctness of any conclusion: the monuments only supply the evidences which may reënforce the deductions.

The Etruscans were not a people original in the country where most of their remains are found: by force of the sword they acquired the territory previously held by the Siculians and Umbrians, and for nine or ten centuries exercised domination over its entire extent. At one time their dominion extended from a point considerably north of the Tiber to a southern boundary somewhat below Naples.

Seven centuries, however, was the limit of the tenure to their most extended possessions, and Rome effected her final conquest nearly three centuries prior to the birth of Christ. Notwithstanding this fact, the Etruscans maintained a semi-national character for two hundred and fifty years, surviving the incursion of the Romans until fifty years before the Christian era, when all verified trace of them is lost. With them was lost also their phonetic system: once reëstablished, this places within the scholar's reach a possible key to their history and source.

The obscurity which surrounds the Etruscan language, the peculiarity of its characters and their arrangement, sufficiently testify to its antiquity and remoteness from the original languages which were tributary to its derivation. Undismayed by these formidable obstacles, Mr. Taylor has by a painful analysis attempted to trace it through its own verbiage to what he terms an *Ugric* root. The word *Ugric* has been chosen as a general term to designate the Turanian tribes of the great Asiatic table-land: "it comprises the Finnic, Samojedic, Turkic or Tataric, Mongolian, and Tungusic peoples." It is scarcely our province to take into question any of Mr. Taylor's conclusions: to differ would only be to accept the views of other scholars, who may or may not have pursued so systematic an investigation as that which Mr. Taylor presents us, and which he modestly calls a "rudimentary examination."

Bentham's idea of the Etruscan dialect was that it was related to the Keltic. Robert Ellis studied and wrote long and faithfully to prove its Armenian relationship. Dr. Donaldson and the Earl of Crawford assigned it to the Gothic; while Dr. Steub, in a still more elaborate and ingenious argument, asserts that "it is a Rhæto-Ro-

mansch speech." Here are five most studious and careful philological authorities presenting four different theories; and now we may add Mr. Taylor's work, which takes exception to each one of these—and this is so uniquely and cleverly done, that, notwithstanding the censures for his loose methods, we almost feel inclined upon the reading to accept the even radical conclusions of our present author.

It is nearly a decade now since Mr. Taylor first secured recognition by the publication of a little book entitled *Words and Places*. Now the tortuous and sometimes tedious work of the philologist is not the most encouraging. In literature, as in almost every thing else, the popular ear is not open to any thing that does not explode itself *en batterie* and disclose at once an entirety. Patient painstaking labor meets but a passing recognition. Yet upon this very labor depends ultimate success; without it, the Egyptian hieroglyph were as meaningless as before Champollion read the Rosetta Stone. Like the child lost from its home in infancy and seeking in after years to establish its extraction and genealogy, so, with language, each century obliterates more and more of its evidences of derivation, until eventually, in its perfect maturity, we fail to find any thing which may furnish a clew to absolute identity. The Etrurian nation, made up, as it probably was, of many races and nations, became, however, eventually as truly original and insular as the Egyptians or the Greeks. It was formidable though not warlike, practicing the arts of peace in a country admirably adapted to their pursuits.

To-day we may read the inscribed pottery of Babylon, the history of Egypt is made plain through the hieroglyph, and the Assyrian is traced through his own writings; yet the Etruscan remains without record and without identity. Few have cared to attempt the reduction of this last of the so-called dead languages, although many have speculated upon its possible affinities. Years of study might be spent without any definite conclusion, and even then we might find our testimonies only to prove the truth of Mr. Taylor's conclusions. While a careful reading of the book impresses us with the patience and sincerity of its author, time alone may verify that which through much labor he has sought to establish.

THE MARTYRDOM OF MAN. BY W. WINWOOD READE. LONDON: TRÜBNER & CO.

THE title of this volume has little or nothing to do with its contents. From the author's statements in his preface, it appears that,

some three or four years ago, he traveled for a second time in Western Africa, and as one of the results of his wanderings, he was seized by an idea or fancy that Negroland, through the slave trade, had more to do with history than any body had as yet supposed. Thereupon he dashed into "writing the history of the world," as he rather grandly terms his present work. The consideration of Negroland led him to Egypt and Carthage; next in succession came Asia, Greece, Rome. In a second chapter he deemed it needful to relate the progress of Mohammedanism in Central Africa, and to give his notions of the origin and influence of Judaism and Christianity. Thence he goes on to present an outline of the slave trade, the revival of art, the Dark Ages, and the invasion of the Germans. And now, finding, as he says, his "outline of Universal History almost complete," he favors the reader with a fourth chapter, which is intended as a sort of summary of the whole, and a carrying out of the theory of Darwin, in his latest work, to its ultimate logical sequence, viz. open and avowed materialism and atheism.

Mr. Reade's sketch of history, in so far as it is worthy of the name, and while he confines himself to competent authorities, which he refers to (as Rawlinson, Hallam, Niebuhr, Guizot, Irving, etc.), is written in an easy, flowing style, and may be read with more or less pleasure, if not profit. But the historical part is of little moment in itself, and in the author's eyes it serves only as a convenient *point d'appui* for a gross and venomous assault upon religion in general and Christianity in particular. It is somewhat singular in these days, as well as significant, that infidelity should make its assaults upon the Gospel and its teaching with increased energy, while at the same time our so-called freethinkers are crying out continually that Christianity is dead, and that none but fools and idiots are any longer influenced by it. It would seem as if some men must needs lose both tact and temper when religion becomes the topic of discourse. They indulge themselves in a violence and even furiousness of language and a rashness of assertion truly amazing. This is certainly the case with Mr. Reade in the present volume. A man who can deliberately write as he does, places himself in a position almost beneath the possibility of being answered. We give a passage or two from his *deliramenta*.

Speaking of the Lord God, as revealed in the Old Testament, he says:

"The Jehovah of the Pentateuch was a murderer and bandit; he rejoiced in offerings of human flesh." "Jehovah was merely an invisible Bedouin chief, who

traveled with them (the children of Israel) in a tent, who walked about the camp at night, and wanted it kept clean, who maneuvered the troops in battle, who delighted in massacres and human sacrifices, who murdered people in sudden fits of rage, who changed his mind, who enjoyed petty larceny, and employed angels to tell lies."

Mocking at the doctrine of the Trinity, he writes :

"They (the Christians) not only said that 3 was 1, and that 1 was 3: they professed to explain how that curious arithmetic combination had been brought about. The indivisible had been divided, and yet was not divided; it was divisible, and yet it was indivisible; black was white, and white was black; and yet there were not two colors, but one color; and whoever did not believe it would be damned."

Speaking of our Saviour, he says :

"Jesus was no doubt like other prophets, uncouth in his appearance and uncleanly in his garb. At Jerusalem he completely failed; and this failure appears to have stung him into bitter abuse of his successful rivals, the missionary Pharisees, and into the wildest extravagance of speech. He called the learned doctors a generation of vipers, whited sepulchers, and serpents; he declared that they should not escape the damnation of hell. Because they had made the washing of hands before dinner a religious ablution, Jesus, with equal bigotry, would not wash his hands at all. He told his disciples that if a man called another a fool, he would be in danger of hell-fire. . . . He cursed a fig-tree because it bore no fruit, although it was not the season of fruit—an action as rational as that of Xerxes, who flogged the sea." "In politics Jesus was a leveler and communist, in morals he was a monk; he believed that only the poor and despised would inherit the kingdom of God. . . . God would take care of them if they would only fold their hands together and have faith, and abstain from the impiety of providing for the future. The principles of Jesus were not conducive to the welfare of society; he was put to death by the authorities; his disciples established a commune; Greek Jews were converted by them, and carried the new doctrines over all the world."

In one place, he ridicules

"The much-belauded theory of a semi-human Providence, an anthropoid Deity, a Constructive Mind, a Deus Palagensis, a God created in the image of a watch-maker." In another place, he declares that "the following facts result from our investigations: Supernatural Christianity is false. God-worship is idolatry. Prayer is useless. The soul is not immortal. There are no rewards and there are no punishments in a future state." Again, he affirms that "Christianity is pernicious to the intellect; it demands that the reason shall be sacrificed upon the altar; it orders civilized men to believe in the legends of a savage race. It places a hideous image, covered with dirt and blood, in the Holy of holies; it rends the sacred vail of truth in twain. . . . There is no need to say any thing more. Such a religion is blasphemous and foul." "Christians believe themselves to be the aristocracy of heaven upon earth; they are admitted to the spiritual court, while millions of men in foreign lands have never been presented. They bow their knees and say they are miserable sinners, and their hearts rankle with abominable pride. Poor, infatuated fools! Their servility is

real, and their insolence is real, but their king is a phantom, and their palace is a dream." And lastly, having pointed out that the Egyptian gods are dead and gone to the shades below, he furiously exclaims, "To-morrow, Jehovah, you and your son shall be with them!"

We refrain from quoting any further. There is more of this in the volume, with passages here and there such that we could not bring ourselves to the point of soiling our pages with them. We do not wonder that the author's friends and the publisher remonstrated with him (as he states), and urged him to alter various parts, or omit some of his insane revilings against religion. They remembered, no doubt, that for former offenses Mr. Reade had been severely handled by the critics; and they saw, if he did not, that he was provoking a castigation far worse than any he had conceived of, by writing and publishing the present volume. So far as argument goes, the book is simply worthless. There is an effort to outdo Paine, or the older desists, Woolston, Tindal, and Collins, in grossness of assault and in cheap and vulgar ridicule and abuse, and if possible to rival even Strauss in his recent exhibitions; but it is inexpressibly painful to witness such an effort as coming from a man who has had the advantages of education and culture. In regard to what Mr. Reade sets forth as philosophy and science, it can only be pronounced a tissue of the wholly unsupported theories and assertions of men who carried Darwinian speculations to their ultimate point, or have adopted the unintelligible vagaries and cheerless atheism of Comte and his followers, with their Humanity-god or goddess.

Very possibly it would have been better for Mr. Reade's reputation if he had acted upon the advice of his friends, and suppressed a great part of the present volume. Perhaps, however, it is just as well as it is. His obstinacy and conceit, and his consciousness that he is speaking in behalf of many others like himself, make it evident what is the express object of certain men in these days, and by what modes of attack they mean to extirpate Christianity, and with it to destroy all the longings for immortality bound up with the Gospel of Christ—if they can.

Let them go on, we may say in conclusion. Christianity has withstood the assaults of giants. It has nothing to fear from pigmies.

ZOOLOGICAL MYTHOLOGY. BY ANGELO DE GUBERNATIS. LONDON:
TRÜBNER & CO.

THE title and exterior of these volumes may induce some general readers, curious as to the nature and drift of Max Müller's new Science of Religion, into their acquisition; but few will have leisure for their mastery. Indeed, in connection with the Herculean labor and patience which could alone traverse a field of research so vast in time and space, and accumulate from the extinct or lingering system of paganism such an enormous mass of legendary lore, we instinctively look for the name of some Teutonic professor—and it is almost with a start of surprise, after a glance at the ponderous bulk of the book, that we are introduced to its author as an Italian *savan*, and learn that its birthplace is Florence. We must, however, in justice, specially except the brilliant introductory essay on Comparative Mythology, which he modestly calls his Preface, from any suspicion of ponderosity—for in curious contrast with the succeeding pages, it is thoroughly alive with the true Italian grace and fire, under all its load of profound erudition—and not without a certain flavor of *naïveté* and personal unreserve, which is quite as much Italian as French.

Perhaps these volumes were only published for the benefit of the limited circle of genuine scholars, for whom this field of investigation, so fresh and wonderful, is beginning to exercise a positive fascination. And to such it must ever be a matter for devout thankfulness that so much unflagging enthusiasm and prodigious *burrowing* power, as our Italian professor's, are within the range of human possibility. For although he speaks regretfully of having to condense his material into these "modest octavos," to any other mind the subject of Zoological Mythology, in all its Oriental and classic variations, would seem exhausted, and nothing left the student of the future to do in the way of original investigation. Nor indeed can we wonder that the theory of Comparative Mythology (for Science, in view of its extreme and unformed youth, seems rather a precocious title) should thus awaken the enthusiasm of scholars. In its psychological aspects especially, it promises ultimate results of unquestionable value, in the solution of certain questions which vitally affect the entire future of our race. For notwithstanding the prevalence in limited scientific circles of a hard and supercilious materialism which pretends to ignore metaphysics and psychology, in fact there never was a period

in man's intellectual development when the spiritual problems of his being aroused so deep and disturbing an interest. The recent speculations of Max Müller, in regard to the origin and differentiation of the religious beliefs of prehistoric man, have stirred a large class of cultivated and influential minds. It is but natural that such should regard with favor the novel and ingenious exploration of Comparative Mythology and its handmaid, Philology, which as far as developed have an unmistakable general drift in a direction opposite to the later tendencies of ethnology and evolution, the one asserting the utter savagery of primeval man, the other his descent from the lowest primordial forms of life. For the significance of the fact can not be overlooked, that philology, by methods certainly as demonstrative as those of the sciences we have named, reaches conclusions easily *adjustable* to the Hebrew version of primeval man's knowledge of one Great Supreme, and a corresponding moral and intellectual development, impossible to a condition of savage degradation. Certainly in respect to the Aryan race, it may be asserted that in their mother tongue, the Sanskrit, traced by inherent proofs which are beyond dispute, far back of the boundaries of History and Tradition, into the early dawn of tribal life, we find a language finished, elaborate, flexible, capable of expressing the most delicate shades of human thought and feeling, which so competent an authority as Max Müller pronounces the "eldest sister" of all the Aryan tongues, not needing to blush even beside the fairest of the younger family—the Greek of Plato and Homer. And even more suggestive is the parallel discovery of Comparative Mythology, that as we ascend from existing polytheism, we find ever-increasing signs of approaching nearer and nearer an original pure and simple monotheism. Müller asserts that "the primitive Aryans had but one object of worship—the Dawn;" and adds, "beyond the Dawn, another Infinite Power was suspected." Have we not better authority to say that in the minds of the original Aryans that suspicion *had* been a *certainty*? The Dawn-worship was but a dim remembrance of a light that shone upon the cradle of the Aryan race. Polytheism was a still later phase of swift descent from that earliest monotheistic worship.

Without pursuing these reflections, we will give our readers a charming fragment from the personal history of the author of the Zoological Mythology—in whom the *savan* and child so strangely blend—which throws light not only on the eccentric idiosyncrasies of his own mind, but also upon his favorite theory of the function of the imagination in the development of mythological legend:

"One of the most vivid impressions ever made on me, was received when a child of only four years of age. I was looking up into the sky. My family was living in a remote part of Piedmont: one autumn evening, toward night, one of my elder brothers pointed out to me, over a distant mountain, a dark cloud of rather strange shape, saying, 'Look down there: that is a hungry wolf running after the sheep.' I well recollect that he convinced me so entirely of that cloud being *really* a hungry wolf, running upon the mountain, that fearing, in default of the sheep, it might overtake me, I instantly took to my heels and escaped, precipitately, into the house. I recall and refer to it now to explain how the credulity we always find in children may give us an idea of the credulity of infant nations."

We must express our surprise that Prof. De Gubernatis has made himself so thorough a master of sound and idiomatic English as his book demonstrates him to be. And though we are not sanguine that Comparative Mythology will soon or ever attain the permanence and dignity of a science, yet we hail every contribution like this with a sense of satisfaction and relief.

ENGLAND, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL. BY AUGUSTE LAUGEL. TRANSLATED BY PROF. JAMES MORGAN HART. NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS.

BRILLIANT social and general criticism of English institutions and English people we have had from Mr. Emerson and M. Taine, men who have thoroughly studied the English type of life and culture. M. Laugel is a worthy companion. He excels in the analysis of character, in the selection of salient, leading points, in sympathetic criticism. His study of England has been many-sided rather than profound, and his observations are acute, often original, always readable. M. Laugel in style resembles Macaulay. He is brilliant, epigrammatic, severe, often condensing a page into a sentence, really a man of genius. One can not but feel that he understands the English better than they do themselves. His book deserves to be read twice, and can be overlooked by no one who would form correct opinions of the social and political institutions of England. His range of subjects indicates the value of these essays. He writes upon the Characteristics of the English Race; the Characteristics of English Protestantism; the English Aristocracy, its Origin and Character; the House of Commons, and Parliamentary Government; the Formation of Political Habits; the People, and Social Questions; the Colonial Policy.

A few sentences taken here and there will indicate the merit of M. Laugel's writing: "English art knows not that supreme indif-

ference, that contentment, which breathes and pulses through joyous, unconscious nature. We always see the will, the effort, behind. In every writer there lurks the moralist." "England worships its heroes. Toward those who have served it, who have added aught to its power or renown, its more than kingly gratitude knows no bounds." "The reign of the Roundheads was one of those brief storms that clear the atmosphere." "The historic greatness of Elizabeth is due to this, that she was from the very first conscious of her mission. The woman was subservient to the queen." M. Laugel always writes with force and strength. His criticism of English religious life is the only point in which he fails to be generous and just; and yet even here, with much of his censure and severity one must agree if he would accept facts as they are. In the closer drawing together of two nations whose kinship is fast becoming brotherhood, this book can not but do good and repay careful study.

HOGARTH'S WORKS: WITH LIFE AND ANECDOTAL DESCRIPTIONS OF HIS PICTURES. BY JOHN IRELAND AND JOHN NICHOLS, F.S.A. THE WHOLE OF THE PLATES REDUCED IN EXACT FAC-SIMILE OF THE ORIGINALS. IN THREE VOLUMES. LONDON: CHATTO & WINDUS. NEW YORK: SCRIBNER, WELFORD & CO.

IF a foreigner should ask an ordinary Briton, who of all the English artists was the most thoroughly national painter, the answer would, nine times out of ten, be William Hogarth. Why his name should thus be preferred above others it is hardly possible to say; and, surely, few tangible proofs of the correctness of the response at popular command could be advanced. Hitherto, such editions of his works as have appeared have either been expensive or unsatisfactory; and those who were attracted by the merits of the artist have been put to the necessity of studying his works under troublesome restrictions, in public libraries, or in private art-galleries. Few only have enjoyed the privilege of penetrating the mysteries of these thoughtful engravings in the quiet precincts of home.

Admitting, then, the popularity of Hogarth in the minds of the English people, is it not a singular fact that no perfectly popular edition of this artist's works has been earlier brought before the public? In the three worthy volumes before us, this desideratum, so long felt, has been at length filled. It is quite safe to affirm that the present is the most complete gallery of Hogarth's pictures yet

published. The volumes contain the illustrative text of Ireland—itsself being not only the best in existence, but quite indispensable to every student of English art and customs—and the addenda taken from the handsome and costly volumes of Nichol, which were issued some years ago. The illustrations, of which there are one hundred and fifty in all, have been reduced from their original size, by a new mechanical process, and are, in the main, good fac-similes. The plates, we regret to say, do not run evenly throughout, and some are far superior to others in degrees of truthful reproduction: nevertheless, considering the size of the volumes, and their comparative cheapness, the pictures, if not so clearly defined as the originals, will prove highly satisfactory to thousands of admirers.

Besides the matter already mentioned, the volumes also contain Hogarth's literary works, including his autobiography, the Analysis of Beauty, and a supplement to the same, never before published, and sundry memoranda and manuscripts which have hitherto been concealed from the public eye. At the same time, the elaborate catalogue, compiled by Ireland, is preserved.

These volumes, whatever may be their imperfections, are not likely to provoke very adverse criticism. We may deny the beauty of the engravings, but no one will be so foolish as to impeach their fidelity of character and outline. There is no occasion to find fault with the text, since it has been almost wholly derived from standard authorities, which are not, perhaps, to be ever superseded by better. It only remains, therefore, to commend the magnificent enterprise and wisdom of the publishers, who may safely "venture to congratulate themselves on submitting to the notice of the artistic and literary world, as well as to the public generally, the best and cheapest edition of Hogarth's complete works ever brought forward."

Somehow or other, one never tires of talking about Hogarth. He seems to demand our respect, as does every man who is a leader rather than a follower, and stands foremost in his class. No *palette pedigree* attaches itself to his name; and his genuine boast was of being a pupil and a disciple of nature. The child of poor parents, nurtured in the lap of poverty, and subjected to petty tyrannies and abuses, he seems to have cherished but one predilection, and that an early one for the arts. A liberal education he passed by, as being of small account, and while the laborers in the forest of science dug for the root, inquired into the circulation of the sap, and planted brambles and birch around the tree of knowledge, Hogarth had a higher aim—an ambition to display, in the true tints of nature, the rugged

character of the bark, the varied involutions of the branches, and the minute fibers of the leaves.

While yet a boy, and apprenticed to a vender of salvers and sauce-boats, he manifested his first turn for the satirical. One Sabbath afternoon—the incident is new and worth recording—he made an excursion to Highgate, where he and his companions sought shelter and refreshment in an inn.

“In the same room were a party of thirsty pedestrians, washing down the dust they had inhaled in their walk, with London porter. Two of the company debating on politics, and the palm of victory being, at the moment Hogarth and his companions entered, adjudged to the taller man, he very vociferously exulted in his conquest, and added some sarcastic remarks on the diminutive appearance of his adversary. The *little* man had a *great soul*, and having in his right hand a pewter pot, threw it with fatal force at his opponent: it struck him in the forehead, and he sank to the floor. The fellow being deeply, though not dangerously, wounded in the forehead, extreme agony excited a most hideous grin. His wo-begone figure, opposed to the pert, triumphant air of his tiny conqueror, and the half-suppressed laugh of his surrounding friends, presented a scene too ridiculous to be resisted. The young tyro seized his pencil, drew his first group of portraits from the life, and gave, with a strong resemblance of each, such a grotesque variety of character as evades all description.”

It is much to be regretted that this first *coup d'essai* has not been preserved. This early attempt at satirizing is the key to all the others that followed in grand succession. The youth has, now, only to emerge from his obscure garret, and to seek the groundwork for his fame and fortune in the slums and sloughs of London. The right foot has been put forward; his volatile dispositions have winged into proper directions; he wanders about, without inheritance and without protection; and we can understand the rest, when he tells us: “I remember the time when I have gone moping into the city with scarce a shilling in my pocket; but having received ten guineas there for a plate, returned home, put on my sword and bag, and sallied out again, with all the confidence of a man who had ten thousand pounds in his pocket.”

With such a leader, one easily perceives how it was that the humorist school gained such distinction in England.

The style, to be sure, was more historic than artistic, inasmuch as its subjects were largely taken from literature, politics, and contemporary customs; and it had for its aim, not the delineation of beauty, the highest type of art, but the concentration of thought on a social or moral lesson.

Still, it must be borne in mind that there is a wide difference between Hogarth and other English painters of manners, and caricaturists. Truth and power of expression being the former's highest ideal, his work rarely lacks a vigor, energy, and character. Fielding was right in saying that "the figures of other painters breathe, those of Hogarth think." The thought is every thing in Hogarth; and oftentimes, the subject absorbs all interest at the expense of the drawing. Hence, one is well-nigh justified in terming the delineator more of a philosopher than an artist. While other artists cared little about making their works of general interest, and thought more of exaggeration, and of buffoonry, the real master of the school was ever anxious about the philosophical side of his work, and desirous of giving to his compositions all the value of a moral lesson. This assertion requires only the suggestion for its proof: the *Harlot's Progress*, the *Rake's Progress*, *Marriage à la Mode*, and the *Stages of Cruelty* are really comedies in several acts—moral comedies, in other words, in which the author, eager to point to severe lessons, does not shrink from a coarse and revolting representation of actions which are incident to wayward or depraved lives.

Finally, it was Mr. Walpole, we believe, who said that an artist's life must be sought in his works. The same individual chose to deny the name painter to Hogarth, and for no other reason, if we rightly infer, than because, in his day, satirical and humorous designing was under the ban of Academic censure. This depreciation of an important style of art—important because it is the most national—still exists. However, time, if not humanity, has done justice to the artist of the *Harlot's Progress*; and of all the artists of his time in England, his name has descended to our day, as the first and greatest. He is alike the favorite of the vagrant and of the connoisseur; and his works, which do honor to England's keenest wit and deepest thought, will continue to preach sermons more real and forcible than many which may fall from the most earnest and eloquent lips.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIR OF THOMAS GUTHRIE, D.D. ROBERT CARTER & BRO., NEW YORK.

YEARS ago, we read a religious biography, which has ever since been our ideal—Wayland's *Life of Judson*. And this for the simple reason that the distinguished author had the modesty and tact to keep himself wholly in the shadow—to make his book a mirror reflecting brightly *one* object, the great missionary himself. It was next to know-

ing him in the actual flesh. On the other hand, a memoir like the current one of the Christian hero Havelock, overlays the grand, stirring life of the man we would see, with a distressing amount of stale preachments and weak dilutions of goodness, which are wholly aggravating. This Life of Guthrie, in the quality we have mentioned, rivals that of Judson. We are brought at once into a sympathetic sense of actual contact with the *genuine* man—and a *genuine man* from head to foot; no impossible seraphic creature like some that figure in "The Evangelical Library," who have lost every trace of common human nature, and positively depress us (until we grow wiser) with a hopeless feeling that if *this* is Christianity, it is meant for a very limited and select circle indeed—not for the suffering, struggling, imperfect beings who need it most. We would not for worlds question the *reality* of such experiences—but simply the wisdom of presenting them as types and examples for average men. There is no suspicion of super-exalted or manufactured piety in this memoir of Guthrie. All is natural—wholesome—bracing—as the free air of Scotch moor or mountain. We feel as we do in reading the Life of Luther or Las Casas—that their religion has only enlarged, exalted, redeemed to true life—purified—their native manhood, which else had wasted on common human uses, or worse, their noble powers.

First we have Dr. Guthrie's autobiography, in which, though a mere segment of the great circle of his life, all his characteristics come out, with a most *naïve* simplicity, into bold relief. Then a loving, appreciative hand paints a life-like portrait of him, as his home, his friends, his "flock" knew him in daily life.

As a man, he was of the *best* Scotch type—and that is a large measure of praise for any man. His very person had the unmistakable impress of his native land. Highland and Lowland met in his noble face. We have only to glance at the vignette likeness to see rugged strength in the massive jaw and shaggy, jutting eyebrow, and sweetness—not without a gleam of shrewdness either—almost womanly sweetness in the flexible, smiling, gracious lips. If this be fancy, we at least find in *his life* all the best qualities of his land and race—indomitable independence—tenacity of purpose that would only break with the last thread of life—'a canny outlook to this world's gear'—yet a profound spiritual sense of things invisible—an earnest, whole-souled consecration to truth and right, in which the dearest worldly interests are as chaff. He was, in speech and bearing, the gentlest of giants: touch his skin with but a needle-point of oppression or imposition or other form of meanness, and you find the old

Covenanter—ready to fight it to the death, if need be. No wonder men instinctively revered him, and women looked to him for protection. As a preacher, his circle of intellectual range lies far within the huge circumference of Chalmers or Candlish; but he had the true artist eye: if he could not reach and analyze the granite base of things, nothing valuable or beautiful on the surface escaped his keen glance; he saw, and painted in lifelike form and color, both man and nature. More than all, he knew, with the divining spirit caught from nearness to his Master, every chord of the common human heart.

He was a Christian hero—as much as a Judson—the very modern type of Christian heroism in its highest mold. If this seem overstrained to any, let him read the narrative of Guthrie's pastoral work—the work which alone brought him from his peaceful rural charge to the metropolis—among the wretched, brutalized, unclean populace of the Cowgate—Edinburgh's "Five Points." Here is his greatest greatness—the Master's own. He preached the gospel to the poor, when the rich hung on his eloquent lips. He went into the highways and hedges, and, with love and tears, compelled them to come in. And the crowning glory of his life was when he placed his poor, ragged Cowgate parishioners in the main body of his church, and sent the very cream of the Edinburgh aristocracy to the hot and crowded galleries: the living proof how profound his sense of truth, how true his conviction that in one Presence there is "no respect of persons."

We would like to give extracts, but, for want of space, can only beg every reader to hasten and breathe the pure, invigorating atmosphere of this biography.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

VOL. I.

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER, 1874.

No. VI.

ARTICLE I.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION BY LANGUAGE.

PHILIP GILBERT HAMERTON.

AMONG the innumerable progeny of novel ideas and speculations which have owed their origin to modern facilities of communication, is the suggestion which may be met with from time to time in European newspapers, and possibly also in American ones, that men will see so much of each other in the future, and feel so strongly the necessity for means of completer intercourse, as to gradually abandon many of the languages now spoken, confining themselves to two or three of the most highly developed, and finally, perhaps, resting satisfied with one. This idea has arisen at the same time with political conceptions of equal novelty, and of a strikingly similar character. The parallel political theory is that the world will come to consist of a very few great States, which finally, either by friendly agreement or the military predominance of one of them, will place the supreme government of the whole planet in the hands of a single council, perhaps even of a single individual, in whose person will be concentrated the world-power which was the dream of Alexander and Cæsar and Napoleon, yet only partially realized by the mightiest of those three conquerors. There is unquestionably a movement both in politics and in languages which seems to lead in this direction, and to lend some countenance to speculations so apparently extravagant as these; but at the same time there are

tendencies of an exactly opposite character which may have a strongly neutralizing effect, so as to prevent forever the full accomplishment of such results as those just indicated. Thus, although the peoples agglomerate into mighty States, their feelings of nationality are certainly stronger than they were before recent changes. The Italian or German of to-day has feelings of national pride and importance that could not by any possibility have been experienced by the Tuscan or Bavarian of twenty years ago; and even the defeat of France has produced in that country a heat and concentration of national sentiment unknown under the Second Empire. Successes and failures may equally contribute to enhance the strength of national sentiment. The success of the United States in overcoming a great rebellion augmented it, just as the failure of France in a great foreign struggle augmented it also. And it does not follow that because people belonging to the same nationality can join together and form a nation, others who belong to different nationalities can join together and do the same thing, unless by the gradual process which may be called the absorption of immigrants.

If the nationalities remain, the languages will remain along with them. It is possible, no doubt, for a nation to have very powerful national feelings without a language peculiar to itself. It may have been founded by colonists, like the United States, and retain the language of the mother country; or it may be a little country surrounded by large neighbors, and use their languages as Switzerland uses French, German, and Italian, all the while preserving an intense sentiment of nationality though its languages are diverse, and all three of them foreign. But it is difficult to conceive by what arts of persuasion you could induce a great independent State, that has a tongue of its own, to abandon that tongue voluntarily and adopt another in its place, merely in order that there might be fewer languages on the surface of the earth, and less of Babel confusion. A very good argument might be made out for the abandonment of French, for instance. There can not be a doubt that English is at the same time simpler, more copious, and more useful because more widely spread, while its literature is incomparably richer. Whether for purposes of business, or of study or travel, English is a more valuable possession than French. Yet what a hopeless enterprise it would be to persuade the French to abandon the tongue which is their own peculiar inheritance! It is conceivable that if, after 1815, France had been divided like Poland, which she easily might have been, a system of rigorous repression, applied with unrelenting and

systematic cruelty, might in the course of ages have stamped the language out, and substituted for it the languages of the conquerors; but it is inconceivable how such a result could ever be brought about by the arguments of linguists. Nor would the time be well chosen just at present to offer similar arguments to Germany and Italy. They owe their unity chiefly to their languages, and are therefore likely to cherish them for ages, the duration of which it is impossible to foresee.

The uneasiness felt in traveling in countries of whose languages we are ignorant has given rise to these speculations about a possible future unity of language, and also to speculations of more modest and practicable proportions about a universal tongue, which, without displacing the languages actually existing, might be learned in addition to them by the educated class of every nation. Some have gone so far as to imagine the possibility of creating an artificial language, as you might make a lump of artificial stone, and it has been thought that a language created by human ingenuity in this perfectly conscious way would have great advantages in simplicity and consistency, and therefore be much easier to learn. One or two linguists have, we believe, actually attempted the construction of such a tongue, and although the task is one of the most formidable proportions, it may not be beyond the capacity of a man with great knowledge of the true laws that have governed the growth of the natural languages. It is probable, however, that if an artificial language were elaborately invented, and adopted by a certain number of clever men, it would be found hard and inflexible, and totally wanting in those rich resources of expression by phraseology which comes from experience alone. Hence the skepticism with which this scheme has generally been regarded by those who were clearly aware of the true nature of language. "You might invent the words," they say, "but you could not invent the thousand happy turns of expression that convey so much more than the words themselves convey." So it is believed most generally, and with good reason, that if any universal medium of communication is felt to be a necessity for mankind, the only practical way to attain it must be to choose some language already existing and make it the common medium of intercourse among men of education everywhere.

This has been done already in a natural, unconscious way. There has never been a formal convention among nations to choose a language for their intercourse, yet for long ages Latin was so employed, and French has since taken its place, though without occupying it

entirely. We are certainly worse off in Europe for a medium of general intercourse than were our predecessors in the time of Queen Elizabeth. They all learned Latin at school, in a slow way perhaps, yet in a thorough and scholarly way, and it was a substantial possession for them afterward when they used it for political or literary correspondence; but the Englishman or German of to-day is generally very far indeed from any thing like correct scholarship in French. The new arrangement by which French was adopted in the place of Latin, instead of some other modern language, may possibly have been caused by the linguistic incompetence of the French themselves, which is proverbial in Europe. Their language may have been adopted from necessity, because it was found that their diplomatists could learn no other. The ambassador who represented France at Berlin at the outbreak of the last war did not understand German, and was therefore, in a most important and even essential point, actually less qualified for his post than an ordinary newspaper correspondent would have been, or even a commercial traveler. If a modern language is to be selected as the common medium, it is clear that the State of which it is the native tongue will profit by the choice, if indeed we may consider it a benefit to be exempted from a study so useful for the development of the faculties. The German Government appears at one time to have entertained the project of displacing French as the language of diplomacy; but a common medium of some kind is so much of a necessity that the most recent idea is to seek it in modern Greek. This is not so wild an idea as at first sight it may easily appear. We are told that modern Greek is still near enough to the Greek of Plato for our study of the ancient language to prepare us admirably for the modern one, and most of us who have received what is called a liberal education know something, at least, of the former. Besides this, there is a steady tendency in Greece itself to recur to ancient forms, just as the best English poets and prose writers of the present day recur affectionately to turns of expression which were considered obsolete by our grandfathers. But the strongest argument in favor of modern Greek is said to be its perfect adaptability to the expression of new ideas and the nomenclature of new things, in which it is greatly superior to the old common medium, Latin. The wants of general society in a language, with its new sciences and arts, must be vastly more extended than the wants of an ancient body like the Church of Rome, which still uses Latin in some degree as a living language. There are certainly a few Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, we have no means of

ascertaining how many, in whose minds Latin is still vigorously alive, though not the Latin of Cicero; but even this change in the language is itself a proof of vitality, for there is no permanence in any human speech until it becomes a fossil. Some of these ecclesiastics speak Latin with an astonishing fluency, and write it with great rapidity; but the accomplishment must have been (at least to this degree of perfection) very rare at the Council of the Vatican, or the differences of pronunciation must have rendered it much less useful than might have been expected. The Pope himself uses French most frequently in his personal intercourse with foreigners of all nations, whether laymen or ecclesiastics. The advantage of Greek is that it is habitually spoken by living men, and that it would be so easy to have schools at Athens for language, as the French have one for fine art. These schools would at least settle doubtful points in pronunciation, which always constitute one of the greatest practical hindrances to human intercourse.

There has never been an epoch in history at which international communication was so general as it is to-day, and yet there has never been an epoch so unprovided with a satisfactory means of carrying it on. With his hereditary Latin, and his thoroughly acquired Greek, an ancient Roman gentleman could go to any part of the world that he cared to visit, and hold easy intercourse with his equals. The cultivated Italian or Englishman of Queen Elizabeth's time went about talking Latin well enough to converse upon subjects that were worth talking about. Here is a little scene which occurred at the University of Oxford in 1584, when Giordano Bruno visited it. Bruno was beginning to discourse upon the theory of Copernicus, when a certain doctor asked him if he could speak English, and the answer came that Bruno only knew a few of the commonest words. When asked, further, why he gave so little attention to the English language, the Italian philosopher answered at once, "*Che gli onorati gentiluomini, coi quali soleva conversare, sapevano tutti parlare o latino o francese o spagnuolo o italiano.*" And now mark what follows, and think whether our own century could match it or not: "*La conversazione incominciò adunque in Latino.*"

Here are a number of gentlemen, men of the world, and doctors of the university, sitting at their ease round a supper-table, and because a foreign philosopher happens to be present, they all turn the conversation quite readily into Latin, the subjects being the highest speculations of the time, and they go on with the greatest animation. Evidently these men really did possess a medium of communication

which is practically lost to us. If we were to attempt, without the most labored preparation, a Latin discussion on the Copernican system, we should find ourselves struggling in such Latinity as that of Lord Dufferin's famous speech at the Icelandic dinner-table. We might use Latin cleverly in fun, as Lord Dufferin did, but we could not use it in serious earnest for hours together, as those Elizabethan gentlemen did.

The next question that concerns us is whether we possess a substitute for their Latin. There is a general belief that our French is this substitute, and so no doubt it might be if it were learned with any accuracy and thoroughness; but it is surprising how rare is any accurate scholarship in French. Foreigners do not, as a rule, appear to take any pride or pleasure in being delicately accurate in French, although the language fully rewards the student who cares for accuracy, and pursues it. The plain truth is that almost every English gentleman has a contempt for French; and it is not easy to get over such a feeling as this, because it is grounded on the deepest national antipathies. One of the greatest advantages of Latin as a means of general intercourse was that no nation felt any hatred or jealousy of the ancient Romans, whose power had ceased to exist; and there was considerable tact in the proposition to select modern Greek for the same use, since the Greece of our day is much too insignificant a State to excite bitter feelings in the breasts of cultivated foreigners. M. Taine has an anecdote about a French teacher in England, who fished for a compliment by saying to an English gentleman, "You must esteem our language very highly, since you have it taught to your children;" but the Englishman answered, with more veracity than politeness, "No, we don't—we despise it." Even Sam Weller's father, in *Pickwick*, shared this prevalent feeling when he observed that he didn't think much of that language, as Frenchmen who intended to say "water" said "O." There is no such feeling in England about Italian; although whatever objections may be urged against French might with at least equal force be urged against the sister tongue; but Italy is a political pet of England; and France has been much too big and too combative for a pet.

It would be an amusing yet thankless task to trace some of the curious inaccuracies which have had their origin in this contempt. A recent critic has asserted that Alison's *History of Europe* abounds in faults in French. We never read that *History*, but daily experience in English literature in general convinces us that the critic must be right. It is almost inconceivable that any English writer

should be able to quote French correctly. Look at our journalism, for instance ! It teems with French quotations, and in every quotation there is pretty sure to be one blunder when there are not several, while the ignorance which fails to detect these is accompanied by the keenest contempt for journalists on the other side the Channel who do exactly the same thing with English words and sentences. We remember finding in an English newspaper a most cutting little article on the errors of French journalists, and yet in the very same paper there were six glaring blunders in French orthography or grammar. Some of these errors, in both countries, are merely printers' *errata* ; but many others are clearly due to persistent negligence and ignorance. Just as no Frenchman was ever able to spell the Isle of Wight or the Whig Party with any certainty, because the relative positions of the *g* and *h* embarrass him ; so the Englishman is liable to make bad shots in matters of accent which in French are of the utmost importance, since they affect both grammar and pronunciation. It is said of French journalists that they can never learn how to spell the names of English public men ; but to this day it may be doubted whether any body in England really and firmly knows how to spell the name of the well-known author of the *Vie de Jésus*. Mr. Matthew Arnold spells it Rénan, which is wrong ; others spell it Rénan, which is equally wrong ; a further experiment is still possible, which would be Rênan, but that would not be quite right either. In the same way we find Doré frequently written Dore, quite as great a mistake as if we were to call an Englishman Door when his name was Dorry ; and the town called Mâcon (famous for its wine) is nearly always written Maçon by English people, though they would be hard on a Frenchman if he made York into Yorse. But the mere spelling of a name or the misplacing of a title is a matter of minor importance, and does not necessarily involve gross ignorance of the language. The wonderful and beautiful blunders are those which prove that the writer has no notion how the language is constructed, in which he sticks odd bits of it together that can not possibly fit, and throws a whole sentence into irremediable confusion by altering the meaning of some particularly important word that he has utterly failed to understand. Then there are perilous transitions from one language to another, like passing from ship to ship in the open sea. Speaking of Marshal Mac-Mahon, an English writer thought it would look well to finish his leader with a bit of the marshal's own tongue, so he tacked a line of French to the end of his own English in this wise : " the marshal has *s'est suicidé*" ! Now how charmingly

that little word "has" comes in! See how perfectly innocent the Englishman is of the value of the auxiliary here! But there are wonders beyond these wonders. The enterprise of British journalism does not rest satisfied with mere novelties of verbal arrangement: it enriches the French language itself by the addition of words that no Frenchman ever heard of or even imagined. Thus, instead of saying "horsewoman," one English journalist habitually writes "*an équestrienne*." Mrs. General Baynes, in one of Thackeray's novels, writes to her sister that she finds Hindustani of the greatest use to her in France, for whenever her French runs short she supplements it with that Eastern tongue, which answers the purpose admirably. In our ignorance of Hindustani we infer that "*équestrienne*" must be a Hindu word, for there is no such word in French. On the same principle a London shopkeeper has advertised "*Berceau-nettes*" for many years, which is cockney-French of the most perfect and exquisite description.

It may, however, be very reasonably objected to cases of this kind that although there is nothing to prevent a journalist or a shopkeeper from being highly educated, it does not follow of necessity that he is so. These occupations, it may be urged, being open occupations, do not afford any guarantee of culture, and it is unreasonable to expect uncultivated people to know the language which is the common medium of communication among the learned, whether it be Latin as in Bruno's time, or French as it is supposed to be in our own. But what seems to me most deeply to be regretted is that the *educated* men of the present day do not really and truly possess any certain means of communication with each other; and that in this respect they are so much worse off than their predecessors, such as Milton and Bruno, whose Latin, from thorough preliminary scholarship and incessant practical use, was always an available instrument of expression. Our men of highest culture seem just as liable to inaccuracies in their French as our ordinary journalists and shopkeepers. It is ungracious to name a man of deserved reputation in connection with this topic, but in order not to dwell in vague generalities we will give a specific instance of what we mean. Let us mention, then, one of the most cultivated men in England, a writer of quite singularly beautiful English, whose mind is a rare example of delicate and true taste refined and enlightened by extensive knowledge and wide sympathy, Mr. Walter H. Pater, Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford. Mr. Pater published a book not very long since, containing such French as this: "*La philosophie*," he says,

"*c'est la microscope de la pensée ;*" and on the very next page he says, "*les hommes sont tous condamnés a morte avec des sursis indéfinis.*" Fancy a scholar, fond of quoting, who does not know either his orthography or his genders! We can not think that Milton ever quoted or wrote Latin in this slovenly way. Another English author of reputation gives a list of authorities at the beginning of one of his works, among which we find that he has consulted the "*Catalogue spéciale du section Russe.*" The cultivated English of the other sex appear equally liable to these little errors. For example, Mrs. Grote, wife of the distinguished historian, wrote a Life of Ary Scheffer, in which there are several curiosities, and here is one of them. She makes poor Louis Philippe say of the republicans, "*dès qu'on leur montre le bout du corne ils vous tournent le dos.*" Now, if that unfortunate sovereign could utter such French as this, what are we to think of the reputation for literary culture which belongs to the House of Orleans?

The French words constantly used in English are often used wrongly. It would be interesting to know the origin of our habit of calling out *encore!* when we wish to hear a piece of music over again. It is just possible that in some bygone age the French may have done this, but certainly no living being ever heard a Frenchman call out anything but "*bis*" on these occasions. Then we have adopted the French word *morale*; but it is never used by Englishmen, never even by the most learned historians, without a blunder. The learned historians say, for example, "Wellington was now determined to carry on the war *à l'outrance*, and the *morale* of his army was excellent." Both these expressions are blunders. *A l'outrance* is bad French; it ought to be *à outrance*; but *morale* used in this sense is still worse. It is hardly possible to imagine a more absurd mistake, and yet it is universally prevalent among English writers. The historians mean to say "the *moral* of the army was excellent," or, in plain English, that the men were in a cheerfully resolute temper; whereas to say that the *morale* of an army is good is to affirm that its theories of morality are sound, or in plain words that the soldiers are convinced that they ought not to commit adultery, etc. *Le moral*, used in this way, means mental firmness, cheerfulness, courage to face difficulties and bear privations without being cast down into low spirits; *la morale* of a body of men means their theory, more or less severe, of moral duty and obligation. Thus a lofty *morale* may exist at the same time and in the same person with a low *moral*. You may be utterly discouraged as to tem-

poral affairs, you may feel quite certain that your worldly position is hopeless, that disease and ruin have you in their clutches for the rest of your days on earth, yet at the same time your *morale* may be of an elevation and purity to gladden the angels in heaven. The converse is also true. Your *moral* may be excellent in the military sense, that is to say, you may be merry under fatigue, and look death in the face with a careless jest on your lips, yet have such a low *morale* that you may see no particular reason for not committing the seven deadly sins on the first seven favorable opportunities. Cromwell's army had both, the ideal knight of the middle ages had both, the armies of Napoleon had one without the other. The two things are so independent that their conjunction or their severance is a favorite subject of the poet and the novelist. You have them together in Sir Galahad, together in Scott's great heroine Rebecca, but only one of them in Brian de Bois-Guilbert.

Now to any one who has thoroughly realized the importance of such a distinction as this, the prevalent and constantly recurring blunder of English writers seems evidence that they are outside of French—evidence, consequently, that French is not studied with sufficient accuracy to be a clear medium of communication on moral subjects. How is it possible to discuss such subjects in that language without being aware of so wide a difference in the value of words as that which we have just indicated? And we find the same unfitness to discuss literary questions in French, owing to the habit of first translating French expressions into literal English, and then judging of them by the translation. This process was curiously illustrated by a recent criticism on a living writer, not famous, yet a gifted and delicate poet. There was a line among some very exquisite verses with the words,

“ Et l'azur plein de colombes.”

The English critic asked his readers if they had ever heard any thing so absurd as “the azure full of pigeons?” and laughed at the author pitilessly. But to a French ear the expression is faultlessly beautiful; it is perfectly descriptive, and thoroughly in accordance with the true genius of the French tongue. The way in which this pernicious habit of translating a foreign tongue into our own and then judging of it by the translation excludes us from the true genius of the language and therefore from any just appreciation of its literature, may be illustrated by a single word, the word *sauvage*. It occurs frequently in French verse and in the best descriptive literature; and now let me show by an anecdote, trifling in itself, yet

interesting in this connection, how entirely such a word may be misunderstood. We remember an English officer at a *table d'hôte* who spoke French fluently enough and asked for *canard sauvage*. Then turning to me with a laugh, he said, "How absurd! *savage duck!*" Now pray observe how incapable this officer was of entering into the true meaning of the word *sauvage*, or at least of dissociating it from the perverted English meaning of *savage*. The idea of ferocity, as the ferocity of a savage dog, which seemed incongruous and therefore absurd in connection with a duck, is a purely English idea, not belonging to the foreign word at all. Consider the derivation of *sauvage*. It comes from the Provençal *salvage*, then you have it in Italian *selvaggio*, from the Latin *silvaticus*, from *silva*, a wood. And when a Frenchman hears the word "sauvage" his mind is transported at once to wild places, such as woods and meres, where wild-ducks are often found. Just so a Frenchman calls a wild plant *une plante sauvage*, and quite rightly (a plant of the woods), without suspecting that some English critic may laugh at him for saying that he knows a bank whereon the savage thyme grows.

It is unnecessary to produce more numerous instances of the sort of misunderstanding which is fatal to perfect literary intercourse in a language that has not been really mastered or assimilated. The position of the average European, not a Frenchman, supposed to be well-educated, may be described in a sentence. His Latin is useless for intercourse from his want of facility, and his French from want of accuracy. The absence of a universal means of communication produces the modern polyglot, who knows six languages well enough to order his dinner, but not one of them well enough to employ it in intellectual intercourse. The want of the age is a good common medium, available for all social and intellectual purposes, thoroughly taught to every educated child from its infancy, and constantly practiced afterward. If, as appears to be the case, our national jealousies and antipathies prevent the hearty adoption of French for this purpose, while the same causes might limit the use of English, it really does seem as if a solution of the difficulty might be found in modern Greek. The first step would be the creation of an international society having for its special purpose the use and development of the common medium of intercourse. We could not hope for the interference of Governments till private association had done its utmost; but in course of time, and in a more enlightened generation than our own, it can scarcely be too much to hope that as education is already considered to be a national question, it may

come to be considered an international concern also, and that the Governments of the future may agree in adopting a common means of intercourse for their people, just as in the present day several of them have agreed to adopt a common monetary system. In the course of a single generation, if the leaders of the human race so willed it, all educated men and women might possess a common language in addition to their own national one, and this language would quickly create a literature of its own addressed to every cultivated person on the planet. It would naturally be used for conversation and correspondence among educated people of different countries, not only for intellectual, but even for commercial purposes also.

The one serious difficulty that may be foreseen already, is the difficulty of conveying to students in different countries the exact shade of meaning which a word or an expression should be understood to bear. We already feel this very often in our own language when dealing with subjects that seem to require new and elaborate definitions of old words, and we have to make such definitions afresh in order to prevent misunderstandings which would be sure to arise without them. Every lawyer is familiar with this difficulty, and takes care that not only the general sense of the word, but the special sense that it is to bear in a document, shall be clearly settled and explained. Now every language is so closely bound up with national habits and sentiments, that it is extremely difficult to give it a meaning which may be current every where. Let us test this by one or two simple experiments. Try to translate into any other language the expression "it is un-English." The difficulty in turning this into French is that *Anglais* and *English* do not mean the same thing—there are deep reserves of international hostility, or at least of disapproval, in the word *Anglais*, and equally deep reserves of national pride and self-complacency in the word *English*. "*Une jeune fille Anglaise*" does not mean what "an English girl" means—the French expression includes a reserve of disapproval concerning what seems an outrageous amount of liberty accorded to the bold young creature in question: the English expression has not the slightest reserve of that kind, but is full of pride and praise. "*A Frenchwoman*" in England is generally understood to mean an adulteress—*une Française* means an elegant and agreeable person who knows how to dress neatly and talk well. "*A French girl*" implies a strong suspicion about morals and religion—"une jeune fille" implies the most absolute confidence in an ideal purity and faith. So you can not translate *clergyman*

into French—*prêtre* conveys a wholly different idea, as, in another way, does *pasteur*. You cannot translate *House of Commons* into French; the French newspapers always translate it *Chambre des Communes*, which, though near in sound, is as wrong as it possibly can be, for we have no *communes* at all in England, the English borough being quite a different thing, while many members of the House of Commons are elected by the counties. Besides, the French expression misses the central idea of the English one, which is that the men elected are *common* men, that is to say, not peers of the realm. Any attempt to explain to a Frenchman the shade of meaning implied by the word “commoner” would be futile; we need the familiarity with national tradition to perceive it. And all this is strictly reciprocal. There are just as many instances in which national habits and traditions make French expressions unintelligible out of France. Alexandre Dumas wrote a play lately, called *Monsieur Alphonse*. Now surely this looks simple enough, but it is not so simple as it looks. Several Italian journals tried to explain the meaning of *Monsieur* as used here in full before the Christian name, but they made some very wide shots indeed. Every Frenchman, when he sees “*Monsieur Alphonse*” advertised on the walls, seizes at a glance what Dumas intended to convey, but how explain it to a foreigner? And yet every foreigner thinks he knows what *Monsieur* means.

It might be thought, however, that with reference to matters more closely connected with the higher culture, language might have a meaning more generally accepted and understood. Yet even here the same difficulty presents itself. An excellent instance of this occurred in a speech of Mr. Lowe, when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in Mr. Gladstone’s administration. He was speaking of universities, and he said, with his usual *brusquerie* of manner, “People talk of the French university—there is no such thing as a university in France.” Mr. Lowe was quite right in what he actually said, for as he used the English word he might fairly argue that there is nothing in France answering to the English conception of a university. But Mr. Lowe was far from being so near the truth in what he thought, and in what he conveyed to his audience, which was that the French in saying that they had an “*université*” advanced claims that could not be supported. The word in the English sense means a large group of magnificent colleges and halls, with beautiful gardens, libraries, museums, and immense wealth to sustain them, clustered together in or about some quiet rural town, and frequented by young men who have finished their school-days, and pursue, or are supposed

to pursue the highest studies with the help of the most cultivated teachers in the country. It is perfectly true that there is nothing of this kind in France. The word in the French sense means a vast universal system of public instruction, with great cheap public schools scattered all over the land, but all pursuing the same methods, and a number of *faculties* for examination in some of the principal towns, the whole organization governed by the Minister of Public Instruction. There is nothing of this kind in England, and a Frenchman might say with truth, in answer to Mr. Lowe: "Il n'y a pas d'université en Angleterre." At the same time, and for the same reason, the word "professor" has not the same sense in its English and French forms. A "Professor" in England means a distinguished scholar who has accepted a highly honorable position in one of the universities, where he gives some of the results of his scholarship to an audience prepared to receive them. "Un professeur" means a wretchedly paid teacher in a cheap school, who lives in mortal dread of a superior officer in the same building, and who has, generally speaking, no position whatever in the society of the place he lives in. And now we see the difficulty of using another language; for if we say of an English university professor, "*Il est dans l'université, il est professeur,*" we convey the idea that he holds a position much inferior to that of an usher in an English grammar-school; and yet we are not speaking a language supposed to be generally unintelligible, we are not speaking the language of some tribe in the heart of Africa, we are speaking French, which is said to be the universal medium of communication for cultivated people all over the civilized world.

While fully admitting the importance of this difficulty, we may, however, observe that the tendency of modern life is to place things more and more at the disposal of people in different countries, so that if one country has any decidedly good thing, the others are pretty sure to adopt it before long. A language may be truly universal when the things it speaks of are universal. The words "sun," "moon," "stars," might be learned every where with their exact meaning; the word "baronet" can only be accurately understood by some one who has lived in English society and seen exactly what the title is worth. Now it is scarcely too much to say that every year makes things more in common among nations. The spread of the railway system is one of the most obvious instances of this; but there are many others. All words relating to railways would be really and truly understood by people in different countries; and so would the words that belonged to the use of telegraphs. Every thing

relating to science would be clearly understood in the universal language; and as it is said that the "pencil speaks the tongue of every land," so the universal language ought to be generally intelligible on matters connected with the fine arts, at least to those to whom the fine arts themselves are intelligible. War and commerce, being international affairs, might be equally well understood in the universal language.

Whatever may be the objections and the difficulties, the firm and decided choice of some language for international communication would assuredly lead to a more endurable condition of things than the present state of international dumbness or misunderstanding. Consider the wretched business which is called traveling in these days. People set off for foreign countries, and when they get there learn no more about the inhabitants than just what may be seen with the bodily eyes, having no communication with the *minds* of foreigners. The English and Americans are accomplished masters in the art of getting through foreign countries with the least risk of contamination from contact with any educated natives. Men of culture did not travel so in Bruno's time; Montaigne did not travel so; Milton did not travel so. They went to see and converse with the best and most accomplished men; the modern tourist goes to stare at a big mountain from the window of a big hotel, and talks only to his fellow-countrymen, or to native innkeepers and waiters who know his own language better than he knows theirs. Even the men of culture in the present day are much more isolated than Milton and Bruno were, and too frequently find themselves compelled to travel in the ordinary tourist fashion, seeing Switzerland, but not the Swiss; Italy, but not the Italians; if indeed Switzerland and Italy are any thing but so much physical geography unless you know the people who give them life.

ARTICLE II.

THE ARCHITECTS OF THE AMERICAN CAPITOL.

JAMES Q. HOWARD, M.A.

A WORK of architecture or art is a poem in concrete form. The poet gives us thoughts and images by means of happily wedded words, the painter by gracefully blended colors and lines of shade and light, the architect combines and animates dead matter so that buried quarries are lifted into flying buttresses and columns and living walls, great iron domes swing in the air like clouds, and stones are made eloquent with speech. The great architect is the man of thought and of action, of ideas and deeds, of plans and performances, of poetical imagination and practical execution, of faith and works. Men who rear great buildings are great men. Ictinus, Callicrates, Phidias, Bramante and Angelo, the builders of those noblest temples ever reared to the gods or to God, were the best and grandest men of the periods in which the Parthenon and St. Peters grew to maturity of beauty. Arnolfo and Brunelleschi were honored while living as statesman and philosophers were not, and when dead, their statues were placed as marble sentinels to watch over the Duomo, a century before Dante or Petrarch were awarded like honors in Florence. The finer feelings and better chords of our nature are still touched to tenderness by that "frozen music" and crystallized poetry of Zamodia, the Cathedral at Milan. A title, a place in every household, and immortality were won when St. Pauls was finished by its only architect, Sir Christopher Wren.

The architects of one of the most impressive and imposing civic edifices now existing, the Capitol at Washington, have not thus been honored, nor even yet made known. It is our purpose to trace the history of the builders of this great structure, to show what part of the work each one has performed, and to render honor to whom

honor is due. This history is preserved only in the unpublished letters of Washington, Jefferson, the Commissioners of the Federal City, and the scattered plans and papers of the surveyors and architects of the public buildings. It seems proper that we should place in more enduring form the history of a structure, which in adaptation to the uses and purposes for which it was built, and in architectural beauty, grace, and grandeur, is not surpassed by any Government building in the Old World or the New.

ORIGINAL PLANS OF THE CAPITOL.

The duty of erecting suitable public buildings at the permanent seat of Government was intrusted by Congress to President Washington and three Commissioners to be selected by him. The original Commissioners of the Federal District were David Stewart, Daniel Carroll, and Thomas Johnson. They were succeeded in 1795 by a new board appointed by Washington, composed of Gustavus Scott, William Thornton, and Alexander White. These six men, under the direction of the first President, with whom they were in constant correspondence, and with the advice of Jefferson, first Secretary of State, exercised the chief control over the Federal City and its public buildings, prior to the removal of the Government to Washington in 1800, and until 1802, when their offices were abolished. The first Commissioners seem to have had ideas commensurate with the grandeur of the undertaking involved in laying out the seat of Government and erecting the buildings in which to transact the public business of a great Republic. In a letter of August, 1792, they write that they are determined to embrace a plan for a Capitol which may, from its extent, its design and taste, do credit to the age; and they speak of their connection with the work, writing to the Municipality of Paris, as "an honor that swells their ambition to express in some degree in the style of their architecture the sublime sentiments of liberty which are common to Frenchmen and Americans, by exhibiting a grandeur of conception, a republican simplicity, and that true elegance of propriety which corresponds to a tempered freedom." Unfortunately their resources were not so vast as their ideas. They must build, not as their ambition led them, but as their means allowed them. In the advertisement for designs for a Capitol, it appears that it was to be built of brick, with a conference room, and a room for the Representatives, each to accommodate three hundred persons, with a lobby or antechamber to the latter, a Senate room of twelve hundred square feet area, and lobby, and twelve rooms of six

hundred square feet area each, for committee rooms and clerks' offices.

To contrast the Capitol built with the one advertised for, we will digress to say that the completed Capitol contains one hundred and eighteen rooms or apartments used for public purposes, instead of fifteen, with an aggregate capacity of seventy-one thousand superficial feet; that instead of brick, it is built chiefly of iron and marble, with one hundred and thirty-four exquisitely graceful Corinthian columns, one hundred of which are monolithic; that the seating capacity of its Hall of Representatives is four hundred on the floor and one thousand in the gallery, and of the Senate, eight hundred in its gallery, with room on its floor for the Senators from a hundred States; and that each of these halls will admit on great occasions more than two thousand spectators. Its new wings alone cover a larger area than any cathedral in Europe except St. Peters.

When the 15th of July, 1792, arrived, the date named on or before which the plans for a Capitol should be handed in, no designs had been received of sufficient merit to meet the Commissioners' or the President's approval. The designs submitted were for the most part crude and fanciful sketches of impossible structures, originating with non-professional men or amateur architects. The arts, like the country, were in their infancy. The plan of George Turner is worthy of notice, because in it we find the first suggestion of a Dome. Washington writes from Mount Vernon, under date of July 23d, 1792, that he is "more agreeably struck with Judge Turner's plan than with any other." The Dome, in Washington's opinion, "would give a beauty and grandeur to the pile." But the plan did not provide for an Executive apartment, and lacked porticos and an imposing colonnade, features upon which the first President always insisted. Subsequently the Commissioners notified Turner that his plan was impracticable and was not approved. Other designs were discussed and rejected. On the 5th of April, 1793, the President gave his formal approval of a plan submitted by Dr. William Thornton, of Philadelphia, because "grandeur, simplicity, and convenience were combined" in it, and the advertised first premium of a building lot and five hundred dollars was awarded Thornton as the successful competitor.

This would seem to settle the question who should have the credit for the original plan of the Capitol; but it does not. Stephen Hallet, a French architect, instead of receiving two hundred and fifty dollars, the premium advertised for the second best plan, was

awarded five hundred dollars and a lot, the same as Dr. Thornton. In point of award the plans of Thornton and Hallet were placed on an equality. Subsequent examination proved that Dr. Thornton's design was architecturally defective and in many respects impracticable. He was not a practical architect, had studied drawing but three months in his life, and had furnished no designs for public buildings. His design was an ideal sketch rather than a practicable plan, very pleasing to the eye, but unaccompanied with drawings of ground plan, estimates, elevations, or sections, to explain the external or internal structure. To discuss the objections made by architects to this design, Jefferson, at the request of Washington, called together James Hoban, Stephen Hallet, Dr. Thornton, Mr. Carstairs, and Colonel Williams, the two latter friends of Dr. Thornton chosen by himself. This board of consulting architects decided, Jefferson informs us, that there were six valid, material, and insurmountable objections to Dr. Thornton's plan of a Capitol, not the least important of which was that many parts of the building wanted light and air in a degree that rendered them unfit for their purposes. Stephen Hallet was directed by Jefferson to make alterations in the plan. The valuable ideas in the original sketch were preserved by Hallet and rendered susceptible of execution. Thornton's impracticable design was reduced to "practicable form." All consulted agreed that in this "reformed plan" the objections before existing were entirely remedied, and that it was a design of great merit. The architects chosen by Dr. Thornton himself, pronounced the Hallet plan best, and the one which they as practical architects would choose to execute. They expressed the opinion also that the building executed according to Hallet's ideas would not cost more than half so much as if executed according to Thornton's. "After these opinions," says Washington, in a letter of July 25th, 1793, "there could remain no hesitation how to decide, and Mr. Hoban was accordingly informed that the foundation would be begun upon the plan as exhibited by Mr. Hallet, leaving the recess in the East Front open for further consideration." It is hardly necessary to add that what Jefferson termed that "very capital beauty," Dr. Thornton's portico to the East Front, was retained in the reformed plan, in accordance with Washington's wish. But the credit for furnishing the general design and detailed drawings for the different apartments in the Old North Wing, sections to guide in the internal construction, as well as the ground plans for the whole structure, must be given to Stephen Hallet, the first architect of the Capitol.

STEPHEN HALLET.

Hallet was born in France, and educated as an architect in Paris. His professional character was formed in that center of good taste and home of the arts. His capacity as an architect received recognition in Paris, and he was frequently chosen to pass judgment upon the performances of other architects.

Mr. Hallet came to the United States just prior to the Revolution, and established himself in Philadelphia, where his professional abilities gave him constant occupation and considerable local reputation. He came to Washington in the summer of 1792, and so favorably impressed the Commissioners that in August of that year he was employed upon the public works at a salary of four hundred pounds per annum. He was especially useful to the Commissioners in bringing his professional knowledge to their assistance in passing judgment upon the various plans for the public buildings, and in preparing himself a design for the Capitol, embodying their own suggestions and those of Washington. This original plan was thought to possess great merit. The "reformed plan" by Hallet, upon which the foundations were commenced, and the corner-stone, under the present Law Library, laid by Washington, September 18th, 1793, was drawn after Thornton's accepted plan was condemned as impracticable. It resembled in general external features Thornton's rejected plan more than his own first design. Hallet had the satisfaction of commencing the execution of his own finally accepted design of the Capitol, but the foundations had only been laid when his duties became distasteful because of the superior authority exercised over him by James Hoban, who, as Surveyor or Superintendent of the Public Buildings, restrained the liberty of his action. He refused to be governed by Hoban's directions, declined to furnish the Commissioners with drafts, or deliver to them his own prepared plans, when requested. A replevin of the plans and papers was resorted to, and this legal controversy resulted in the dismissal of Hallet, in June, 1794, after his being in the public employ for two years. Having been "so unlucky as to furnish the most suitable plan for that magnificent building," in the language of Mrs. Hallet, who bewailed "three children torn out of her breast by death here in this very spot," Hallet suffered great pecuniary losses by his removal to the wilderness of Washington, and was not permitted, as he had hoped, to bind his name with the name and rising glory of

America, by being given the execution of his own adopted design for a National Capitol.

JAMES HOBAN.

The entire control of the building passed into the hands of James Hoban upon the retirement of Hallet. Hoban, as Surveyor of the Public Works, had supervised laying the foundations of the Capitol, although his chief attention was given to the Executive Palace or Mansion, which he designed and built.

He was a native of Ireland, and had settled in Charleston, South Carolina, prior to the Revolution. He came to Washington in July, 1792, to view the ground upon which the Capitol and President's House were to stand, that he might better prepare plans for these buildings. The letter of introduction from President Washington which he brought from Philadelphia, stated that he had been recommended by Colonel Laurens and other gentlemen of South Carolina, as well qualified both for planning and superintending the execution of public buildings. He was employed, July 18th, 1792, at a salary of three hundred guineas per annum, and continued to be employed on the Public Buildings at Washington more than a quarter of a century. Hoban's attention was first confined to making drafts for the President's House. The plan he first submitted was heartily approved by Washington, and the building was immediately begun under Hoban's personal superintendence. The Executive Mansion was wholly built and entirely rebuilt by him after its partial destruction by the British in 1814. Of this structure this much may be said with truth, that in view of the low state of the arts, and the very early period in which it was built, there is an adaptation in its interior structure to the purposes of its use, truly remarkable, and an adaptation to the growing wants of the nation's development, found in no other building erected at that early day. The worst feature of its exterior, the ill-proportioned Northern Portico, is an architectural excrescence, the growth of later years, for which Hoban was in no way responsible. Mr. Hoban's connection with the Capitol continued for ten years, or until 1802. In July, 1795, the foundations of the Old North and South Wings and Center were completed, and the work of setting the freestone of the North Wing walls commenced.

As usual, the contractors gave trouble. The Commissioners "believed them incapable of a cool, premeditated, and deliberate act of villany, which in its consequences might have occasioned the death of thousands." The stone-masons had built up the foundation walls

by emptying loads of broken stone and mortar from wheelbarrows upon them. This was called at the time the "Continental trowel." All the contractors and masons were dismissed. Hoban ordered the walls in which bad work had been done to be taken down, and henceforth gave the work his constant personal supervision. Confidence in Hoban's integrity, industry, and capacity continued to increase, and in February, 1797, he was appointed Superintendent of all the Executive Department buildings about to be erected. In March, 1798, the walls of the North Wing had been carried to within ten feet of their intended height, at a cost of \$229,223. Early in 1800, the architrave, frieze, cornice, and roof of the Old North Wing were finished, and the present Supreme Court room and Law Library room were fitted up and put in order for the reception of the two Houses of Congress. The Executive offices were removed from Philadelphia to Washington in June, 1800, and within the following year the Old Executive Department buildings, under the energetic superintendence of Hoban, were all made ready for public use.

GEORGE HADFIELD.

From 1795 to August, 1798, George Hadfield was employed as architect upon the Capitol. Hadfield was an Englishman by birth, and had been educated as an architect in London. He received at the British Royal Academy of Arts the first prize for excellence in architecture, which entitled him to travel four years abroad at the Academy's expense. He was declared by Benjamin West, President of the Royal Academy, to possess a knowledge of the theory of civil architecture superior to that of any young man in England. Through the influence of Colonel John Trumbull, the painter, he was engaged as the successor of Hallet. He had been but a short time employed when he became involved in perplexity because of a lack of drawings and elevations, and the almost insurmountable difficulty in making them from the meager and imperfect sketches and drafts which came into his possession. Dr. Thornton, then and during eight years one of the Commissioners, could furnish nothing. Hallet had refused to surrender his detailed drawings on the ground that they were his private property, while Hoban was the architect to execute, not to design. Hadfield insisted that the plan proceeded on was capitally defective. Washington had to interfere to settle a dispute which threatened to put a stop to the progress of the work. He conversed long with Hadfield and Hoban, with the plans before him. Hadfield explained that he proposed no change in plan that would cause delay or

increase expense. He contemplated discarding the basement and adding an attic story, and to follow the language of Washington—

“To add a Dome over the circular area or lobby, which in my judgment is a most desirable thing, and what I always expected was part of the original design, until otherwise informed in my late visits to the city, if strength can be given to it and sufficient light obtained.”

The President's decision was in these words :

“I have told him (Mr. Hadfield) in decisive terms, however, that if the plan on which you have been proceeding is not capitally defective, I cannot (after such changes, delays, and expenses as have been encountered already) consent to a departure from it, if either of these consequences is to be involved ; but if he can satisfy you of the contrary, in these points, I should have no objection—as he conceives his character as an architect is in some measure at stake, and in short, as the present plan is nobody's, but a compound of everybody's—to the proposed change ; provided these things, as I have just observed, can be ascertained to your entire satisfaction.”

The Commissioners, to whom this letter was addressed, overruled Hadfield, and the work proceeded on the old plan. Controversies subsequently arose concerning the cornice and roof of the North Wing, in which the Commissioners charged Hadfield with being deficient in practical knowledge, but admitted his good taste, his strict integrity, and diligent attention to his public duties. Mr. Hadfield drew the plans approved by Washington for the Executive Department buildings ; but their execution having been placed in the hands of James Hoban, Hadfield declined to surrender them, and legal proceedings being threatened, his connection with the Capitol was brought to an end. He subsequently designed and built the City Hall of Washington, a creditable work of architecture.

BENJAMIN H. LATROBE.

The connection of this distinguished architect with the Capitol of the United States commenced in 1803. He was residing at that time in Philadelphia, his professional reputation having been established by the public and private buildings he had planned and executed, among which were the Richmond Penitentiary, the Philadelphia Water Works, and the Banks of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania. The position of architect of the Capitol was offered him by President Jefferson, whose friendship he enjoyed during life, and whose acquaintance he had formed in Richmond, where Mr. Latrobe had settled soon after his emigration from England in 1796. There were at that early day few educated architects in America, as was shown by the fact that when plans for the Capitol were invited, in

1792, a collection of designs were submitted, most of which were beneath criticism. Many of the drawings exhibiting them came into Mr. Latrobe's possession, and were some years since placed in the Patent Office by his sons, as examples of the state of the arts at the period referred to.

Mr. Latrobe's attention was first directed to the Old South Wing of the Capitol, the construction of which he began in 1803. In order to carry out his own plans he found it necessary to modify those of his predecessors in many particulars, while retaining the original features in the general style of the exterior. In the commencement of his duties he availed himself of the services of George Hadfield, his predecessor, in preparing the working drawings of details of the building, and he expresses himself in high terms concerning the "talents, taste, and knowledge" of that architect. In 1807, Mr. Latrobe removed his family to Washington, in order to give his close personal attention to the several works, to the charge of which he had been appointed by the Government under the title of Surveyor of the Public Buildings. In addition to the Capitol, he was intrusted with the planning and construction of the Navy Yard Buildings and the Washington City Canal. The architect's correspondence, still preserved, comprises a complete and interesting history of the Capitol during the time of his having charge of its construction, from 1803 to 1817, and shows the serious difficulties under which the work was carried on. The dilatory action of Congress, the insufficient appropriations made for the work, the scarcity of good workmen, and of suitable materials within reach of the then imperfect means of transportation, the captious objections of officers of the Government to the plans and proceedings of the architect—these and other circumstances embarrassed the progress of the building to a degree not readily realized at the present day of ample pecuniary means and facilities for the execution of works of similar magnitude.

He generously acknowledges the valuable aid he received from John Lenthal, clerk of the works, who unhappily lost his life by the falling of an arch; and commends in strong terms André and Franzoni, the Italians who executed the various sculptures and carvings. In these ornamental parts of the building, Mr. Latrobe judiciously proposed to give as much of a distinctively national character as possible, by the introduction of such forms in the vegetable world as would best illustrate the peculiar productions of the soil and climate of the United States. This design led to the ingenious idea

of a form of column so original and so happy in conception and execution as to be deemed worthy to be called the American order. An example of it is to be seen in the vestibule of the Law Library in the basement of the Capitol. The shaft is composed of the stalks of Indian corn, the joints of which wind around it spirally, while the capital consists of the ears with their husks sufficiently opened to show the grain, with the intermediate spaces filled in by the tassel bent over, and a fillet or rope at the bottom. The base is a plain double molding, the stalks rising out of a circlet of the pointed leaves of the plant. The column is favorably noticed by Robert Dale Owen in his *Hints on Public Architecture*, and is illustrated by drawings. President Jefferson gave evidence of his admiration of the design by placing a model of it upon one of the buildings of his seat at Monticello. Mr. Latrobe also applied to the columns in the circular vestibule of the Old Senate Chamber, now the Supreme Court room, the leaves and flowers of the tobacco plant, of which the capitals are formed, with a pleasing and characteristic effect.

The limited resources of the Government at that early day, and the extreme notions of economy to which they led, rendered necessary the employment of such materials for the building as were within short distances of its site. Brick for the interior of the walls could be burnt upon the ground, for clay abounded, but stone suited to such a structure was beyond reach, and one of the chief difficulties of the architect was to choose between the varieties of inferior stone which were accessible. Among these, the freestone of the Acquia Creek quarries, being the cheapest and most readily delivered, was finally selected, from the necessity of the case, although it required a coat of paint to preserve it from disintegration when exposed to the weather. Mr. Latrobe, although thus compelled to use an indifferent stone for the walls, was averse to its employment in the columns of the interior, but he was obliged to do so in their first construction. Before their restoration after their destruction by the British Army in 1814, he visited the country upon the Potomac above Washington, in order to examine the beds of breccia marble which are found in Frederick and Loudon Counties. He ascertained that this marble was suitable for the shafts of the pillars, and could be brought down the river by means of the imperfect navigation then existing. The beautiful columns of the Old Hall of Representatives still stand to testify to the good taste and judgment of his choice. This marble, being composed of pebbles of various sizes and colors, held together only by a natural cement,

required great care in dressing; and being entirely unfit for the delicate carving of the capitals and bases, these were sculptured from white Italian marble. After eight years of energetic labor, the Old North and South Wings were finished by Mr. Latrobe in 1811, and the plans and preparations to build the central section approached completion in 1812, when the appropriations for prosecuting the work were curtailed by the threatened war. It advanced slowly to the actual breaking out of hostilities, and was then wholly suspended until the restoration of peace in 1815. Meanwhile he removed to Pittsburg, where, during the years 1813 and 1814, he was engaged in superintending the construction of steamboats in connection with Fulton, Livingston, and Roosevelt, the last of whom, his son-in-law, making the first voyage ever made by steam upon the Western rivers, going from Pittsburg to New Orleans in a steamboat built under Latrobe's direction at the former place.

Upon the proclamation of peace, Mr. Latrobe was recalled to Washington by President Madison, to undertake the rebuilding of the Capitol, which the British had endeavored to totally destroy. His account of the state in which he found the building is most interesting. To use his own words, "the appearance of the ruins was perfectly terrifying." In the halls supported by columns, the fire had eaten into and around the stone composing them, so that a few inches only of contact was in some columns left. Sawed and hewed timber was not readily to be had, and, as a novel expedient, cordwood piled closely from floor to ceiling was used to make it safe for the workmen to take down the pillars and entablature. He says, however, that many important parts of the Capitol were wholly uninjured. The picturesque entrance of the House of Representatives, the corn capitals of the Senate vestibule, the great staircase, and the vaults of the Senate Chamber were entirely free from any injury which could not be easily repaired. Some of the committee rooms of the South Wing were not even soiled, but in general the woodwork was burnt in patches. The British were the whole night setting fire separately to every door and window with the inflammable composition of their rockets. Chairs, desks, and other combustible materials were collected into the Supreme Court room, in order that the destruction of this hall of justice, where John Marshall sat, might be complete.

Mr. Latrobe proceeded energetically with the work of restoration, and made such progress as the appropriations would allow, during the next two years. The sandstone columns injured by the fire were replaced by the Potomac marble pillars, and in the progress

of reconstruction other details to give greater strength and durability were changed, but no serious modifications of previous plans were made.

Prior to the war the architect had been intrusted, as Surveyor of Public Buildings, with the entire conduct of the work on the Capitol, and the disbursement of the funds, subject only to the control of the President. This system was altered, and a Board of Commissioners of the Public Works appointed, under whose general direction the architect was to perform his duties. With the gentlemen who filled these offices during President Madison's term, Mr. Latrobe was in the most agreeable relations, as their confidence in him was unlimited. On the accession of President Monroe, a single Commissioner under a new act of Congress took the place of the previous board, and thenceforth the architect was brought in a great measure under his individual control. The officer appointed to this post by President Monroe was entirely ignorant of architecture, and unfitted for the direction of work requiring the highest grade of professional skill for its successful conduct. Not entertaining, however, this view of his own capabilities, he soon manifested a disposition to interfere with the plans of the architect and his manner of carrying them into execution. Differences consequently arose, and Mr. Latrobe, being a man of high and sensitive spirit, fully appreciating the responsibilities of his position, involving as they did his professional character as well as his personal independence, found himself unable to submit to the dictation of one who, while his official superior, was his inferior in the knowledge and skill which his duties required. His connection with the Capitol, therefore, ceased in November, 1817. To Mr. Latrobe belongs the honor of having planned, built, and rebuilt the Old South Wing, of having rebuilt the Old North Wing, and of having designed the Rotunda and the center structure. He designed and constructed the Old Hall of Representatives, and reconstructed the Old Senate Chamber and Supreme Court room, with their lobbies and vestibules. That exquisite work of art, the allegorical figure of History in the Car of Time, recording the acts of the legislative body of the nation, placed over the entrance of the Old Hall, is also his design. The Rotunda, Old Library, and other parts unfinished at the time of his retirement, were completed by his successor, Mr. Bulfinch, whose Dome, which was much higher than the one proposed by Mr. Latrobe, has been since replaced by the still loftier one of Mr. Walter.

Mr. Latrobe went to Baltimore, where he completed the Com-

mercial Exchange, now the United States Post Office and Custom House, and the Roman Catholic Cathedral, both fine examples of his genius and skill. He removed in 1820 to New Orleans, to complete works for the supply of that city with water, commenced by his eldest son, and was cut off in September of that year, three years after that son had fallen a victim to the same epidemic of which the father died. Thus ended the career of a man as distinguished for his virtues as for his genius, who lived too early in the history of the nation for the fullest display of his great gifts and most varied accomplishments. He was a man of great learning in his profession and outside of it, and illustrated the highest type of manhood produced by his age.

CHARLES BULFINCH.

Charles Bulfinch was architect of the Capitol from 1817 until 1830. He was born in Boston, in 1763, and graduated at Harvard University, 1781. At twenty-one he visited Europe, and devoted a year to the study of ancient and mediæval architecture. Upon his return he applied himself to the improvement of the wretched architecture of Boston. In 1793 he designed and built the first theater erected in his native city. From 1795 to 1798 he was engaged in the construction of the State House, a building still admired for its architectural merits. He designed and constructed other buildings and churches, to the number of forty or more, in Boston and vicinity, among which were the Faneuil Hall Building, which he enlarged to four times its original size, the Court Houses at Boston and Worcester, the University Hall at Cambridge and Chapel at Andover, the General Hospital and New North and New South Churches in Boston, and the State House of Maine at Augusta.

When Bulfinch succeeded Latrobe as architect of the Capitol, the work of rebuilding the Old Wings, which had been pushed energetically for two years, was almost finished. The destruction of the Capitol by the British had caused no material change in its plan, but the vault of the Court Room, the Hall of Representatives, and Senate Chamber had been enlarged, and stone and iron substituted for brick and wood, so that the structure was made much stronger and more durable. He first addressed himself to the work of completing the Wings, according to the designs already adopted. In his report of February, 1818, he says: "The public rooms of Congress will be very splendid, and exhibit favorable specimens of correct taste and of the progress of the arts in our country." By act of

April 20th, 1818, \$100,000 were appropriated to build the central portion of the Capitol. All that part of the building now covered by the Congressional Library, Rotunda, and central Porticos was at this time a mass of earth, rubbish, and old foundation. The old foundations of the basement story were broadened, and the ground floor strengthened with arches. The general plans of his predecessors were followed, except in the western projection of the center, which was constructed after a plan of his own. Latrobe designed the Rotunda, but its execution was the work of Bulfinch, after drawings by himself. This noble hall is thus described by its architect :

"In the Rotunda a bold simplicity has been studied, suitable to a great central entrance and passage to more richly finished apartments. This room is ninety-six feet in diameter, and of the same height ; its walls are divided into twelve compartments by stone pilasters, or Grecian antæ ; four of these compartments are occupied by doors, and the others by panels to receive paintings. The antæ support a Grecian entablature decorated with Isthmian wreaths in the frieze, apparently in honor of the subjects of national history to be exhibited below."

The artistic taste of Mr. Bulfinch was conspicuously shown in his arrangement to remedy a mistake in the location of the building, it having been placed too far west, so as to overhang the brow of Capitol Hill, instead of resting upon its level summit. The Western Front thus exhibiting a story lower than the Eastern, he covered this exposed basement with the beautiful semicircular glacis and sloping terraces which render the western approach grand and striking in the highest degree. The Old Capitol being completed in 1830, Mr. Bulfinch returned to Boston, where he died in 1844.

An unfriendly English critic, Mrs. Trollope, writing the year following its completion, says that "the beauty and majesty of the American Capitol might defy an abler pen than mine to do it justice." She is "struck with admiration and surprise at seeing so imposing a structure on this side of the Atlantic," speaks of the "magnificent Rotunda, a noble hall of an imposing loftiness," of the "magnificent western façade," of the "elegant eastern front," of the Capitol "standing so finely, high and alone, an object of imposing beauty to the whole country adjacent."

THOMAS U. WALTER.

The Old Capitol, when Bulfinch left it in 1830, was a completed building. It remained unchanged until the services of that eminent architect, Thomas U. Walter, were called into requisition in 1851. During the twenty years that had elapsed, there was one attempt only

to enlarge the structure. In 1843, Daniel D. Barnard, a member of the House of Representatives from New York, secured the passage of a resolution concurred in by the Senate:

"That the Secretary of War be requested to cause a plan and estimates to be prepared at the Topographical Bureau, or otherwise within his Department, and laid before Congress at its next session, for a room or apartment in the Capitol, or to be added thereto, for the better accommodation of the sittings of the House of Representatives."

In accordance with this resolution, plans and estimates were prepared by Colonel Abert and Lieutenant Humphries of the Topographical Bureau, and William Strickland, architect, having in view the enlargement of the Capitol by means of a South Wing, extending southward one hundred and three and a half feet, with a breadth of one hundred and fifty-two and a half feet from east to west. No further action was taken by Congress on his resolution. The first public record of a proposal to extend the Capitol by means of North and South Wings is found in a letter from Jefferson Davis, then a member of the Senate Committee of Public Buildings, to Robert Mills, architect, dated April 3d, 1850. Mr. Mills replied to this letter, May 1st, in the form of a report in favor of the extension of the Capitol by wings, submitting at the same time designs and drawings for new wings and a new dome. The Senate Committee on Public Buildings, R. M. T. Hunter chairman, reported, May 28th, 1850, a plan for the extension of the Capitol, originally suggested by the Topographical Bureau, but materially altered by Robert Mills, whose letter to Mr. Davis they incorporated in their report. On September 19th of the same year, the Senate passed a joint resolution providing for the extension of the Capitol by wings, according to such plans as may be adopted by the joint committee of both Houses of Congress, appropriating \$100,000 for each wing. The House reduced the appropriation to \$100,000 for both wings, and changed the language of the resolution so that the plans were to be prepared by an architect appointed by the President, and submitted to him for approval. This change undoubtedly signified the substitution of Thomas U. Walter as architect for Robert Mills, the former being known as the choice of President Fillmore, the latter as the favorite of Senator Davis. Prior to any further action by the House, and in response to an advertisement of the Senate Committee for plans, dated September 30th, the subsequently accepted design and drawing for the magnificent new wings were made by Mr. Walter, and submitted in a letter dated November 21st, 1850.

In this communication the distinguished architect submits two plans for the enlargement of the Capitol, expressing a preference for the one consisting of an addition of one hundred and eighty-seven feet at each end of the old building, with hexastyle porticos on each wing, of proportions corresponding to those of the centre building. He suggests that the exterior and interior be of that imperishable material white marble, and that the old freestone structure be painted and shaded to correspond with the wings in appearance. He expressed the opinion that it would not be impracticable to remove the facing of the old building and substitute marble, so that we might have a marble Capitol that will stand the test of time. Mr. Walter was appointed architect of the Capitol extension early in 1851. His general designs were approved by the President, June 10th, and the corner-stone of the New South Wing laid with appropriate ceremonies, July 4th, Daniel Webster delivering one of his great orations on the occasion. Before the close of the year, the foundations of both wings were laid to the depth of from fifteen to forty feet, and the basement story finished. December 21st, 1851, the Western Front of the center building was destroyed by fire, and in the following June the present Congressional Library was begun by Mr. Walter upon original designs and drawings made by him. It is the first room constructed entirely of iron, the rafters, gallery floors, piers, alcoves, columns, doors, stairways, shelving, and ceilings being all of the same enduring material. For durability and beauty of design this is probably the finest library room in the world.

At the close of 1854, the walls of the Senate and Representative Halls had reached the height of the ceilings. In 1855, the old brick and wooden Dome was removed, and the materials for the new iron Dome put in process of preparation. The designs for this most graceful and most symmetrical Dome had already been made by Mr. Walter, and had been approved by the President. Both Wings were covered with metallic or glass roofing in 1856, and the cast-iron ceilings of the House and Senate Chambers were completed. The columns of the corridors and vestibules, and the larger part of the entablatures, were also set. The greater portion of the interior, including the Hall of Representatives, was finished in 1857, and the House first met in the New Hall December 16th of that year. On the 4th of January, 1859, the New Senate Chamber was occupied by the Senate. In 1861, the main body of the Wings was completed. The Government ordered the work to be suspended in May, 1861, but through the patriotism and faith of the contractors, who continued

placing the iron castings upon the Dome at their own expense and risk, the sound of the hammer upon the Capitol did not cease during a day of the civil war. During 1863, the outside spherical portion of the great Dome was completed, and on December 2d of that year, Crawford's Statue of Freedom was raised to crown it, and saluted with four hundred and fifty-five guns fired from the surrounding forts. In the words of the proud architect, "the effect was thrilling and grateful to every loyal heart." In 1864, the Eastern Portico of the North Wing was finished, in a style of marble work that has probably never been surpassed.

The close of the year found the exterior of the iron Dome painted and the scaffolding removed. During 1865, both Wings, with their six chaste and beautiful porticos, two magnificent entrances, and four grand stairways, were substantially completed, the interior of the Dome finished, and Mr. Walter's work was done. The great architect surrendered his office with its exacting labors and harassing responsibilities into the hands of his talented and accomplished pupil, Edward Clark, and retired to his home in Germantown, Pennsylvania, where he now lives.

Thomas U. Walter was born in Philadelphia, September 4th, 1804. His paternal grandfather was a German, his grandmother a Pennsylvanian of English parentage, and his father a Philadelphian. Early in life he exhibited a taste for architecture, and gave promise of future distinction in the arts of design and construction. His education was liberal though not collegiate. In 1819 he entered the office of William Strickland as a student of architecture, with whom he remained two years. The next seven years of his life were devoted to mathematical studies, to drawing and painting, and to acquiring a practical knowledge of the branches of mechanical art connected with building. In 1828 he again became a pupil of Mr. Strickland, under whose instructions he remained two more years, devoting his attention exclusively to the study of architecture, the practice of which he commenced in 1830. The following year he designed and executed the Philadelphia County Prison, his first important work. His designs for Girard College in Philadelphia were adopted by the City Council in 1833, and the buildings, the erection of which occupied fourteen years, were constructed throughout under his direction. He designed and executed many public and private buildings in his native city and throughout the country. In 1851 his plans for the extension of the United States Capitol were adopted, and the appointment of architect of the work was conferred

upon him by the President of the United States. He held that appointment fourteen years, during which time, in addition to the work of the Capitol extension, he planned and executed the iron Dome of the Capitol, the Congressional Library, the East and West Wings of the Patent Office and the extension of the General Post Office. He also designed the new Treasury Building and the Government Hospital for the Insane. In 1849, Mr. Walter received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from Madison University, N. Y.; in 1853, that of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Pennsylvania; and in 1857, the degree of Doctor of Laws from Harvard University. He held a professorship of architecture in the Franklin Institute of Pennsylvania, and has delivered many able and popular lectures on his art, in the Hall of the Institute and elsewhere. He is a member of the American Philosophical Society, and of many other literary and scientific institutions. Having retired from the active practice of his profession, Mr. Walter is now devoting his time to scientific and literary pursuits, and to the advancement of art in his native city.

We have traced the history of the construction of the United States Capitol, and made known its architects. To describe in detail the completed edifice, and to point out its defects, would carry us beyond the limits of this Article. The inexcusably bad taste of some of the paintings, and interior, and especially exterior sculptures, borders almost on barbarism. We may also express a passing regret that the central part of the building had not been broadened and elevated to receive its new Dome. Had the main Front been changed to the opposite side, so as to be approached as we ascend the eminence crowned by the edifice, it would have presented a more commanding and majestic appearance. And yet, with all its minor faults, the Capitol at Washington is a structure worthy of the Republic.

From what we have written, it appears that its chief architects were Latrobe and Walter; the one described by the accomplished artist, Robert Mills, as "a gentleman of transcendent talents, of high scientific attainments, and perfectly master of his profession;" the other, judged by his works, one of the first architects now living, and worthy to rank among the eminent of his profession in past ages. It would be a fitting honor from our Republic to place the statues of these two distinguished men near the portals of the beautiful and magnificent structure which their genius and labors have reared.

ARTICLE III.

THE IRON RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES.

PROF. J. S. NEWBERRY.

AMONG the varied mineral resources of the United States, the ores of iron form a conspicuous feature. All the varieties of ore known are found here, most of them in abundance, and so located with reference to the fuel necessary for their manufacture, as to make cheap and excellent iron attainable in all important centers of population. In order to show the conditions under which the manufacture of iron is now and will hereafter be carried on in our country, it will be necessary to give some notes on the varieties of ore which we possess, and on their distribution and adaptation to different kinds of manufacture.

MAGNETIC IRON ORE.

The richest of all the ores of iron is the magnetic oxide, which, when pure, contains iron 72.4, oxygen 27.6. It is usually crystalline in character, and may be recognized by its black color and its effects upon the magnet. When free from injurious ingredients, it produces the best of iron, and is already the basis of a large iron industry in this country. It is, however, liable to be contaminated by phosphorus, sulphur, and titanium. The phosphorus is usually in the form of apatite (phosphate of lime), and this, when present in considerable quantities, renders iron made from the ore "cold short," that is, hard and brittle when cold, and forbids its use for the manufacture of steel.

Sulphur exists in magnetite in the form of sulphide (iron pyrites). The effect of this is to render the iron "red short," or tender and crumbling when heated to red or white heat. This also greatly impairs its value for the manufacture of steel, though by proper treatment it may be almost entirely removed. In this respect sulphur differs from phosphorus, as the latter clings to the iron with a

tenacity that it is almost impossible to overcome. Titanium renders iron ore refractory in the furnace, and causes the metal to be excessively hard if combined with it in any considerable quantity.

The magnetic ores of the United States are found only in the metamorphic and crystalline rocks, the great repositories of it existing in Canada, the Adirondacks, and throughout the entire length of the Alleghany belt. They are also found in the Black Hills, and in various parts of the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada. The magnetites of Canada occur in the Laurentian rocks, where it is evident that they once formed sedimentary sheets which were deposited nearly horizontally, but are now greatly broken up and sometimes are seen standing nearly on edge and having the aspect of true veins. The value of the Canadian ores is generally much impaired by the sulphur and titanium which they contain. Some of these Canadian ore-beds are more than one hundred feet in thickness, and of considerable lateral extent; such as the "Big Bed" of Marmora, north of Lake Ontario, and that of the Bay of St. Paul's described by Sir William Logan.

From several Canadian localities magnetic ore is carried through the Welland Canal to the cities located on the shores of the Great Lakes, and especially to those of Ohio and Pennsylvania. Transportation to these localities, by vessels returning from the East light, is cheap, and it is probable that hereafter a very important contribution to the iron industry of the West will be made from this source. The principal Canadian ores now brought to the United States are the ore of Marmora, shipped from Coburg, Lake Ontario, and that of North Crosby on the Rideau Canal. The use of the latter is restricted on account of the quantity of titanium it contains.

The magnetic ores of the Adirondacks are best shown about Port Henry on Lake Champlain, in a region which is sometimes called the Champlain Iron District. Here the number of important deposits is large; the ore is generally granular in texture, and is often contaminated by phosphate of lime. A portion of it is, however, quite pure, and the quantity used in and shipped from this region is now very great. Some of it is sent even to the Western States, where it is used largely as "fixing" in the puddling furnaces, and also more sparingly in the blast furnaces in combination with other ores, under the impression that it corrects a tendency to "red shortness" and improves the quality of the iron. Its chief place of manufacture is in the interval between Lake Champlain and New York.

In Orange County, New York, and in Northern New Jersey, the magnetic ores of the Alleghany belt exhibit unusual development. Here they are found interstratified with gneiss and mica-schist, having the bearing of the mountain ranges—nearly northeast and southwest—with a dip of sixty to seventy degrees to the southeast. The number of distinct beds of iron ore in this region is great, and they furnish the chief supply of ore to more than one hundred furnaces.

In Sussex County, N. J., a remarkable bed of magnetite is found, which contains large quantities of manganese and zinc, and this forms the mineral known as franklinite. This is the basis of an extensive manufacture of zinc, and when the zinc has been removed from the ore, the residual iron is found to be unusually free from injurious ingredients. It also contains from ten to twenty per cent. of manganese, and is thus well adapted to the manufacture of *spiegeleisen*. It is in fact largely used for this purpose, and now supplies to our Bessemer steel works considerable quantities of this indispensable article scarcely inferior in quality to that imported from abroad. We are informed by Mr. A. S. Hewitt that on the western side of this ore-belt the magnetite is much more free from phosphorus than on the eastern, and that here a large amount of ore has been found sufficiently free from phosphorus to be well adapted to the manufacture of steel.

In Pennsylvania the belt of magnetic ore is less rich than either north or south, but valuable deposits occur at frequent intervals.

At Cornwall is a peculiar deposit of magnetic ore, which is quite exceptional in character, and of more economic importance than almost any other iron mine in the country. Here the iron ore accompanies the trap-rock, which has apparently burst out along the line of junction between the Triassic sandstone and the metamorphic rocks. The ore is soft, and sometimes pulverulent in character, and is often highly impregnated with sulphur and copper; still, nearly two hundred thousand tons per annum are produced from this mine.

In York County, Pennsylvania, another peculiar magnetite is found, which is known as the Codorus ore. This is a mica-schist containing from thirty to forty per cent. of magnetic oxide of iron, of great purity, and it has become somewhat famous by its use in a peculiar process for the manufacture of what is called silicon steel, which consists simply in the mingling of the pulverized ore with cast iron which contains three to four per cent. of carbon, and thus by

oxidation reducing the percentage of carbon until it reaches the standard of a low steel.

In Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, magnetic ores exist in great abundance, though up to the present time they have been but sparingly manufactured. One of these beds in Western North Carolina, called the Cranberry Iron Mine, is said to form a remarkably extensive and rich deposit. It is nearly free from sulphur and phosphorus, and is evidently capable of supplying a very large amount of iron of the best quality. So great is the development of the magnetic ores in this region, that it seems almost certain to become one of the most important centers of iron industry.

ANALYSES OF MAGNETIC IRON ORES.

	Moriah, N. Y.	Peekskill, N. Y.	Pt. Oram, N. J.	Franklin- ite, N. J.	Codorus, Penn.	Cranberry N. C.	Stirling, N. Y.
Protoxide of Iron....	88.827	23.395	73.20	....	53.92	91.89	86.091
Peroxide of Iron....		57.656		65.05			
Oxide of Manganese...	trace.	0.011	0.50	14.77	0.10	0.32	0.110
“ Cobalt.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	0.015
“ Zinc.....	....	....	....	23.30	....	....	....
Alumina.....	1.388	0.014	4.40	....	7.04	1.03	3.228
Lime.....	2.111	0.618	1.56	....	0.88	1.06	3.416
Magnesia.....	0.198	....	1.59	....	0.76	0.23	0.940
Sulphur.....	0.002	1.502	0.11	....	0.16	0.25	0.206
Phosphorus.....	....	0.052	....	....	....	trace.	1.650
Phosphoric Acid.....	0.040	....	0.38	....	0.13	....	....
Silica.....	6.443	17.600	11.63	0.30	35.65	4.02	5.432
Titanic Acid.....	0.991	....	....	....	....	....	....
Water.....	....	....	6.58	....	1.30	1.15	....
	100.00	....	99.95	103.42	....	99.95	....
Metallic Iron.....	64.31	58.318	53.00	45.53	37.74	66.52	62.408
Phosphorus.....	0.022	0.052	0.20	....	0.07	trace.	0.723
Sulphur.....	0.002	1.502	0.11	....	0.16	0.25	0.206

THE HEMATITE ORES.

Hematite, or specular iron, like magnetite is found only in crystalline rocks. When pure it is composed exclusively of the peroxide of iron, contains seventy per cent. of metallic iron, and hence is second in richness only to magnetite. This is the ore found in the famous mines of Elba, and has been extensively employed for the manufacture of iron in many parts of the world. The deposits of this ore which occur in the United States are second to none in quality and quantity. The most important of these are found in the

iron region of Marquette, Michigan, and in that of Central Missouri. The geological age of these districts is apparently the same, viz. Huronian. On Lake Superior it is now easy to see that the ore-beds were once horizontal strata, deposited in conformity with many other stratified sediments, but they are folded and broken in such a way that their true nature was for a long while misunderstood. Like the magnetic ores of the Alleghany belt, they were once considered eruptive, but the progress of modern science has shown that all the so-called Eozoic iron ores are simply metamorphosed strata, once deposited horizontally like the sheets of iron ore now found in the unchanged Palæozoic rocks—such as the Clinton ore and the “black-band” and “clay ironstone” of the Coal Measures.

The deposits of iron near Marquette, Michigan, are irregularly scattered over an area of about one hundred and twenty miles long from east to west—in other words, are coextensive with the Huronian formation. The isolated nature of the deposits is dependent upon the immense surface erosion which this region has suffered. This has removed by far the greatest part of the ore that originally existed here; leaving it only where it formed masses of unusual magnitude and solidity, which have resisted the erosive action, or where, in synclinal troughs, it has been beyond the reach of the glaciers which have ground off all the more elevated portions. We give below a number of analyses of Lake Superior iron ore.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
Peroxide of Iron.....	93.75	88.50	86.70	79.80	72.00	90.00	89.21	91.06
Oxide of Manganese..	trace.	trace.	trace.	0.10	trace.	trace.	trace.	0.23
Alumina.....	0.73	1.84	1.64	2.05	0.92	1.87	2.67	0.85
Lime.....	0.61	0.89	0.57	0.45	0.33	1.20	0.67	0.92
Magnesia.....	0.23	0.75	0.24	0.53	0.34	1.60	0.19	0.77
Sulphur.....	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.35	0.03
Phosphoric Acid.....	0.32	0.46	0.14	0.30	0.08	0.57	trace.	0.25
Silica.....	3.27	6.40	9.82	12.52	25.09	4.72	6.25	5.13
Water.....	1.09	1.23	0.61	4.25	1.21	0.98	....	0.66
Total.....	100.03	100.08	99.74	100.03	99.99	99.97	99.37	99.90
Metallic Iron.....	65.62	61.95	60.69	55.86	50.40	63.00	64.60	65.94
Phosphorus.....	0.14	0.20	0.06	0.13	0.03	0.22	....	0.11
Sulphur.....	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.35	0.03
Specific gravity.....	....	4.64	4.55	4.12	3.97	4.64	....	4.66

1. Jackson Mine.

2. Cleveland Mine.

3. Lake Superior Mine
(Specular).

4. Lake Superior Hematite.

5. Lake Angeline (Specular
Jaspery).

6. New York Mine.

7. Spar Mountain (Magnetic)

8. Washington Mine (Mag-
netic).

From the above analyses it will be seen that the iron ores of Lake Superior vary considerably in richness: they also differ widely in the constituents which are associated with the iron in them. While the great mass of the Lake Superior iron is typical specular ore, there is in this district a considerable quantity of magnetic iron and a sufficient amount of hydrated sesquioxide to form an important item in the ore production. There are also here some mangiferous ores which are apparently well adapted to the manufacture of spiegeleisen. As a whole, the ores of Lake Superior are characterized by the presence of a very considerable quantity of silica, and by the relatively small amounts of sulphur and phosphorus which they contain. They are, therefore, well adapted to the manufacture of Bessemer steel, and are already largely consumed for that purpose.

The annual production of the Lake Superior iron mines for the ten years preceding 1873 has been, according to Major Brooks, as follows:

1863	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	205,055 tons.
1864	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	243,157 "
1865	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	187,106 "
1866	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	288,806 "
1867	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	457,642 "
1868	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	510,522 "
1869	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	629,532 "
1870	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	861,405 "
1871	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	813,379 "
1872	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	952,077 "

Most of this ore was shipped from Marquette, but a considerable quantity finds its outlet by the Escanaba and Ontonagon Railroad to Green Bay and Lake Michigan. Two-thirds of the ore exported from this district goes to Cleveland, Ohio, there to be distributed among the two hundred furnaces which use it in Ohio and Pennsylvania.

The iron district of Central Missouri has been cited as one of the wonders of the world, for here it has been said that there are literally mountains of iron ore. These mountains are named Pilot Knob, Iron Mountain, etc., of which Pilot Knob has an altitude of over six hundred feet. These and the associated hills are not, as was formerly supposed, entirely made up of iron ore, but the quantity is so enormously large that the term "inexhaustible" frequently applied to it is scarcely an exaggeration. The ores of this region,

like those of Lake Superior, are mostly specular, and are very rich and pure. Those of Iron Mountain are richest, as will be seen from the table of analysis given below. Here the ore occurs disseminated in an irregular way through masses of porphyry, which were, in all probability, once sedimentary rocks, but which have been so highly heated as to resemble the products of complete fusion. This process has resulted in the destruction of all lines of bedding, and the breaking up of the regularity and continuity of the ore-beds. In process of time the porphyry, which includes the ore at Iron Mountain, has been deeply and extensively decomposed by atmospheric action, and reduced at the surface to a red clay, so that most of the iron hitherto taken from this mountain has been found as detached masses in this bed of clay. It is well known, however, that underneath this, immense quantities of iron are lying imbedded in the unchanged porphyry. At Pilot Knob the ore is distinctly stratified; in some places being quite slaty. It contains a larger amount of silica and alumina than that of Iron Mountain, and shows clearly its sedimentary nature by its structure. Though mined with considerable difficulty, from its intense hardness and toughness, and yielding a smaller percentage of metallic iron than that of Iron Mountain, Pilot Knob ore is still highly esteemed, and, like that of Iron Mountain, is shipped to furnaces even as far east as Pittsburgh.

Taking the ore of the different mines of Central Missouri together, its average richness is about the same with that of Lake Superior. It is also equally free from injurious ingredients, and is capable of being successfully employed for the manufacture of all varieties of iron and steel. In these two iron districts the inhabitants of the Valley of the Mississippi have a supply of remarkably rich and pure ores, which is not likely to be exhausted for some hundreds of years, and which, from the small amount of phosphorus which they contain, will be the chief dependence of the American people for the manufacture of steel, unless improvements in the processes of manufacture shall make it possible to utilize the ores which are now regarded too impure for the purpose. The geological age of the Lake Superior and Missouri iron ores is apparently the same, and they are also probably contained in the same formation with the famous Swedish ores, which they so clearly imitate in appearance and composition.

ANALYSES OF MISSOURI SPECULAR IRON ORES.

	Iron Mountain.		Pilot Knob.		Shepherd Mountain.
Protoxide of Iron.....	.....	.....	0.15	1.67	1.80
Peroxide of Iron.....	93.57	* 95.42	84.33	90.87	94.84
Proto-sesquioxide of Iron.....	0.76	0.88	.....	.....	.....
Alumina.....	0.08	0.06	0.75	0.53	.....
Lime.....	0.46	0.32	0.21	1.76	.....
Magnesia.....	.....	.....	0.14	0.13	.....
Sulphur.....	trace.	trace.	trace.	0.078	0.00
Phosphoric Acid.....	0.035	0.036	0.035	0.069	0.025
Silica.....	4.75	3.02	13.27	5.18	4.05
Manganese.....	0.12	0.07	.....	.....	.....
Alumina, with trace of Iron....	.....	.....	1.44	0.36	.....
Total.....	99.775	99.806	100.365	100.677	100.715
Metallic Iron.....	66.049	67.416	59.15	64.91	66.52
Sulphur.....	trace.	trace.	trace.	0.078	0.00
Phosphorus.....	0.016	0.016	0.015	0.041	0.011

RED HEMATITE ORE.

This is the name given to all ores which consist mainly of the peroxide of iron and give a red streak or powder, but it is more properly applied to those that have a granular or concretionary structure, and have not a crystalline, metallic, or specular appearance. The ores included in this definition are of more modern date than the Eozoic, and have been plainly derived from limonite by the loss of the combined water. The famous Cumberland ore of England is a typical example of this variety. This was once a hydrated sesquioxide deposited from water in concretionary masses, and having a fibrous, radiated structure. Similar ore is found in various parts of the world, wherever indeed a limonite has been subjected to metamorphic action by which its water is removed. We have very little of this particular variety of red hematite in the United States, though some of it is found filling what were once crevices and cavities in the ore-beds of Lake Superior. The chief variety of red hematite in this country is what is known as the "Clinton" or "Fossil ore."

This is a remarkable deposit of ore found in the Clinton group of the Upper Silurian, and extending along the outcrop of this formation from Northern Wisconsin through a portion of Canada, entering New York on the shore of Lake Ontario, east of the mouth of the Genesee, running thence southeasterly through Clinton, Madison County—where it received its name, and is extensively worked—thence south through Blair County, and Broad Top, Penn-

sylvania, and so on to East Tennessee and Georgia, where it passes under the more recent formations, and disappears. This is a stratified deposit varying from one to ten or more feet in thickness, generally oölitic or granular, sometimes very compact; at others capable of being excavated by the shovel, and called "Flaxseed ore." Its composition is indicated in the analyses given below, which may be accepted as expressing its average composition, and the range of its variation. The mode of formation of this singular deposit of ore has not been well explained, but we venture to offer a suggestion in regard to its origin, which will, we think, satisfy most of the conditions of the problem. On examination with the microscope, the granules which compose the Clinton ore are found to be concretions. The deposit evidently accumulated at the bottom of water in the presence of a large amount of animal life, from which its organic remains and large percentage of phosphorus have been derived. From these facts we see that it must have been formed as a hydrated sesquioxide, and gathered as bog ore is now accumulating, acting as a carrier of oxygen to the carbon of organic matter, until that was all exhausted, then taking its place. In some of the Swedish lakes, deposits of granular limonite are now constantly forming, and from time to time they are gathered as crops are harvested. This ore is in the form of minute concretions, of nearly uniform size, resembling small shot, and having the structure and composition of the Clinton ore, except that in the latter the spherules are flattened by compression, and the combined water has been generally eliminated, as in other limonites of ancient date. Hence we may infer that the Clinton ore accumulated in a belt along the shore of an arm or bay of the Upper Silurian sea, where this sea received the drainage of a semicircle of highlands composed of the Alleghany belt, the Adirondacks, the Canadian Eozoic mountains, and the Lake Superior Huronian area. Every part of this belt contains great deposits of iron ore, and hence the water flowing from it could hardly fail to be highly ferruginous.

In Maine we have seen a laminated, metamorphosed red hematite, which presents the appearance the Clinton ore would have if rendered by metamorphism more schistose and crystalline; and like the Clinton ore, this contains an unusual percentage of phosphoric acid. This ore is said to form a belt, which extends a hundred miles through the mountains of Maine; and we have thought it might be the Clinton ore on the east side of the old Eozoic axis metamorphosed as all the Palæozoic rocks have been in New England.

From the amount of phosphorus which the Clinton ore contains it is worthless for the manufacture of steel, but the iron made from it is well adapted to most uses, whether as bar or cast iron, and it is now the chief dependence of a great number of furnaces in New York, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Georgia. As over wide areas this is a continuous sheet of ore, the quantity of iron which the Clinton formation is capable of furnishing is almost incalculable; and in point of commercial and industrial importance it is doubtful whether it should yield to any of the other iron ores enumerated in this paper. In East Tennessee, where the Clinton ore has conspicuous development, it is often called the "Dye-stone ore," since it is sometimes used by the country people to impart a red tint to their clothing.

ANALYSES OF RED HEMATITE IRON ORES.

	Rossie, N. Y.	E. Tenn.	CLINTON ORE.				
			Wiscon- sin.	Iron Ridge Wisc'nsin.	E. Tenn.	S. Penn.	Wayne Co., N. Y.
Peroxide of Iron.....	83.89	94.71	71.26	81.35	81.26	57.54	63.31
Oxide of Manganese..	....	....	....	0.47	trace.	....	....
Alumina.....	1.32	1.39	4.80	2.80	3.40	5.48	....
Lime.....	....	0.13	4.17	2.28	1.60	1.05	6.03
Magnesia.....	1.60	1.21	0.97	0.99	0.50	0.52	....
Sulphur.....	....	0.14	0.10	0.06	trace.	0.01	....
Phosphorus.....	....	0.34	....	0.48	....	....	0.43
Phosphoric Acid.....	....	....	3.23	....	1.45	1.55	....
Silica.....	13.20	1.80	5.39	4.32	6.50	29.99	....
Moisture.....	....	....	9.85	6.30	4.00	3.80	....
Carbonic Acid.....	....	....	....	....	1.50	....	....
Total.....	100.01	99.72	100.77	99.05	100.21	99.94	....
Metallic Iron.....	58.72	66.30	49.90	56.44	56.88	39.90	44.31
Sulphur.....	....	0.14	0.10	0.06	trace.	0.01	....
Phosphorus.....	....	0.34	1.74	0.48	0.633	0.68	0.43

Limonite or *brown hematite* is apparently found in all portions of the world, and it constitutes an important element in the manufacture of iron in all iron-producing countries. As much misapprehension exists with regard to the nature and origin of the deposits of brown hematite, we give here a brief synopsis of their characteristics, which it will be important for all those who are interested in such matters to bear in mind. As is known, limonite is called brown hematite because it has a brown color and a brownish streak or powder, and is thus distinguishable from red hematite. Aside

from its earthy matter it contains about fourteen per cent. of water, constituting therefore the hydrated sesquioxide (red hematite being the anhydrous oxide). When pure, it contains sixty per cent. of metallic iron, but practically and generally the iron in it ranges from forty to sixty per cent. of the mass. It is a peculiarity of this iron ore that it never occurs in regular and continuous deposits, but is found in concretions or botryoidal masses in sand or clay, filling crevices, pockets, and basins, or incrusting slopes; wherever, indeed, chalybeate water has precipitated its iron. Oftener than otherwise it is found associated with limestone rocks, because they more easily than others are dissolved by atmospheric water so as to form caverns and galleries where it may accumulate; and also because the limestone sometimes contains much iron, and in the removal of the carbonate of lime by solution the oxide of iron is left, and, to a certain extent, takes its place.

A belt of limonite ore-beds passes down along the flanks of the Alleghanies from Maine to Georgia; and these deposits occur chiefly along the outcrops of the metamorphic Silurian limestones. Limonite also occurs in concretionary masses in the Cretaceous and Tertiary strata of this region, and in cavities or fissures in serpentine and other metamorphic rocks. Every thing indicates that these deposits were formed by the accumulation of the oxide of iron precipitated from the ferruginous drainage of the iron-bearing Alleghany highlands. In date they range from the Cretaceous to the present time, and in quantity they vary from a few pounds to many thousands of tons. As will be inferred from the above description, the deposits of limonite are less regular and reliable than those of any other kind of iron ore. From its soft earthy and fusible character, this ore has been an important adjunct to the magnetic ores, and the two are now generally worked together.

Another series of deposits of limonite, scarcely less important than those we have enumerated, is one that reaches up along the west side of the mountains through Alabama and Tennessee into Kentucky, the most important beds being found along the outcrops of the Lower Carboniferous limestone. The ore occurs here in irregular accumulations similar to that of the eastern belt, but on the whole it is more inclined to form concretionary masses, and is of better quality.

Another brown hematite belt is found in Missouri. This sweeps in a circle around the Eozoic area which holds the crystalline ores of the central part of the State, and doubtless, as at the East, the

one kind of ore is derived from the other. The limonites are unquestionably destined to play the same important part in Missouri that they have done along the Alleghany belt, in the reduction of the crystalline ores.

ANALYSES OF LIMONITE IRON ORES.

	Brandon, Vt.	Shelby, Ala.	Dutchess Co., N. Y.
Peroxide of Iron,	66.16	82.82	91.89
Silica,	12.69	0.29	4.02
Phosphoric Acid,	0.92	0.15	trace.
Sulphur,	0.22		0.25
Lime,	2.25		1.06
Alumina,	4.50	0.35	1.03
Magnesia,	1.14		.23
Manganese—Oxide,	0.09	0.67	.32
Water,	10.53	14.62	1.15
Carbonic Acid,	1.17		
Total,	99.67	99.00	99.95
Metallic Iron,	46.31	57.97	66.53
Sulphur,	0.22		0.25
Phosphorus,	0.49	0.081	trace.

THE CARBONATES OF IRON.

Spathic Iron (the crystalline or sparry carbonate) is one of the most important iron ores of Europe, and from its great purity is largely employed in the manufacture of steel. It is a little remarkable, however, that in the great varieties of useful minerals found in America, this ore of iron is apparently rare. Only two deposits of it are known in the United States which have any economic value. One of these is situated in Roxbury, Connecticut, where it forms a true fissure vein, which has been more or less worked as a silver, copper, and iron mine for nearly a hundred years. Ore from this mine contains sulphides of iron, copper, and zinc, which require to be removed before it can be successfully used, and the quantity is so limited that hitherto the working of the mine has not been remunerative.

The other deposit of sparry carbonate referred to is in Vermont, southeast of Burlington. It is similar in its general features to that of Roxbury, and has been somewhat worked by the Collins Iron Company, but not with very satisfactory results.

The earthy carbonate of iron ("Clay ironstone," "Shell ore," "Kidney ore") is found chiefly in the Coal Measures, where it forms

nodules or "kidneys," which are imbedded in the shales interstratified with the coal-seams. This variety of ore is sometimes called siderite, or spathic iron; but these names are only properly applied to the crystallized carbonate of iron.

In England and Wales the greater part of the iron made has been obtained from the clay ironstones. In this country, also, they have been much used, especially in Western Pennsylvania and Ohio; but they are now being rapidly superseded by the richer crystalline ores of Lake Superior and Missouri. The earthy carbonate is quite plenty in all parts of the Alleghany coal-field, and occurs, though less abundantly, in Illinois and Missouri. It is also found in the series of rocks that contains the lignites of the Far West. These are mainly of Cretaceous age, but in many respects they surprisingly resemble the Carboniferous Coal Measures. Clay ironstone usually contains from thirty-three to thirty-five per cent. of metallic iron. Where the nodules are thickly packed they may be mined by drifting; but in most localities they are too sparsely distributed to be mined for, and are gathered by "stripping" from the superficial deposits. In some parts of the Alleghany coal-field—as in Southern Ohio, West Virginia, and Western Pennsylvania—the earthy carbonate forms continuous sheets of ore from six to eighteen inches in thickness, usually associated with the limestones of the Coal Measures. These ore-beds have supplied in former years nearly all the furnaces of Southern Ohio. In working them, it is found that a stratum one foot in thickness will pay well for systematic mining, and the cost to the proprietors of the ore delivered at the furnace, for the last five years, has been about \$2.50 per ton.

Black-band ore (also a carbonate of iron) is a bituminous shale containing from twenty to forty per cent. of metallic iron, uniformly disseminated through it; and this is associated with ten to twenty-five per cent. of combustible matter. The black-band ores of Scotland, of which the utility was only discovered in 1801, now form the chief basis of the iron industry of that country. The iron produced from them is highly carbonized, very fusible, and admirably fitted for castings, but it contains considerable phosphorus, and can not be economically employed for the manufacture of steel. Its application, however, in the arts, is so extensive that the famous *Scotch Pig*—as it is called in commerce—is distributed from Scotland to almost all parts of the civilized world. In the United States, black-band iron ore has not been carefully sought, except in certain localities, and up to the present time we are scarcely informed as to the quantity

or quality of the deposits we have of it. Many years ago it was recognized in Ohio, and for more than forty years has been locally quite largely mined and consumed there. It is found at two or three horizons in the Coal Measures, but chiefly at the top of the lower coal series, where it locally forms the roof of coal No. 7. It is there from three to ten feet in thickness, having the appearance of any other bituminous shale, from which it is distinguished only by its greater gravity. Unfortunately most of the black-band of the area referred to in Ohio has been cut away by the erosion of the broad valleys which traverse the Coal Measure plateau, and hence it occupies but a fragment of its ancient territory. Enough of it, however, remains to supply many furnaces for an indefinite period, and this district supports now an iron industry which is rapidly increasing in importance, and which is in all its conditions quite distinctive from any other in the country.

ANALYSES OF CARBONATE IRON ORES.

	Spathic, Vermont.	Kidney Ore, Ohio.	Kidney Ore, Ohio.	BLACK-BAND.		
				Mineral Ridge, O.	Tuscarawas Co., Ohio.	
					Raw.	Calcined.
Protoxide of Iron, . . .	45.56	.....	.....	26.82	23.02	.....
Peroxide of Iron, . . .	....	12.34	7.60	8.94	8.79	75.00
Oxide of Manganese, . .	2.62	1.70	1.35	1.00	1.70	1.65
Alumina, . . . . .	.79	0.50	2.60	trace.	0.70	0.60
Lime, . . . . .	.82	.....	.....	1.05	1.70	2.80
Magnesia,	8.13	Carbonate. 5.33	Carbonate. 6.50	0.97	0.88	1.48
Sulphur, . . . . .	.94	trace.	0.18	0.18	0.11	trace.
Phosphoric Acid, . . .	trace.	.....	0.863	trace.	0.492	0.773
Silica,	3.27	11.94	8.96	11.84	26.22	17.02
Water, . . . . .	....	.78	....	....	....	0.25
Volatile Matter, . . .	....	....	....	30.50	21.10	....
Carbonic Acid,	38.16	....	....	18.30	15.00	....
Lime Phosphate, . . .	....	1.74	....	....	....	....
Lime Carbonate, . . .	....	8.59	7.35	....	....	....
Iron Carbonate, . . .	....	56.23	64.17	....	....	....
Copper,	trace.	....	....	....	....	....
Total,	100.29	99.15	99.573	99.60	99.712	99.573
Metallic Iron,	35.74	35.88	36.31	27.12	24.06	52.50
Phosphorus,	trace.	0.797	0.376	trace.	0.216	0.34
Sulphur, . . . . .	.94	trace.	0.18	0.18	0.11	trace.

In the anthracite region about Pottsville, some black-band ore

has been discovered, and that of excellent quality, but it is not yet demonstrated that the quantity is sufficiently large to justify our enumerating this among the iron resources of Pennsylvania. From the similarity of structure which prevails in the different parts of our coal-fields, and the resemblance they bear to the coal-basins of the Old World, where black-band is known to abound, it would be very surprising if no other deposits of this ore were found in the country than those now known. Resembling so little as black-band does any other variety of iron ore, the eye must be specially educated to detect it; and it is no wonder that it has generally escaped notice. It is, however, to be looked for in all of our coal-basins, and every dark shale should receive inspection with a view to its discovery.

II. IRON MANUFACTURE.

In the preceding notes we have enumerated and briefly described the iron ores found in the United States, and have indicated the location and character of each of the more important deposits. We have thus hastily reviewed the nature and location of the materials—so far as ores are concerned—now in use by our iron manufacturers, and have pointed out the source of supply upon which we must depend in any future development of our iron industries.

Doubtless to many readers the facts which we have given would have a certain significance and interest if left to stand as written, without note or comment; but it has seemed to us that their import and value would be considerably enhanced if their bearing on the present and future of our iron industries could be distinctly shown. It is evident, however, that the necessary brevity of this Article will forbid any thing like a full and satisfactory discussion here of this great subject; but we take the liberty of adding below a few words on the present condition of manufactures of iron and steel, with some suggestions in regard to their possible expansion and improvement, which we trust will be looked upon as a not unwelcome supplement to what has gone before.

The production of iron in the United States was in 1873, 2,868,278 tons, made in about six hundred and sixty-six furnaces, mainly located in six "iron districts," which are briefly described below.

1. *The Iron District of the Northern Alleghanies*, in Eastern New York, New Jersey, and Eastern Pennsylvania. The furnaces in this region number about two hundred. The production of iron is about 900,000 tons per annum, or one-third of the entire product of the

United States. The fuel, except in a few charcoal furnaces, is anthracite from Pennsylvania. The ores are mainly magnetic and brown hematite, to which are added some specular ores mined at Rossie, N. Y., and imported from Algeria, and some Clinton ore brought from Central New York. The principal centers of manufacture are Port Henry, Troy, the banks of the Hudson, Orange County, N. Y., Ringwood, Phillipsburgh, Boonton, etc., N. J., and the Lehigh, Schuylkill, and Susquehanna Valleys, in Pennsylvania. The fuel employed in this region (anthracite) is of the very best quality: it is indeed the type of excellence for smelting purposes, being highly concentrated, hard enough to bear the heaviest burdens, and containing but a small percentage of ash and sulphur. The iron produced is generally excellent for most purposes. The furnaces are usually from forty-five to sixty feet in height, with a diameter of bosh of from thirteen to sixteen feet, the maximum yield being about three hundred tons per week. The average cost of production is, at present prices, twenty-eight dollars per ton at the furnace. The number of rolling mills in this district is very large, and the establishments in which pig and bar iron are further manufactured are innumerable. From the fact that the ore chiefly used in this region contains considerable phosphate of lime, the pig iron carries from 0.5 to 1.0 per cent. of phosphorus, and hence is not adapted to the manufacture of steel. There are, however, in this district three large and successful Bessemer steel works, at Troy, Bethlehem, and Harrisburg, and one for the manufacture of steel by the Siemens-Martin process, at Trenton. By a careful selection of the ores, it is quite certain that sufficient steel can be produced here to supply the home demand. But the great centers of steel industry will be located in the Western States, where the ores are more free from phosphorus, and equally good fuel is attainable. From its proximity to the older centers of population, the manufacture of iron has here more maturity than any where else in the country. Time—an indispensable element in the growth of iron manufactures—has produced here not only a multiplication of furnaces and a magnitude of product, but the concentration of capital and the improvement of processes beyond what can be found elsewhere. It is easy to show, however, that the manufacture of iron is still susceptible of expansion and improvement in this district.

2. *District of the Southern Alleghanies*, in the States of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. The number of furnaces in this district is about forty, of which one-half are in Eastern

Maryland. The ores are magnetite, brown hematite, and earthy carbonates, the last two chiefly used in Maryland. The fuel employed here is coke from Cumberland coal and Pennsylvania anthracite in Maryland, coke from Richmond coal and charcoal further South. The resources of this region have as yet been but partially developed. As has been already stated, the deposits of magnetic iron ore in Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia are very extensive, and some of these ores are equal in purity to any in the world. These are, however, for the most part, yet untouched. Many of them are covered with the primeval forests, where the land can be purchased for a trifle. When, however, a better state of things prevails in the social and political condition of the South, the great natural resources of this region will assert themselves. Capital, skill, and enterprise will flow in, and another generation will see this the theatre of great industrial activity. The want which the manufacturer of iron will most feel in the southerly prolongation of the Alleghanies, will be that of a good and cheap mineral fuel. Charcoal may, however, be produced here in abundance for many years, and the excellent bituminous coals of East Tennessee and West Virginia will be within easy reach. We may expect, therefore, that this will in the future become one of the most important centers of iron production in the United States.

3. *District of Central Pennsylvania.* This name may be given to a region which has already considerable importance as a center of iron production, and is destined to take a still more conspicuous place in the iron industries of the country. It lies chiefly in Pennsylvania, where it covers the counties of Blair, Centre, Huntington, Franklin, Bedford, and Cambria; also the western portion of Maryland and the central portion of New York. The ore used is chiefly Clinton, here largely developed. To this is added some brown hematite and Coal Measure carbonate, and also Lake Superior specular (at Johnstown), Rossie and magnetite (in New York).

The number of furnaces is about one hundred. The fuel used, one half charcoal, the other half anthracite and coke; the latter made mainly from semi-bituminous (Blossburgh, Broad Top, and Cumberland) coal. The most important elements in the present and future of the iron manufacture in this district are the excellent semi-bituminous coals and heavy deposits of Clinton ore brought into close proximity. The chief centers of production are Johnstown, where the Cambria Iron Works are located—the most extensive in the United States—and the Broad Top region, where the iron is

now made more cheaply than any where else in the Eastern States. Besides the Broad Top and Blossburgh coal-fields, the famous Cumberland coal-basin lies within this district. South of this, on the Upper Potomac, is another coal-field of similar character, and along its margin beds of Clinton ore crop out which are unequaled in their magnitude. With these resources it is hardly possible that the manufacture of iron can fail to be largely expanded in this region.

4. *District of the Upper Ohio.* This includes Western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Eastern Ohio, and Northern Kentucky. Of this district the chief center is Pittsburgh, now the most important iron market in the United States. The furnaces are located in the Mahoning and Shenango Valleys, in and about Pittsburgh, in the Valley of the Ohio, at Steubenville, Wheeling, Iron-ton, Ashland, etc. They number about one hundred and seventy-five. The ores used in this region are chiefly Lake Superior specular and Coal Measure carbonates, with a considerable importation of Canadian and Missouri ore. The fuels employed are, in nearly equal proportions, coke, raw bituminous coal, and charcoal—the mineral fuels, however, rapidly replacing the latter. In this district are several sub-districts, which present individual characteristics worthy of mention. 1st. Pittsburgh and Southwestern Pennsylvania. Here the fuel employed is mostly coke derived from the Pittsburgh seam about Pittsburgh and at Connellsville. The latter is the great coke-making center of the country. The coke produced here is very dense and pure, and is, in fact, equal to any in the world. Its excellence is attested by the fact that it is largely shipped to supply furnaces even as far west as St. Louis. In most of the furnaces of this region about two tons of coke are used to make a ton of iron. At Pittsburgh, however, some furnaces have recently been constructed eighty-five feet in height—the largest in the country—and it is claimed that in these a ton of iron is made from a ton and a quarter of coke. At Pittsburgh the manufacture of iron is carried on in all its varied branches: a large amount of cement steel is also made here; and furnaces have recently been erected for the manufacture of iron and steel by a direct process—invented by T. S. Blair—and one which promises to be eminently successful.—2d. The Shenango and Mahoning Valleys. In these valleys and near them are located about sixty furnaces, all using for fuel the “Brier Hill” or “Ormsby” coal, and Lake Superior ore. The coal of this district is from the lowest seam (No. 1) in the Alleghany coal-field. It is a hard, bright, open-burning bituminous coal, which is used in the raw state for smelting iron. It

contains a small amount of ash and is remarkably free from sulphur, being in fact one of the best furnace fuels known. This is attested by the fact that a large amount of iron is made with it which ranks with charcoal iron, and is extensively used for car-wheels, the manufacture of Bessemer steel, etc.

On the margin of this district, and sharing its facilities for the manufacture of iron, is Cleveland, now the greatest iron-ore market in the country, and in which the iron industries are rapidly increasing in importance.

3d. The Hanging Rock sub-district, in Southern Ohio and Northeastern Kentucky. Here are over fifty furnaces, all but ten in Ohio, mostly using charcoal for fuel and Coal Measure ores. This was formerly the chief center of iron production in Ohio, and the iron made there has been of special excellence, but the supply of charcoal is limited; the furnaces are small, and are being rapidly superseded by those in which raw bituminous coal is used. This is of excellent quality, and is supplied from the fine coal-fields of Perry, Hocking, and Jackson County, Ohio, and Ashland, Kentucky.

As a part of the iron district of the Upper Ohio, we should mention the black-band iron region of the Tuscarawas Valley in Ohio. The ore of this locality has been already mentioned. There are but five furnaces now in blast here, but they are making iron in a way peculiarly their own, at least for this section of the country, as they imitate precisely the manufacture of "Scotch pig" from the black-band ore of Scotland. The fuel used here is raw coal from seam No. 1 (the Massillon coal).

In the region of the Upper Ohio the carbonates of the Coal Measures are found in greater abundance than in any other part of our country, and the manufacture of iron was begun and for a long time maintained by their use. These ores are, however, being gradually superseded by the richer crystalline ores brought from Lake Superior and Missouri, and it is evident that while they will continue to form an important element in the manufacture of iron, that will be based for the most part in the future on the use of foreign ores. These will, however, continue to be imported in greater quantities, attracted by the abundance of excellent coal. This is in fact by far the richest portion of the American coal-fields. Including as it does the Kanawha Valley, where there is an unequalled concentration of coal; Western Pennsylvania, with its splendid Pittsburgh seam; Eastern Ohio, with its extended outcrop of the Brier Hill coal, and the Hocking Valley, with its Straitsville coal some-

times twelve feet in thickness—to say nothing of the intervening territory, wholly underlaid with coal-seams—this district contains an amount of excellent fuel which will not only by exportation form the main spring of a great iron manufacture elsewhere, but will draw to itself the ores from the east, west, north, and south, and make this the great center of iron manufacture in the country.

5. *District of the Upper Tennessee.* This district includes the West Slope of the Alleghanies, the Valley of East Tennessee, North Georgia, and Northern Alabama. It now contains about fifty furnaces. The fuel used is mainly charcoal, though excellent bituminous coal occurs over a large part of its area. The most abundant ore is the “Dye-stone,” or Clinton ore, which stretches in an almost continuous belt from Cumberland Gap to Rome, Georgia, and occurs in strata of from two to ten feet thick. Large deposits of limonite are also found here, those of Northwestern Georgia and Northern Alabama being especially abundant and good, as well as lying in close proximity to the coal. In East Tennessee, south and east of Knoxville, deposits of rich and pure specular ore are known to exist, but their extent is not yet determined. Beds of oxide of manganese of superior quality are also found in the same region. The mineral resources of this district are not surpassed by those of any other portion of our country, but for the most part they still lie undeveloped. Iron is probably now made more cheaply here than any where else in the United States, and, with better facilities for transportation affording a better market, its production could be almost indefinitely increased. At present all industries languish here, and coal and iron properties of the greatest intrinsic value can be purchased at from one dollar to five dollars per acre. On the Lower Tennessee and Lower Cumberland a group of furnaces have been in operation for many years, the fuel used being charcoal, the ore—limonite—associated with the subcarboniferous limestone.

6. *The Missouri Iron District.* The ores of this district constitute its special attraction. Those of Iron Mountain, Pilot Knob, Shepherd’s Mountain, etc., are recognized as forming perhaps the most extensive deposits of rich and pure iron ore known in the world, and have been already noticed. In addition to these should be mentioned deposits of specular ore in the center of the State, of red hematite north of the Missouri, and of brown hematite, forming an immense number of deposits in the country surrounding the area of crystalline rocks and ores. The centers of manufacture are Carondelet, Pilot Knob, and Grand Tower at the mouth of the Big Muddy.

The furnaces are twenty-five in number. The fuels used are charcoal in Central Missouri; at Carondelet and Grand Tower, half Connellsville coke, half Big Muddy coal. The great want of this region is cheap and good fuel. This will never be fully overcome, but will doubtless be partially met by improved methods for coking the Illinois coals. There is every reason to believe that a great iron industry will spring up in Missouri, but it is no less certain that a large part of the rich ores of the State will be shipped for manufacture to localities where good coal is more abundant.

7. *Lake Superior Iron Region.* The ores of this district have already been so fully described as to require here no lengthy notice. From the want of mineral fuel on the shores of Lake Superior most of these will go elsewhere to seek the coal; but with the richer ores—which will best bear the cost of transportation—there are found immense quantities of lower grade, that must be smelted, if at all, at home. For the reduction of these ores a limited supply of charcoal can be obtained near at hand; but the iron industry which is destined to grow up here must depend mainly upon the importation of mineral coal brought as ballast by returning ore-vessels.

As dependencies on the Lake Superior iron district, we should mention the great number of furnaces and iron works located at Escanaba, Milwaukee, and Chicago, on Lake Michigan; Detroit, Cleveland, Erie, and Buffalo, on Lake Erie. To these and other points on the shores of the Great Lakes the ore is floated cheaply, and is manufactured where disembarked, or is distributed through the interior to be brought in still closer proximity to the coal; as at Brazil, Indiana; Columbus, Youngstown, etc., in Ohio. Already a great iron industry has grown up, based on the relations which have been indicated between the ore and coal. Within the last fifty years the increase of population and wealth along the shores of the Great Lakes has been almost without parallel in the history of the world. The next half century will probably witness even greater changes. To this prospective growth an abundance of iron will be a necessity, and this, from the nature of the case, must be furnished from three points or lines of manufacture: first, near the mines, where a limited quantity of iron will be produced from charcoal and coke or coal brought as return freight; second, along the shores of the lakes, where the ore is transhipped and meets coal from the interior; third, in the vicinity of the coal mines, to which the ore is brought overland by rail. Neither of these points or lines can monopolize the iron manufacture, since return freights must be furnished

to empty coal-cars as well as empty ore-vessels. The preponderance of the lake shores or the interior will be determined mainly by the point to which economy of fuel can be carried in our iron manufacture. One and one-half tons of rich Lake Superior ore will make a ton of iron, while two and a half to three tons of coal are at present consumed in smelting it. Hence it would seem cheaper to carry one and a half tons of ore to the coal than two and a half tons of coal to the ore. But since the lake market is the great market, most of the iron made in the interior will be brought back to the lakes, thus equalizing the inequality, and making the lake shores at the present time as favorable locations for the manufacture of iron as the interior. If now it were possible to improve our processes of iron manufacture till we could make, as they do in the Cleveland district, England, a ton of iron from a ton of coke or from a ton and a half of raw coal, it is easy to see that the lake shores would become the best positions for the manufacture of iron. This result might be attained by improving our processes and increasing the capital employed in the iron business, or, to be more specific, by bringing several furnaces under one enlightened management, and doing the business by wholesale rather than retail, and by adding to the height and capacity of the furnaces and increasing the pressure and temperature of the blast. All these improvements are, in time, sure to be made, and therefore we are safe in predicting that the shores of the lakes will become the chief places of manufacture of the Lake Superior ores.

8. *The Far West.* Little iron is yet made west of the Mississippi. Good ores abound, however, in many places, as magnetic and specular ores in the Rocky Mountains of Colorado, Utah, and New Mexico, and in the Sierra Nevada of California. Clay ironstone of good quality also exists in connection with the Cretaceous lignites of Wyoming and Colorado. On the Chug Water in the Black Hills are heavy beds of magnetite, but these are so much contaminated with titanium as to be valueless. Throughout the Far West, timber, as a general rule, is not abundant, and hard-wood timber is almost unknown. Good charcoal is therefore out of the question. Hence it is easy to see that the future success of the iron manufacture in that region will depend on the utilization of the Cretaceous and Tertiary lignites as furnace fuels. Though generally unfit for use in the blast furnace, they can undoubtedly be employed with Siemen's regenerator, and by this means the wants of the population can certainly be supplied with iron of home production.

THE FUTURE OF OUR IRON INDUSTRY.

On the preceding pages we have given a hasty sketch of the resources of our country in iron, and of the present condition of our iron manufacture. Though necessarily brief and imperfect, we think it will be conceded that this sketch shows that our iron ores are abundant, varied in character, and conveniently distributed; that they are a fit counterpart and adjunct to our unequalled deposits of coal; and, further, that combining these two great sources of national wealth, they form the richest material endowment of the American people, a fund well-nigh inexhaustible, the use of which must profoundly affect our future history. We have also shown that these resources have given birth and sustenance to what has now become the greatest of our manufacturing industries, one that has grown to such extent that the United States is now second on the list of the iron-producing nations of the world. One question of vital interest, however, still remains to be considered in this connection, and that is, what is the probable future of this great industry?

Although it has attained such gigantic dimensions, the manufacture of iron in the United States has acquired its importance within the last fifty years, and it may almost be said within the last quarter of a century. Within the last decade its growth has been specially rapid, and also apparently healthy, for the demand has always exceeded the supply to such a degree that our importations have nearly equaled our home production. Until the last year the progress of iron manufacture has been constantly upward and onward. Individuals and communities have been enriched by it; towns and cities without number have grown up under its potent stimulus. All branches of the manufacture have been prosperous, and even all those who dealt in iron, if they manifested ordinary business capacity, were successful beyond those engaged in any other department of commerce. This was the state of things till the autumn of 1873. Then suddenly the whole scene changed. The financial panic arrested the construction of railroads—which have always been the greatest consumers of iron—put a stop to many other enterprises in which iron was largely used, and induced a general paralysis of business, in which the iron trade suffered more than any other. Since then the production of iron has fallen off nearly one-half. A large number of our furnaces have gone out of blast, and others are rapidly following suit. In all our centers of iron production stock has accumulated until it represents a large part of the manufacturer's capital,

and no longer serves even as security for borrowed money. In a glutted market sales can not be effected even at greatly reduced rates, and, as a consequence, universal embarrassment and distress have befallen those who were before the most independent and prosperous of our business-men, and tens of thousands of our most useful artisans have been thrown out of employment. Naturally we every where hear these men anxiously asking, When and how is this distress to be alleviated? Can the former prosperity of our iron industry be regained, and if so, how can it be maintained above the chances of such ruinous crises as that we have just experienced? For full and satisfactory answers to these questions more than human wisdom and forecast are required; and yet some rays of light may be made to penetrate the darkness by an intelligent inquiry into the causes of the catastrophe, and an investigation into the possible means of strengthening our iron industry in the future.

As to the causes of the panic, there is probably not much difference of opinion among thoughtful men. A long course of prosperity, and specially the rapid recovery and expansion of business after the war under the stimulus of an inflated currency, had made our people sanguine, rash, intoxicated. Business had become largely speculative in character. Legislation was specially framed to favor banks and railroads. The abundant money of the banks was freely loaned, and furnished an unhealthy stimulus to all branches of business. Railroad building, especially, was overdone. A reaction was inevitable. Sooner or later a day of reckoning *must* come. In short, our people had been on a frolic and must "pay the piper." The railroads were the first to suffer, as they had been the greatest offenders; but in their fall they dragged down every commercial and manufacturing enterprise. The revival of business under such circumstances must necessarily be slow, but it has been greatly retarded by the delay of Congress in adopting a financial policy. It mattered comparatively little *what* policy was adopted, whether one of inflation or contraction. Either would have been better than the evils resulting from a continued paralysis of business, and either would have set the wheels of industry in motion again. Until such a policy shall be definitely adopted by Congress, it is hopeless to expect that the great industrial enterprises of the country will resume their activity. Without this they have no solid foundation to rest upon; and such massive structures can not safely, and will not be, founded on shifting sand. In addition to this, confidence must be restored by the substitution, if not of strict honesty, at least of legitimate busi-

ness enterprise for the speculative and peculative spirit which was recently the order of the day. Human nature makes such reforms slowly and regretfully, and time will be required for them ; but they must come, or there is no health nor safety nor future for us as a nation. A better day is, in fact, sure to come. The resources of our country are so great, the vigor and intelligence of our population so marked, and its morality so far inviolate, that its energies and virtues are sure to reassert themselves, health and vigor to be regained, growth to be resumed. A sharp and killing frost is a sad calamity. It mars and scathes all the luxuriance and beauty of nature ; but it has its benefits as well, and is at worst a necessary evil. It wilts and destroys all sappy weeds and fungus growths. Yet it leaves the hardy plants, stripped of their foliage maybe, but with their vitality untouched.

In due time natural causes will restore to the business of the country its former vigor and activity, and with this we shall see the iron manufacture recover from its present depression. It supplies an indispensable element not only to all progress, but to the maintenance of normal health in every community ; even as iron forms an indispensable element in the vital fluid of the individual. But it is to be hoped that its life will be less feverish and its growth be more sound and healthy than heretofore. That this necessity will be laid upon it may be plainly seen. As has been said, the importation of iron into this country has been equal to the home production, and this importation has been burdened with three thousand to four thousand miles of transportation and a heavy duty. These facts prove that iron is made abroad for about half what it costs to make it here. The question whether this difference can be extinguished is one of vast import to our iron industry. Most of the foreign iron used in this country is made in England, but even a cursory examination of the conditions of the iron manufacture there, will show that the materials from which iron is made are less abundant and less excellent than with us. Of both ores and fuels we have at least twenty times the quantity contained in the United Kingdoms, while in quality ours are better and more varied, and they are as conveniently located. How, then, does it happen that the ingenious, enterprising, and energetic Americans are so far outdone by their English relatives ? The answer is very simple. The English manufacturer owes his superiority to three things, viz. *cheaper labor, greater capital, and improved processes*. The item of labor in the production of a ton of iron is in this country usually reckoned at about \$4, but

this refers only to the labor expended upon it at the furnace ; in fact, the high price of labor also affects the price of the ore, fuel, flux, and transportation to and from the furnace. This may be safely reckoned at from \$4 to \$6 more ; so that the item of labor in the cost of a ton of iron should really be reckoned at from \$8 to \$10. In England the price of labor has somewhat enhanced of late, and it can not be safely reckoned at less than \$5 per ton ; hence the English manufacturer has an advantage of \$3 to \$5 per ton in the matter of labor. His greater capital enables him to manage a large establishment with several furnaces by a simple and thoroughly systematized administration, and permits him to reap all the advantages of doing business by wholesale rather than retail, both in buying and selling. His processes are better in this, that he uses larger furnaces, in which the blast has a higher temperature and pressure, and in which the materials are mingled according to reason rather than by the rule of thumb. Each great iron establishment has its educated expert who brings to the problems before him a thorough understanding of the composition of the materials used, of the changes which take place in the furnace, and also of the lessons taught by experience in other establishments and in other countries. Under his direction the height of the best English furnaces has been carried up to one hundred feet, and the weekly product made to reach six hundred tons ; and the consumption of fuel has been so far economized that a ton of iron is made with a ton of coke, about half what we use. When, therefore, we shall have acquired the necessary capital, and shall have simply imitated the methods which are the healthy growth of experience abroad and are there in daily regular practice, we shall be able to make iron in all its varieties better and cheaper than it can be done any where else in the world, except only the difference in the price of labor. This difference is less than the cost of transportation on English iron to the place where it is used, and is constantly diminishing by the increase of the cost of labor in Europe. So that when we have merely adopted the methods in constant use in the Old World, we can dispense with the tariff and defy foreign competition. Home competition will, however, be in full activity, and to this we must look for the needed reforms. In the present paralysis of business there would seem to be little incentive to such improvements as we have indicated, but the "struggle of life," which has hitherto hardly been felt in the iron manufacture of this country, is destined to be hereafter sharp and bitter. Hitherto, under the stimulus of a constantly

expanding market, and under the shield of the tariff, all our iron works, even with small furnaces and rude processes, have done well, and have made the owners rich. Now, only those specially well located and well managed will do this. The others will make little, or lose money, and will be compelled to reduce the costs of their iron by improving their methods. Then the lessons of adversity will not be lost upon our iron manufacturers; and when the present storm has wrought its work and passed, we may expect the iron industries of the country to exhibit a stronger, healthier growth than ever before. Then they will need no protective tariff, but will be self-sustaining, and will produce all the iron consumed in America, even if the demand should increase in the same ratio as during the last happy ten years.

ARTICLE IV.

STUDY OF THE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS.

CHARLES ELLIOTT, D. D.

THE tendency in the minds of some to exalt the present by depreciating the past, has led to false views on many subjects. Among these may be included the study of the Ancient Classics. Carried away by some favorite pursuit, enthusiasts have advocated their removal from the course of a liberal education, and the substitution of some department of science which they conceive to be more in accordance with the advancement and spirit of the age. Others have found in them lessons dangerous to morality, and have expressed themselves as though they dreaded, from their use, the return of the ancient polytheism. Others, again, who look at the useful, have urged that their study has no tendency to fit a man for the practical duties of life; and have advocated not only the exclusion of the Greek and Latin Classics from a course of mental training, but every thing else, which does not have a direct practical bearing. *Practical*, with such men, means the conversion of every thing that they touch into gold; and because the Greek and Roman Classics do not point the way to wealth, they are doomed to oblivion.

These objections operate on many minds in the community, and damp the ardor of pursuit which many a generous youth would manifest, were he fully satisfied in regard to their utility.

The question of the utility of any branch of study depends upon the decision of the questions, What is the object of education? and by what means is that object effected? If it be shown that language lies at the basis of intellectual culture, it will be granted by every one not under the influence of prejudice, that the Latin and Greek have as just a claim as any other to be employed for the discipline of the mind in the department of philology.

It is not irrelevant, therefore, to inquire, at the beginning of our discussion, into the nature and object of education.

The word education is of Latin origin. The verb from which it is derived signifies, in that language, *to foster, maintain, bring up, nurture; hence, to instruct, train, form*.^{*} We use the term in the secondary sense of instructing, training, forming. The word instruction is generally used to signify the imparting of knowledge, which is only a condition and means of education. The latter consists in training, forming. It is the harmonious development of the intellectual, moral, and physical powers of man. Its end is to fit him for the performance of the duties arising out of his various relations, to perfect his whole being.

The mention of man as an intellectual, moral, and physical being, presents to us a complex idea; and we can have no adequate conception of what education ought to be, unless we have some correct apprehension of that complex creature. What, then, is man, his constitution, his relations, and destiny?

Man is composed of soul and body. By means of his soul he is allied to the world of spirits; by means of his body, to the world of matter. The mind is endowed with faculties, which, in their exercise, obey certain laws: the body possesses functions, some of which perform the parts allotted to them without any volition on our part; others follow the dictates of the immaterial principle.

Without strict regard to metaphysical analysis, the faculties of the mind may be divided into the intellectual and moral faculties, and the faculty of taste. By the first, we apprehend the abstract relations of things, and the truth or falsehood of propositions; by the second, we discern the moral quality of actions, and derive the feeling of obligation; by the third, we appreciate the beauty and sublimity of art and of the material world. The body is the mere instrument of perception and action, while, at the same time, it forms the habitation of the spirit.

But our idea of man must be very defective, if we view him in an isolated capacity only, and contemplate his faculties and high endowments without reference to the great spiritual system of which he forms a part. As a member of such a system, he is a subject of moral law administered by the Legislator of the Universe. This law does not view him as an *autoteles*—a being whose end is himself—but as a being whose chief end is to glorify his Creator by the

^{*} It is a mistake to derive the word education, as many do, from *educo, educere*, of the third conjugation. It comes from *educo, educare*, of the first.

highest cultivation and active employment of those mental and moral faculties with which he is so munificently endowed. It ought not to be his aim to secure the greatest happiness and wealth possible for the present term of existence, but to fit himself for that world of which this forms but the vestibule. This is his high destiny. In order to accomplish this destiny, things must not be estimated according to their present importance, but according to their influence on his future well-being. The question, in regard to any pursuit, should be, How will it best promote that well-being?—not, How will it advance him in wealth? Thus things would assume their proper positions and due relations.

The subject, then, to be educated, is a being of wide relations, and of a destiny high as the glory of the Highest. Education is the instrument by which this being is fitted for the performance of the duties arising out of his relations, and assimilated, in some degree, to his high-born and fair original.

But of education there are two kinds. The one is the education of habits and particular faculties; the other, the development of the whole man. The former has reference to some professional calling, and is mistaken by many for true education. So far is this from the truth, as a profound philologist has well remarked, the more a man is educated professionally, the less is he educated as a man. Unacquainted with almost every branch of study not immediately connected with his profession, the furniture of his mind is incomplete. It resembles a room with a beautiful finish and costly paintings on one wall, and with nothing but raw plaster on the other. The mental development of such a man has no harmony, no symmetry of parts.

True education, in its largest sense, is the development of the whole man, physical, intellectual, and moral. It does not consist in Spartan exercises to fit one for successful rivalry in field-games and for high achievements in battle. It does not consist in training the memory at the expense of the judgment, nor in cultivating the esthetic part of our nature to the neglect of the intellectual; nor does it admit of developing the intellect without an attempt at a corresponding development of the moral powers; but it consists in the training and culture of all these, in presenting in one glow of associated beauty all the faculties of body and soul.

In this development education can employ no one instrument. There must be a system of means based upon a correct and philosophical view of the work to be performed. This work, in mental

culture, is to teach the mind how to use its faculties, how to reason correctly on any subject proposed for its consideration.

The method of the mind in reasoning is twofold, analysis and synthesis, or induction and deduction. The relations out of which all science is made up are also twofold—law and observation. A law is a rule of unconditional truth arrived at by the generalization of facts. These facts become matters of knowledge by observation.

“When we reason from the facts to the law, we call it analysis, or induction; when we reason from law to law, when from a known truth we seek to establish an unknown truth, we call it deduction, or synthesis. As, then, all science is made up of law and observation, of the idea and the facts, so all scientific reasoning is either induction or deduction. It is not possible, however, to teach inductive reasoning, or even to cultivate a habit of it directly. We all reason inductively every moment of our lives, but to reason inductively for the purposes of science belongs only to those whose minds are so constituted that they can see the resemblances in things which other men think unlike; in short, to those who have powers of original combination, and whom we term men of genius. If, therefore, we can impart by teaching deductive habits, education will have done its utmost towards the discipline of the reasoning faculties. When we speak of laws and ideas, we must not be understood as wishing to imply any thing more than general terms arrived at by real classification. About these general terms and these alone is deductive reason conversant, so that the method of mind, which is the object of education, is nothing but the method of language. Hence, if there is any way of imparting to the mind deductive habits, it must be by teaching the method of language, and this discipline has in fact been adopted in all the more enlightened periods of the existence of man. It will be remembered, in this method of language, it is not the words, but the arrangement of them, which is the object of study, and thus the method of language is independent of the conventional significations of particular words: it is of no country and of no age, but is as universal as the general mind of man. For these reasons we assert that the method of language, one of the branches of philology, must always be, as it has been, the basis of education, or humanity as such, that is, of the discipline of the human mind.”*

Language, moreover, is the instrument of thought: it forms the medium of communication between one mind and another; it is important, then, that the instrument be skillfully handled, that the medium be clear and unobstructed as possible. But this can only be accomplished by a careful study of the nature and powers of the instrument itself.

All this may be admitted, and still it may be asked, What bearing has it upon the study of the Latin and Greek Classics? Why may not a modern language, such as the English, the German, or the French, accomplish all the ends of philological training?

* Donaldson's *New Cratylus*, pp. 7, 8, Cambridge.

A dead language, the phenomena of which are fixed, has a decided advantage over a living one, which is subject to perpetual change. Its permanence of form affords us better opportunities for philological anatomy, and for gaining fixed ideas of the general analogy of language. Of all dead languages, the Latin and the Greek, with the exception, perhaps, of the Sanscrit, have attained to the greatest perfection of grammatical structure, and to the highest degree of literary culture. No dead language possesses a literature so rich and varied as those of Greece and Rome. These, then, are sufficient reasons for choosing a language, or languages, which we find crystallized in symmetry and beauty, in preference to a living one, which is sometimes advancing, sometimes retrograding; which is modified by local customs, manners, tastes, and habits, and changes its form with the progress or revolutions of society.

It will scarcely be asked, why any other dead language, for example the Hebrew, against the literature of which exist no objections, may not be selected as well as the Latin and Greek. Apart from other reasons that might be assigned, the following is sufficient: The cultivated taste of all ages has preferred the Latin and the Greek, just as it has preferred the painting of Apelles and the statuary of Phidias and Praxiteles to the rude designs and clumsy execution of their barbarian neighbors. If any think this statement disparaging to a language which has preserved to us the writings of inspired poets and prophets, let them remember that the Greek was equally honored as the vehicle of apostolic teaching, and that both it and the Latin are as much the gift of God as the language of Moses.

Having shown that the study of philology lies at the basis of intellectual training, that a dead language is preferable for this purpose to a living one, and that among the dead languages the Greek and the Latin have superior claims, it will be necessary to show the particular manner in which the study of the Classics disciplines the mind, and that it can not, with advantage, be superseded by any thing else.

Suppose, then, a student with his Virgil or his Homer before him. What is the task proposed? It is manifestly, in the first place, to arrive at the meaning of his author. In doing this he makes himself acquainted with the significations of particular words. He next so arranges these words, according to their dependence and agreement, as to make a consistent sense. To do this successfully there is required the exercise of various faculties. Memory is

employed in remembering the significations of words ; comparison is exercised in observing their relations and agreement ; and judgment, in applying the principles of grammar. But the exercise does not end here. If the student is faithful, he will cultivate his taste in selecting the happiest and most appropriate expressions of his own language, in which to clothe the sense of the original : he will mark the differences of idiom, make himself acquainted with the geographical and historical facts connected with his subject, and inform himself with regard to every allusion to political, social, and domestic life. The study of the Classics, if properly pursued, is not the mere memorizing of words, declension of nouns, conjugation of verbs, and the application of rules for the agreement and government of words ; but it is the exercise of memory, reason, judgment, and taste. In separating sentences into their elementary parts, the mind goes through a process of analysis ; in combining these parts according to the principles of syntactical structure, recourse is had to the opposite process of synthesis ; and in thoroughly comprehending the subject, contribution is laid on almost every department of human knowledge.

A pertinent illustration of the point under consideration may be derived from the study of the English Classics. To understand Milton, for example, requires not only a thorough knowledge of the English language, but also of mythology, theological opinions, and many other subjects. When he speaks of that

“ Crystalline sphere
Whose balance weigh’d the trepidation talk’d,”

he becomes altogether unintelligible to the reader, unless he have some knowledge of the Ptolemaic system of astronomy ; and without some acquaintance with the diseases of the eyes, obscurity must rest upon the passage in which, referring to his blindness, he says :

“ So thick a drop serene hath quench’d their orbs,
Or dim suffusion veil’d.”

There is a higher exercise in studying the Ancient Classics than any which has yet been mentioned. In them we have some of the greatest productions of the human mind. The fountains of history, the wells of poesy, the highest efforts of oratory, the most subtile disquisitions of philosophy are there. They require, therefore, the application of logic and criticism. But to analyze the structure of arguments, to trace the affinities of thought, and to apply the principles of taste is the highest walk of mind, and all this a thorough

and comprehensive study of the Classics requires. The instances are very rare in which all this is fully done during a collegiate course. The most that we can expect to be accomplished there, is to lay the foundation for higher acquisitions.

The classical languages, as an instrument of intellectual development, can not, with advantage, be superseded by any thing else. No one has advocated the appropriation of more time to the study of the mental and moral sciences as an equivalent ; for a proper understanding of these is so closely connected with a thorough knowledge of language that little progress can be made in them without it. The comparative merits of a living and a dead language have already been briefly alluded to : it only remains, therefore, to consider the propriety of substituting a more extended course of Mathematics, or of the Natural Sciences.

Let a more extensive course of Mathematics be substituted. In some respects, as an instrument of education, they are superior to the Classics. They accustom the student to patient attention, concentration of mind, and consecutive thought : they impart a habit of precision and logical deduction to a degree which nothing else can accomplish ; but by carrying the pupil into the regions of cold abstraction, they chill the aspirations of fancy and fetter the play of the imagination. The reasoning employed in Mathematics, moreover, is not drawn from such a variety of sources as the reasoning required in the study of languages. The mathematician sets out with a few axioms and definitions, and his whole process consists in deducing ultimate or unknown truths from such as are obvious, or based upon previous demonstration. The principal faculties employed in such a process are memory, comparison, and judgment ; and these are confined to a narrow, rigorously bounded field. Within that field they are trained to the eagle's quickness and penetration of vision.

The same may be said of the student of languages, who has his author, grammar, and dictionary. But in conducting their respective processes a great difference will be observed. The mathematician deals only with the relations of number and quantity : the student of languages deals with the significations of words, their relative position in a sentence, the selection of such terms as will best express the idea, with grammar, context, geography, history, and archæology. It will be readily perceived, therefore, that in the study of languages a greater variety of faculties will be called into exercise than in the study of mathematics ; or that, at least, the same faculties will have a wider exercise.

The demonstrative character of mathematical reasoning, which is one of its excellences, has not the happiest influence upon the mind of the mere mathematician, when moral subjects are presented for his consideration. Accustomed to his incontrovertible axioms, his exact definitions, and infallible conclusions, he looks for the same in moral questions. But they are not to be found; and if he does not turn skeptic, it can not be said that his mathematics saved him. On moral subjects, the student of language, other things being equal, has the advantage. All his reasoning in that department has been of the probable kind; and consequently he is better prepared to appreciate the evidence and reasoning employed in moral subjects.

To those who advocate the substitution of a more extended course of the Natural Sciences for the study of the Ancient Classics, the following considerations are submitted. They cannot accomplish their own purposes, together with those to be accomplished by the study of languages. Their relation to the mind is different; and it is important that every science should be considered in its relation to the mind, before the arrangement best fitted to develop the mental faculties can be determined. All science is in the mind, and its method is the same in every department; but each particular science has objects peculiar to itself, and differs from another, in its relation to the mind, according to the nature of its objects. The objects of Natural Science are the phenomena and laws of the material universe. To observe, collect, experiment upon, and classify these phenomena are the mental acts and processes employed in its pursuit. By such acts and processes inquisitiveness is awakened, the faculty of observation is cultivated, and habits of close attention are formed; but it seems to us that reflective habits are not cultivated to a corresponding degree. Where the external occupies so large a space in the mental vision, the internal must dwindle into comparatively small dimensions.

To form the mind to reflective habits and give it vigor and tone, it is necessary to throw it back upon itself, to observe its ever-varying phenomena, and to analyze its complex operations and emotions. Now these are found objectively in language.

“We find in the internal mechanism of language the exact counterpart of the mental phenomena, which writers on psychology have so carefully collected and classified. We find that the structure of human speech is the perfect image or reflex of what we know of the organization of the mind; the same description, the same arrangement of particulars, the same nomenclature would apply to both, and

we might turn a treatise on the philosophy of mind into one on the philosophy of language by merely supposing that every thing said in the former of the thoughts as subjective, is said again in the latter of the words as objective."*

The study of the Natural Sciences can not give the same kind of discipline only ; but it can not give the same amount that the study of the Classics can.

These sciences may be taught in two ways, either systematically and in their full extent, or merely in outline and so as to convey some idea of their objects and leading principles. If they are taught in the former way, they are much too laborious as a mental discipline for the general student ; if in the latter, they will have very little effect in cultivating the mind. On the contrary, in a majority of instances, they will lead to a dissipation of time and talents, unless pursued with other studies that require severer application.

It is not our intention to detract from the merit of the Physical Sciences. They form a noble study, well adapted to enlarge the mind and give it comprehensive views of the system of things. But it will scarcely be urged that the study of them can accomplish all their own ends, together with those of the study of language. And here it may be of importance to remark, that the experience of instructors generally has been that those students who have devoted themselves exclusively to the study of the Physical Sciences have made slower progress than those who have combined with them the study of the Classics. The remark has been attributed to Prof. Dugald Stewart, of the University of Edinburgh, that the most successful students in his department were those who had an accurate knowledge of the Latin and the Greek.

Some may plead the ennobling influence of Natural Science. In every department it displays the wisdom and goodness of the Creator. If studied with a right spirit, this is true. Yet, in Physical Science, the mind deals with matter alone, its properties and laws. In the Classics we can read the lessons of Divine Providence. We can hold communion with the spirits of the mighty dead, stand with Demosthenes on the Bema at the Pnyx, walk the groves of the Academy with the celebrated philosophers of antiquity, follow Cicero into the Senate and listen to his soul-stirring eloquence, and thus form a sympathy with mankind. And this sympathy who would exchange for all the emotions which the beautiful and sublime in nature can produce ? In the words of a Latin dramatist :

" *Humani nihil a me alienum puto.*"

* Donaldson's *New Cratylus*, p. 44, Cambridge.

The judgment of the most cultivated nations of modern times has been and is still in conformity with the views that have been expressed. The study of the Greek and Roman Classics was introduced into the system of liberal education which was adopted at the restoration of learning in Europe; and the experience of its benefits has secured its continuance. The Classics of Greece and Rome were included, in the schools, colleges, and universities of modern Europe, among those branches of study which they termed the "*humanities*," or "*literæ humaniores*;" and in the Scotch universities the professor of Latin is still styled "Professor of Humanity." This appellation is a proof that the founders of the modern system of education considered the classical writers as the teachers of the civilized world. They form a common bond, which unites the cultivated minds of all nations and ages together.

Some have condemned the study of the Classics on the ground of morality. It is not our purpose to hold them up as models of moral teaching, or to encourage an indiscriminate imitation of the sages of antiquity. Even under the benign, elevating, and sanctifying influences of Christianity, human virtue is too often found of a defective, weak, and stunted growth: how much more may we expect this to have been the case among those "who changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things!" The only pure morality is found in the pages of inspiration: the only perfect model of virtue in the Founder of Christianity; and next to Him, in those who believe His doctrines, obey His precepts, and imitate His example. Yet among some of the ancient heathen there was much that was noble and elevated in character. We meet every where on the classic page with examples of devoted friendship, filial piety, reverence for the gods, unbending fidelity, self-sacrificing patriotism, and magnanimity. These virtues are commended and their opposites condemned. This demonstrates to us the supremacy of conscience and the universality of moral distinctions. It is known by all who have paid any attention to moral science, that a variety of opinions has existed concerning the theory of conscience—some holding the doctrine that it is a part of our original constitution, and others that it is the result of education. Now, to a careful reader of the Classics nothing is more obvious than the use of terms expressive of moral distinctions—distinctions founded, not upon legislation nor upon established custom, but referring to something absolute and immutable above and beyond man. They perceived these distinctions,

and felt and obeyed the impulses of conscience, though at variance with the examples of the deities whom they worshiped. Their gods were monsters of wickedness; but vice, armed with their authority, "found in the heart of man a moral instinct to repel her. The continence of Xenocrates was admired by those who celebrated the debaucheries of Jupiter. The chaste Lucretia adored the unchaste Venus." These examples afford an illustration of the following passage, written by an inspired apostle: "For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these having not the law are a law unto themselves, which show the work of the law written in their hearts."

The best method of teaching youth morality, is not by arguments, rules, and demonstrations, but by examples, by sentiments that ennoble and elevate the heart. Such examples, we have already stated, are to be found in the Classics. Socrates was patient and forbearing, ardently devoted to the best interests of his fellow-men, according to the light he enjoyed; Xenophon was an example of modesty; and Plato, who acquired the epithet divine, displayed as much humility as many of his philosophic successors. Among the Romans, we have the simple republican manners of Cincinnatus, the unshaken constancy of Fabricius, the self-denying patriotism of Regulus, and the stern virtue of Cato denouncing the luxury and stemming the corruption of his age. These examples come down to us venerable by their antiquity, and on that account more efficacious. The examples of virtue among the moderns are so near to us and so much more familiar, that we are liable to look upon them in connection with their vices. Examples, that are constantly occurring around us, may be equally brilliant; but, like the light of the sun, which immediately surrounds us, they are obscured by floating dust, whereas, if we look to a distance, the particles of dust disappear, and we see, or we imagine that we see, the pure, unadulterated beam. Here, as in natural scenery, "distance lends enchantment to the view."

From examples it would be interesting to turn to the moral precepts transmitted to us in the Classics—precepts referring to civil, social, and religious duties. But we will omit these for the consideration of a more important point, at least a point of greater practical importance to the present age.

Classical studies furnish an antidote against the materialistic and materializing philosophy of the present day, promoted by a too exclusive devotion to the Natural Sciences, and thus indirectly aid

the cause of morality and religion. Certain scientists are loud in their demand for *things* instead of *words*, as if words, and the ideas which they represent, were not things, and the most permanent things. The temples and sphinxes of Egypt are dumb, and leave us in ignorance of the past; but her hieroglyphics speak: her recorded words are the expositors of her antiquities.

This materialistic philosophy sees nothing practical nor useful, except in ores and metals, cubes and squares, gases and imponderable agents. It has a good representative in

“ Mammon, the least erected spirit that fell
From heaven: for even in heaven his looks and thoughts
Were always downwards bent; admiring more
The riches of heaven’s pavement, trodden gold,
Than aught divine or holy else, enjoy’d
In vision beatific.”

And with great skill does the poet make him the leader of the fallen angels to “a hill” from which they “dug out ribs of gold.”

Low utilitarianism is always thinking about digging gold; and it would convert every thing into a spade or pickax for that purpose. Such a one-sided and groveling philosophy must be opposed by one more comprehensive, elevated, and spiritual; and one of the best auxiliaries to such a philosophy is a broad classical culture. Men must be taught that whatever awakens noble thoughts and influences the heart for good is useful and practical; that the most necessary branches of knowledge are not, on that account, the most intrinsically valuable. Iron is used in a greater variety of ways than gold: it is more useful, but does not have more intrinsic value. Cotton is more generally used than silk: it is more useful, but it is not more valuable. Charcoal is more in demand than diamonds; but diamonds are more precious. We live in a world in which labor is required to feed and clothe ourselves, and for this purpose acquaintance with certain branches of science is necessary; but those branches, though of necessity more generally studied than others, are not higher in the scale of dignity: they are not of more intrinsic value. Arithmetic is not higher than Calculus; Geography than Astronomy; nor Chemistry than Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy. House-and-sign painting is not equal in dignity to landscape painting; nor is the study of Botany so elevated a walk of mind as that of language or poetry. Every one, of course, can not be expected to study Latin and Greek, the higher Mathematics and Metaphysics, literary criticism and poetry; but they are not, on that account, to be considered

useless and unworthy of the attention of the human mind ; and it must not be imagined that other things, that relate more immediately to our present wants, can be substituted for them, and equally accomplish the same ends. This is the fanatical raving of a short-sighted, purblind philosophy, which can see neither beauty nor excellence in any thing that lies beyond the narrow circle that it has marked out for itself. Its views are all directed to some particular result, and with such intensity that it can see nothing else. It is wedded to a single idea, and all other ideas are discarded, out of respect to its favorite one.

The devotees of such a philosophy say, with Bacon, we want fruit : the object of all philosophy is fruit. Bacon did not mean, by fruit, crab-apples alone, nor pears nor peaches alone ; but he meant all the rich variety that nature yields. Without figure, he meant all the legitimate results of literary research and intellectual investigation : he meant the fruit which our intellectual faculties are designed to produce. In the estimation of that philosopher, the Bread-and-Butter Sciences, as they are styled by the Germans, are not the only useful sciences. “ Man doth not live by bread only.”

Vivere

Non esse solum vesci aethere,
Sed laude virtutisque fructu
Egregiam satiare mentem.

ARTICLE V.

DIVORCE.

HON. N. H. DAVIS.

DIVORCE, in modern acceptation, is the separation of man and wife, by legislative enactment, or by judicial sentence or decree, authorized by statute.

A sentence of nullity is not, strictly speaking, a decree of divorce. It applies only to a void or voidable marriage.

The term "*putting away*," in Scriptural use, was limited in its signification to the act of one of the parties, and it does not always convey the idea of legal sanction.

It was not simply the *putting away* permitted by the Mosaic precept, which constituted the dissolution, or the setting aside, of the marriage, but it was the privilege or authority given to the woman put away, to be another man's wife. The *writing of divorcement* was the mandate, or, more properly, the requirement of the law, which secured the woman, as well against the further control of the man who had taken her to wife and put her away, as against the death-penalty for adultery, which she otherwise would inevitably have incurred, had she married another after being put away. Hence, we can not conceive it possible that the words "*some uncleanness*" (Deut. xxiv.) discovered after marriage, meant actual adultery; else we must suppose that the same penal law against adultery, so emphatically pronounced, was inoperative from the beginning, and had already failed at the time the precept was promulgated.

When polygamy was permitted by the custom of the Jews, it did not matter to the husband whether this *putting away* authorized by the law was in fact—as we use the term in modern times—a divorce or sentence of nullity, or whether it was simply a legal discharge from the obligation to support the woman, no longer agreeable in his house, as a wife. The effect was the same to him. The ancient custom of polygamy was of the authority of law, and the Jewish

husband was not disturbed by the question of marriage to another after putting away a wife ; but it was all-important to the wife. Hence the law which suffered the husband, for specific cause, to put away a woman whom he had taken to wife, required of him a *writing of divorcement*, which released the woman from all obligations of duty to him. It certified that the woman was not his wife, and could therefore be another man's without incurring the death-penalty, which *surely* followed adultery.

In the course of time grave questions arose from the abuse of this privilege of putting away suffered by Moses. The law admitted of different interpretations. It was designed to mitigate, to some extent, the slavery of polygamy ; but still, it left great power for cruelty in the hands of the hard-hearted husband, and was therefore open to great abuse. The school of Hillel claimed indefinite latitude of construction. The school of Shammai contended that the law limited the privilege to some special uncleanness to be discovered. Whether this uncleanness was post-nuptial or ante-nuptial is not satisfactorily settled ; nor is it material for this argument—for Christ surprised the schools both of Hillel and Shammai, by declaring that the precept in question was not the law in the beginning, nor in conformity with the great design of the primitive law of marriage, but was suffered by Moses for their hardness of heart. It was indeed a temporary regulation, wisely adapted to the Jewish customs, but was not the law for the Christian Church, "For the Lord, the God of Israel, saith that he hateth putting away." It was a measure of relief for the benefit of the woman during the prevalence of polygamy. When Christ proclaimed to the world the law of marriage as it was in the beginning, polygamy was *condemned*, and the laws relating to it were no longer authorized. Under his teaching, polygamy came to be regarded by the Christian world as contrary to good morals. The enlightened judgment of Christian tribunals, which declared the common law, ceased to recognize it, and it was not tolerated in Christian countries.

This left the profligate no alternative but to fall back, under cover of the Mosaic precept, upon the license allowed to the Jews, and to adapt laws of divorce to the exigency.

It will be admitted that when a law tempts the criminal and rewards the crime, it at once becomes the *cause* of crime. It was for this, that Christ did not approve the first step toward the great crime of adultery, viz. the *putting away*, the tendency of which he foresaw and declared. It is for this, that the Christian

world never can be reconciled to the absolute dissolution of the marriage covenant for any cause.

The operation of this law of indissolubility proves its origin and its design. The highest civilization has its foundation in this law, as the lowest appears where this law is not acknowledged.

So far as civilization depends upon organized human agency, or upon what is called civil government, there are two kinds, which now distinctly mark the prosperous countries of the civilized world. Both are progressive, but there is a wide difference in their progressive development. One is conservative, the other is, in the English sense, radical. England and Scotland represent one, and too many States of the United States represent the other.

The difference is seen in the several departments of social, business, and political life, in the family circle, in the counting-room, and in the halls of legislation.

The highest civilization that ever has been reached by a nation on earth is that of England at this day. The conservative Christian sentiment which pervades and controls the whole nation, in her social, business, and political relations, written on the hearts of her people and embodied in the *unwritten* formula, called the Common Law, is a comprehensive definition or demonstration of real civilization, which every body, Christian or infidel, can understand.

The marriage institution, ordained of God as declared by Christ, and the family government laid thereon by a Christian Saxon people, constitute the foundation upon which that civilization rests.

Rigid adherence to the Word of God, in the matter of marriage, is the corner-stone of English family government, and of English society, and of the English type of civilization.

That civilization, by its common law, pronounces a valid marriage indissoluble.

It will be seen in the course of the argument, that the recent English statute of 20 and 21 Vic. c. 85, indicates no change of public sentiment in England upon the main point under discussion; and it is believed that this common-law doctrine of indissolubility will hold its power over the English mind just as long as England holds her high place at the head of civilized nations.

It is not pertinent to the argument to refer to the divorce laws of the different States in Europe and America. To England, however, we are indebted for the common law, and the common law reflects the spirit and meaning of the words of Christ, it is believed, in the matter of divorce.

In order, therefore, not to encumber the argument, all unnecessary references to laws of different States, and all collateral issues which do not affect the main point, viz. *the absolute indissolubility of a valid marriage*, will be avoided.

This point embraces the doctrine of the common law, and the argument will show that it is the law of Christ properly interpreted. It is designed to show, by the fatal effect on the morals of society of all laws of divorce *a vinculo*, that the marriage union when once fully consummated under the requirements of divine law (and what true man or woman would have it otherwise?) is an indissoluble union *prima facie*.

Furthermore, the fact that no marriage can be dissolved by common law, but its dissolution must be expressly authorized by the constitution and statute law of the State, admits the indissolubility of the covenant *prima facie*.

The common law of England is the common usage, the common sentiment and habit of thought, and the common practice growing out of it, sanctioned by the common sense of the nation, the evidence of which is to be found in the concurrent decisions of the wisest jurists in the country, from age to age.

It may therefore be said, that in point of civil and moral polity, common law is the most accurate exponent of the enlightened sentiment of every age in the progress of civilization.

The common law of England, by reason of its perfect adaptation to conservative republican government, was from the beginning and is now the declared law of every State of the United States, except the State of Louisiana.

Wherever the English language and English high moral sentiment prevail, English common law will be preëminent. It is, indeed, in democratic governments, the only practical and permanent safeguard against judicial and legislative corruption; because it is founded in reason and truth—can be traced to no particular era—is above all prejudice and partisan spirit, and keeps pace with the development, in practical life, of the profound wisdom and truth of the words of Christ.

In the English ecclesiastical courts, where it was pretended that the Church had proper jurisdiction, it was attempted to supersede the common law by the canon law; but the persistent efforts of bishops and clergy in this direction, only served further to excite the prejudice of the nobility and people against the canon law. The clergy gradually withdrew from this long-continued contest, leaving

in the hearts of the British nation a deep-seated distrust of the civil as well as of the canon law; in so far that even after the lapse of ages that which was good of the canon law was admitted with great caution and suspicion.

It is idle to say, therefore, that the common law yielded to canon law any common-law principle in the matter of marriage and divorce.

Common law is handed down to us by the decisions of eminent judges, who maintain and expound immemorial usage. When that usage is found to be "evidently contrary to reason" or "clearly contrary to divine law," it inevitably goes out as it came in, and ceases to be law; for sooner or later it will be seen that that which is not reason is not common law. The judges do not make the law. Their concurrent decisions are not the common law; but are only the *evidence* of what is common law.

When we bring to our aid, therefore, the authority of common law, in opposition to divorce, we stand on the high ground of reason, based upon the truth of the Word of God. Not only so; but when it is considered that in England the several supporters of common and canon law were bitterly antagonistic on every controvertible point, but on the general principle of marriage indissolubility were united, the authority of common law comes with singular power in condemnation of the low notions now prevailing in the matter of divorce.

Common law does indeed recognize as void, or voidable, a criminally fraudulent or illegal contract of marriage, and will, in certain cases, authorize a sentence of nullity; but never ventures to dissolve a marriage consummated in good faith by competent parties.

The efforts of Henry VIII. to effect a change in the policy of the English Government on this vital point signally failed. Had he succeeded in Parliament, or forced decisions in common law or ecclesiastical courts, the result would have been the same, so far as the principle of common law was involved. His edicts or decisions to-day would not be authority. The British Parliament, by special or private acts, two hundred years ago, did begin to override this established principle, and have continued from time to time to grant divorces, by special acts, under pressure of those in high places; but the great representative class of the people of England ever have opposed, and do now abhor divorce and subsequent marrying.

Even the recent English statute of 20 and 21 Vic. 85, which has been imposed upon the State for the benefit of the vicious few,

still retains substantially the main feature of the old statute law, *granting for simple adultery on part of the husband* only a judicial separation from bed and board. The adultery of the husband, unaccompanied by other crime, is not now, by the recent statute, sufficient ground for divorce *a vinculo*. The difference between adultery of the husband and adultery of the wife is on account of the spurious issue entailed upon the family by the adultery of the wife. It is not because adultery is admitted, even by the statute, to be sufficient cause of itself.

The common law does not yield even to this plausible evasion ; and therefore we state with confidence that the fact that no marriage covenant can be dissolved by common law, but its dissolution must be expressly authorized by the constitution and statute law of the State, admits the indissolubility of the covenant; *prima facie*.

It is a misnomer to call marriage a contract. It can not be such between God and the parties united ; for God makes no civil contracts with man. It is more than such between the parties themselves, besides the interest which the public has in it. It is a solemn obligation to abide by the conditions which the public demands and which God imposes. It is, in truth and in fact, a sacred privilege and trust conferred upon the parties, by the Creator, from which they can not be absolved by any authority less than the power conferring it. To this they do solemnly agree ; the Christian world so recognizes it, and the common law can not sanction its evasion. Hence, to effect its dissolution, the necessity of first enacting statute laws, abrogating or overruling the ordinance of God and the established principles of common law. These statute laws, in some States, must be further authorized by constitutional provision.

It is assumed, however, by many Christian commentators, and by some Christian legislators, that some modification of this primitive ordinance of God is authorized by Christ himself ; that the dissolution of the marriage union is allowed for one cause, viz. the cause of adultery. In this connection, adultery is construed by them to be one and the same with fornication.

It is not proposed, in this place, to say any thing of laws of divorce *a vinculo*, for other cause than adultery ; but to pronounce them, without resort to argument, or to proof, utterly unworthy of Christian recognition. They have not the semblance of Scriptural authority, but are in positive and persistent opposition to every express or implied word of Christ on the subject of divorce.

Nor is it proposed to discuss the mooted point raised by the Greek word *πορνεία* in Matt. v. and xix. We, of course, avail ourselves of any legitimate conclusion drawn from our argument. It is true, if *πορνεία*, in the record of St. Matthew, refers to ante-nuptial incontinence, the marriage may be void or voidable at common law. It would simply be a question of fraud which might or might not vitiate the marriage, and not a question of the right of dissolution of a valid marriage. This view would, of course, be conclusive against divorce on Scriptural ground. The advocates of divorce can make no defense worthy of notice, upon any shadow of authority, other than the passages in St. Matthew of doubtful meaning, as we find it in the Greek. If, for the sake of the argument, we should allow that *πορνεία* and *μοιχεία* are convertible terms, it would not change the result on the main point under discussion. Christ himself disposed of this word of doubtful meaning, or did not regard it as affecting the main question, on two several occasions: the first as recorded by St. Luke; the second, when asked further of the same matter by the disciples, recorded by St. Mark, which concluded the controversy. The main question is the dissolution of a valid marriage. The ground is broadly stated, viz. that the absolute dissolution of a valid marriage, for the cause of adultery, is not only unauthorized, but is positively forbidden.

It is admitted by the highest authorities—that is to say, by all who acknowledge the supremacy of the Word of God on points of moral and civil law—that, if marriage dissolution is not authorized for adultery, a valid marriage can only be dissolved by death.

The character of the crime of adultery, *per se*, enters into the general question of public policy, and leads to some conflict of opinion among the advocates of divorce themselves. Whether adultery is or is not the highest crime against marriage, presents the subject under two very different aspects.

If adultery is not the highest crime against marriage, it can not be assumed that adultery is, *per se*, cause for dissolution; because there are other crimes against the marriage relation which do, in fact, not only defeat the purposes of marriage, but are quite as fatal as adultery to the unity of sentiment and life in conjugal love which is represented by the *unitas carnis*, or bodily union. These crimes, such as foeticide, infanticide, *procuring the wife's debauchment*, attempt on the life of the consort, are diabolical crimes, and worse than adultery, in any point of view. One of them, especially, is utterly destructive of the *unitas carnis*, and of every sentiment of affection;

and yet by the highest authorities among the advocates of divorce themselves, it is not pretended that they are allowed by Christ to be cause for dissolution of the marriage union.

On the other side : If adultery is the highest crime against marriage, that is to say, against the affections, the honor, the reputation, and the peace of the parties themselves and of the family, then adultery is a crime of such magnitude that it not only warranted the penalty of certain death, prescribed by the Mosaic law, but the reason and the necessity of the law were recognized by Christ, and the exception was allowed in obedience to that law ; that is to say, the *putting away* was allowed in view of the immediate and inevitable death-penalty which followed conviction.

One or the other of these antagonistic propositions must be accepted by those who allege adultery as the exception.

In either case, the argument does not allow the alleged exception to the fundamental law of indissolubility. For one proves too little, and the other proves too much.

Furthermore, on the first point, as a matter of State policy alone : If adultery *per se* is not a high crime against the peace and dignity of the State, and does not destroy the unity of interest in the family circle, then it is not a crime of sufficient magnitude to authorize the Government to disturb the general and admirable law upon which society is founded, merely to meet a case, now and then, of individual hardship, occasioned by the folly of the parties themselves, which has no claim upon the law or upon the public sympathy ; and *which, so far as relief from suffering and injustice is needed, can be reached by the common law.*

Government trifles with justice and truth, and hence with the public interests, when it ventures to intercept the wholesome and general operation of the common law, to provide for individual cases of indiscretion and folly of youth. In a practical point of view, therefore, the wretched plea of necessity is seen to be false.

In matters of conscience pertaining to civil as well as to moral government, Christ never leaves us to grope our way among abstractions and probabilities. He declared legal principles, affecting all society, on the vital subject of marriage rights and duties, with such precision, and such clear perception of the wants of society, as to challenge the admiration of the wisest jurists and statesmen of all time. And this is common law.

When, therefore, legislative assemblies, composed in great part of men who look only to material interests, and who have no proper

conception of truth or virtue, assume authority to set up a standard of morals, by statute law, for Christian observance, and when distinguished men of the Church acquiesce in this monstrous assumption, it becomes thinking men to stop at once and go back behind this modern invasion of the inalienable rights of society, and to reëstablish the truth as it came from Christ and is persistently held by the common law. This is a duty as well as a privilege of the humblest elector.

If the general reader, who is not supposed to be familiar with the technical meaning of the term *common law*, will accept our statement of facts, and think for a moment of the past and present greatness of England, he will discover that the common law brings to our aid, in this argument, as well the facts of English history as the grand principles of civil and moral law, in perfect harmony, which underlie that history.

While the great principles of the common law demonstrate by reason and practice the truth of the word of God, and are, in fact, founded on the teachings of Christ, its rules of evidence and interpretation for the discovery of truth are equally well founded. We propose, therefore, to seek the true intent and meaning of the words of Christ in the matter of divorce, by means of these admirable and unerring rules.

We assume, as admitted, that if a valid marriage can not be dissolved for the cause of adultery, it can only be dissolved by death.

We have shown that a valid marriage is indissoluble *prima facie*.

We propose to show that the words of Christ, interpreted by legal rules which are founded in reason and common sense, do not admit the alleged exception of adultery.

When Christ declared the law of marriage, as ordained by God in the beginning, and the *prohibitory* law which he deduced therefrom, viz. "What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder," did he then or thereafter, in fact, or in words from which such a design can be legally or otherwise justly drawn, make an exception to the fundamental law prohibiting the dissolution of a valid marriage?

The exception is alleged to be *adultery* on part of husband or wife. By established rule of interpretation of statute law, especially when it is alleged as an exception, to limit or to impair the force of a fundamental law, the statute, as an exception, must be strictly construed. So here the same rule applies, and the burden of proof rests upon the party alleging the exception. It must be as clearly

shown that adultery is an exception to indissolubility as the contrary appears, not only in the body of the fundamental law, but as appears from the context, and from the uniform teaching of Christ, as recorded by St. Luke and St. Mark, and as believed and taught by St. Paul. This and much more would have to be done, even if all the presumptions arising from its operation in practical life were not against it : even if the common law did not unequivocally reject it. Will the rule be denied? Common sense admits the rule, as it does every other rule of common law.

This admirable and undisputed rule, especially in its application to penal statutes, is founded in wisdom and truth.

If statute laws, based upon an alleged exception to fundamental law, are to be held to indubitable proof of the design of the law-maker, how much more essential is it to hold the alleged exception itself to the same simple and safe rule, both in a legal and a moral point of view !

Furthermore of the rules of common law, it may be stated that, while exceptions in derogation of fundamental law raise a doubt of the intention of the lawgiver, and throw the burden of proof on the party alleging the exception, exceptions totally repugnant to the body of the law itself are altogether inadmissible.

The application of these rules will appear in the course of the argument.

By a careful examination of the record of the words of Christ on the main question, viz. the right of the husband or of the wife to remarry, which it is alleged was permitted when the cause of putting away was adultery, it will be seen that the last communication of Christ on this, the main point, was made *to the disciples*, and recorded by St. Mark. (Mark x. 11, 12.)

It was subsequent to, and in explanation of the communication made to the Pharisees (St. Matt. xix. 9), in which the alleged exception appears. These words of Christ in St. Matthew, xix. 9, were not understood by the disciples. They did not understand how the husband could be deprived of his ancient privileges, and they immediately, when they went into the house, asked him for further explanation : and the answer was clear, concise, and unqualified.

This last communication (Mark x. 11, 12), as well as the equally plain and unqualified communication made to the Pharisees some time previously, recorded by St. Luke, xvi. 18, being in exact accordance with the fundamental law declared to the Pharisees, covering the main point of indissolubility, accumulates the presumptive evidence

on the side of the common law, and against the alleged exception, with such authority and power as to leave little room for doubt.

These last words of Christ on the main point expressly denounce the marriage of either of the divorced parties, without any reference, express or implied, to the alleged exception. These words were to the disciples apart from the Pharisees, and embraced another point not before named. It was the last communication of the Saviour upon the subject, was in conformity to the supreme or fundamental law, and did in fact simply declare that remarrying after putting away was adultery (a crime subject to the old law commanding the death-penalty). That old law was universally known, and it was not necessary to state it.

Inasmuch as the common law can and does give all relief necessary for the cause of justice and domestic peace, and for the good of society, any statute law authorizing divorce *a vinculo*, it is fair to assume, is only designed for the vicious; because it authorizes the vicious to override another established principle of common law, which affects deeply the moral aspect of the question. It *enables the criminal to take advantage of his own crime or wrong or indiscretion*—to reap a reward for his infamy, and to set at naught, at his will or pleasure, the chief design of the coördinate prohibitory law, as well as to accumulate his wives *ad libitum* under cover of law.

In practical effect, the alleged exception stands almost alone on this ground, and can not be received as of the force of law, or of a precept of Christ; because Christ could never have designed to give such license.

The wisdom and truth of the words, and of every act of the life of Christ, measured only by their practical effect on civil government, sustain this line of argument. If the facts and the rule of law are admitted as here stated, the argument thus supported can be rejected only upon the bold assumption—which the Christian will refuse to allow—that Christ gives greater latitude to sensualism by his precepts than does the common law, which claims to be founded in the very wisdom and truth and equity of those precepts when tried by the experience of ages.

The words of Christ are truth itself; and while we are allowed to place the records in intelligible connection in order to discover the truth, we dare not supplement the record by a single word: but we claim, if it can be interpolated at all, it must be allowed only on the side of the moral and legal presumptions of truth, which we have shown to be against the alleged exception.

Under the authority of common law—which recognizes the divine origin of marriage, and which is the wise adaptation of the primitive ordinance of God and of the precepts of Christ to practical life—we assert that in the most favorable view of the alleged exception, viz. in the light of an isolated passage unexplained by the positive law recorded by St. Luke and St. Mark, it does not come to us with the force of law or precept of Christ; because it is *an indirect inference drawn from a clause of doubtful application to the point in question*, to say the least; and because it presupposes that the husband could not have prosecuted his wife or her paramour for adultery, and is therefore repugnant to the body of the law, or passage itself, which, in declaring a crime, declares *ipso facto* the penalty for that crime under existing law.

It is pretended that the death-penalty for adultery was not in force at that time, because Christ did not condemn the woman taken in the act! A little reflection will satisfy the common reader *that this very transaction proves that the law was not only recognized by Christ* (which is sufficient for our purposes) *but was in force*, notwithstanding the depravity of the Jews at that time; and proves, moreover, the wisdom of the words of Christ in refusing to condemn. He laid the foundation of a law by that refusal, or recognized the equitable rule, which has been the common law of Christendom ever since, viz.: A party who demands, for his benefit or gratification, of equity or law, the condemnation of another, even for the crime of adultery, must come before the tribunal with clean hands himself. The pertinent question in the form of a proposition put to the accusers, settled the fact of their own guilt, and disposed of the question.

We take the liberty of quoting from a celebrated author,* who, in the estimation both of Protestants and Roman Catholics, now stands preëminent as an ecclesiastical historian. He says:

“Had any relaxation of the law come into vogue, we should have found some trace of a substituted penalty; for even by Roman and Athenian law, a man could kill his wife, if caught in the act, and so could her father, according to the new law of Augustus; else she was banished to an island. The Romans had certainly not forced their jurisprudence and penal code on the Jews, even when limiting their right of life and death. And nobody will believe that an ordinary Jewess convicted of adultery was banished to an island.”

He says further:

‘In all cases of uproar, high treason, and disturbance of public order, the Roman authorities would judge and punish; but in religious matters and what concerned

* Dr. Döllinger.

the law of Moses, full power was left to the Jewish authorities to pronounce and execute sentence of death."

"Nor is the attitude of Jewish authorities toward the apostles intelligible, except on the assumption of their full autonomy and power of life and death in religious matters. We read in Acts, v. 33, that the Sanhedrim in great wrath was resolving to kill them, when Gamaliel changed its decision, but not from any doubt of its power."

Much more could be quoted on this point,* but this is enough to show that the Jews were not restrained in this matter by their Roman masters, and that the Mosaic law was of the same authority as ever before.

If, in consequence of the depravity of the Jews, this great law, so necessary for the preservation of the institution of marriage, was at that time disregarded or treated as a nullity, can the Christian dare say—has he any authority for saying—that Christ overlooked this depravity, and compromised the principle set forth under authority of God and embodied in that law?

Did not, indeed, his emphatic declaration that certain acts constituted actual adultery, bring those acts under its penalty, and, to the mind of the Jews, reaffirm the law itself? This does not admit of question; for every body knew the penal law.

The exception, therefore, if adultery as alleged was allowed at all, was only allowed in view of that law. Any subsequent change of the law, if contemplated by Christ, leaves the exception which depended upon the law, unsupported, and to fall of course with the law. In any point of view, therefore, it does not affect the question of marriage indissolubility.

We come now to the examination of the record in detail, with the view of showing that the common law, on the point of marriage indissolubility, is the result of the plainest construction of the precepts of Christ; and that the public policy, of which the common law is always the highest evidence, is in perfect harmony with the common-sense interpretation of the words of Christ.

Let it be borne in mind that the common law allows a judicial separation of parties to a valid marriage, seeking protection, in certain aggravated cases; but never does, under any circumstances, allow the remarrying of either of the parties during the life of the other. It is not at all singular, from our point of view, that St. Paul and the common law should concur exactly. St. Paul is the only New Testament writer whose individual opinions we have of the intent and

* See Acts xxii. 4; also, xxvi. 10.

meaning of the words of Christ, beyond the record of the words themselves. St. Luke and St. Mark did indeed express their belief that the words "saving for the cause of fornication" did not affect the question at issue, by publishing the law without the exception.

The common law is the conclusion drawn by reason and by practical demonstration of its policy from the words of Christ.

If we trace the words of Christ from first to last, in his clear development of the whole subject, it will be seen that the common law has anticipated us, and that the conclusion is inevitable. We are, therefore, stating nothing new, unless indeed it is something new in modern times to examine this subject without prejudice.

We claim nothing but the privilege of tracing, if we can, and (if we succeed) of appropriating to our own use in this argument the same reasoning which resulted in the conclusions of common law.

The man who undertakes logically to set aside the principles of common law has not duly measured the magnitude of the undertaking.

It is a much easier task to prove the truth of the common law. That is all that we attempt to do.

Christ himself deemed this subject of marriage of sufficient importance to instruct, with the authority of Sovereign Lawgiver, not only the disciples and the Pharisees on several occasions, but he gives these instructions to the people at large, in the Sermon on the Mount. His declarations must be considered, therefore, in their proper connection. If so considered, it will be seen that the spirit and intent of the whole and of every part of his teaching is against the alleged exception to the fundamental law.

In the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v.), Christ begins his instructions to the people, and says :

31. "It hath been said, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement.

32. "But I say unto you that whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery: and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced (put away) committeth adultery."

The distinction is seen here between the simply *putting away*, which was the voluntary act of the husband, and the *writing of divorcement*, which was the requirement of law for the protection and benefit of the wife.

Christ does not here review this precept of Moses as critically as he does on a subsequent occasion. He manifestly designs to introduce the subject by reference to the Mosaic precept, and to pursue

it hereafter to the end of affirming and announcing the primitive law of indissolubility.

The Mosaic law of divorcement was simply *permissive*: allowing the husband to put away his wife; allowing the wife to marry another when put away. These were two distinct points, which he in the very outset severed; and it will be observed that he kept them distinct throughout. They were two distinct offenses, involving different degrees of guilt.

Previous to, and during the Mosaic dispensation, the right to a plurality of wives was not questioned. That right was not involved in the Mosaic precept: therefore the right of the husband to marry another after putting away a wife was not considered here: it was reserved for further exposition in its proper place.

The two points here, were definitely stated, and as definitely settled.

The *first* was decided: "But I say unto you that whosoever shall put away his wife saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery."

The *second*, involving a higher offense, and the corresponding death-penalty, was decided: "And whosoever shall marry her that is divorced (put away) committeth adultery."

When Christ subsequently placed the husband and wife on the same footing before the law, which so much surprised both Pharisees and disciples, did he relax this positive and unqualified decision against the remarrying of the wife, or in any way change it? On the contrary, he reaffirmed it on every occasion; and so positively and peremptorily that it can not be misunderstood. Will it be denied that he placed the husband and wife on the same footing? That would be to deny, not only the fundamental law of indissolubility, but the great and manifest purpose of all his teaching on this subject. If he did so place them, then what becomes of the alleged exception in favor of the husband?

If the records of St. Luke and St. Mark had never been given us, this would have been sufficient; for by what rule of law or common sense can a wife be held indissolubly to a union, and not the husband? This is a dilemma from which even the modern name of *status* can not extricate the advocates of divorce. This new term is a subterfuge.

Some States have enacted into statute law the legal absurdity of absolving the innocent party from the marriage covenant, and not the guilty; which may be kindly designed to cover retreat from an indiscreet marriage; but it is an evasion of the truth, to say nothing of

the common rule of law ; for what is the *status* of the husband who is married and his wife unmarried ?

This seems to be a sort of legal fiction, a weak attempt, under color of authority, to adapt the law of divorce to a condition of society totally different from Jewish domestic economy ; for it is plainly apparent that the Mosaic precept was only designed to mitigate the condition of women during the prevalence of polygamy, and that Christ designed now to put an end to polygamy, and to bring the husband under the same law with the wife. That which he pronounced in this place to be adultery in the wife, was on a subsequent occasion pronounced to be adultery in the husband. This was the simplest possible way of reinstating the institution of marriage as it was designed in the beginning. And this simple way showed the wonderful, nay, the divine power of Christ, by a few intelligible precepts, in laying the foundation for the moral as well as the civil government of all society.

The two points here presented by his reference to the Mosaic precept were decided in few and conclusive words, which carry on their face the whole truth on these two points, viz. the man who puts away his wife from his kind care and keeping, unless she is a prostitute, causes her to commit adultery, or is the cause of her adultery ; and he who marries a divorced woman commits adultery, or is an adulterer.

Not only is this decision absolute against the dissolution of a valid marriage, but it limits, by implication, the privilege of simply putting away (as the act of a single party) to the one cause of prostitution.

He does not expressly revoke the permissive law, but he shows why it must be inoperative hereafter, viz. that it causes and encourages adultery.

At another time, when he meets the Pharisees on the same subject, he exposes the cause of the law permitted by Moses, and reiterates the same decision on the two points : in nearly the same words on the first point, and in precisely the same on the second point. This second point was also decided in the same words in a previous interview with the Pharisees recorded by St. Luke.

We consider the passage of St. Luke xvi. with the records of St. Matt. xix. and St. Mark x., because it is not known precisely at what time the words recorded by St. Luke, as to the previous interview, were spoken to the Pharisees. That they were spoken (with some severity and with unmistakable authority) with reference to precepts

declared in the Sermon, appears by the connection of similar precepts with and immediately preceding this passage.

The passages from St. Matt. xix. and St. Mark x. have also direct reference to the Sermon. This is certainly so, because the two points of the Mosaic law permitting divorce, stated and decided in the Sermon, were the same two points here raised by the two separate questions of the Pharisees, viz. :

First. The right of *putting away* by the husband ; which required a direct answer.

Second. The subsequent right of the wife, under the *writing of divorcement*, when put away ; which also called for a direct answer.

Each received a decisive answer in this interview with the Pharisees. These two points embraced the subject-matter of the questions of the Pharisees. The subsequent marrying of the husband was incidental. It had received attention in the interview recorded by St. Luke, and did receive attention in its proper place here ; and immediately, when he declared the same law for husband and wife.

Although these words, recorded in St. Matt. xix. and St. Mark x., were addressed to the Pharisees, they were designed for the Christian Church ever after, and the disciples as well as the Pharisees were profoundly surprised that Christ should, under authority of the primitive law, ordained of God from the beginning, deprive the husband of his ancient privilege, and bring him under the same law with the wife.

The law of Christ, recorded by the three evangelists, denounced the marrying of the wife, after she is put away, even by writing of divorcement, as *adultery*.

The design of this argument is to trace the meaning of Christ in the words of Christ. If it leads to the conclusion that Christ did recognize the enormity of the crime of adultery, and did recognize the justice of the penal law against adultery, while we dare not limit his mercy, we can not vary the import of his words on the assumption that he did not relax the severity of the ancient law, which commanded that the adulterer and adulteress should *surely* be put to death. That law, in all its severity, could only have been changed by a change in the character of the crime itself, in the mind of Christ. It could only have been disallowed by the words or command of Christ himself. We have no such word, or even the slightest intimation of such design.

To declare a crime, by common understanding declares the pen-

alty for such a crime, under existing law ; otherwise, the whole penal code would be so encumbered as to be unintelligible.

It will be seen that Christ was giving unusual attention to the subject of marriage, and to the privilege of divorcement allowed by the Mosaic law, which did not belong to marriage as it was in the beginning, but arose from the permitted privilege of polygamy.

This question, of divorcement was a point in civil law which involved the existence of the marriage institution, the importance of which no one saw as he did. The occasion called for the exercise of the functions of the legislator, and he spoke in his Sovereign capacity. He was, in fact, pursuing the subject begun in the Sermon, and proceeding step by step, as Supreme Lawgiver and Judge, to effect a radical change in the minds of men in the matter of marital rights. He designed to bring the husband under the same law with the wife, and that law he declared in the outset, condemning the wife's re-marrying.

By tracing the institution to its source, and showing its great design, he exposed the narrow view of the sanctity of the institution embraced in the law of Moses, separating husband and wife, and giving privileges to the husband in the multiplicity of wives, which were no longer necessary, and which could not be allowed under his dispensation.

He therefore announced his decision, drawn from the character and design of the institution, and embodied it in the form of a positive *prohibitory* law: "What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." That is, husband and wife, being joined together by the ordinance of God, are not to be put asunder by the ordinance of man.

Let it be borne in mind that *putting away* and *putting asunder* are not the same. The terms in Greek are different, and of different signification. *Putting away* is the act of one of the parties, and referred, in the Mosaic precept, only to the voluntary act of the husband. *Putting asunder* is the act of a third intervening party, or the joint act of both parties under human authority. A man may *put away* his lunatic wife by sending her to an asylum for the insane, but that is not to *put asunder*. There is but one construction to be given to this supreme law. The terms of the law admit of but one construction. It is the positive and unmistakable command of Christ. Without a proper understanding of this distinction, no satisfactory conclusion can be reached. The Pharisees called the Mosaic precept a *command*;

Christ called it a *toleration*. It was tolerated while polygamy lasted, and no longer. *The law announced by Christ put an end to both.*

This fundamental law which Christ promulgated in Judea is the beginning and the end of the argument against divorce. It is the unalterable law upon which the common-law doctrine of indissolubility is founded. This law is admitted to be a positive command, and by its terms alone to cover the main point of indissolubility.

The records of St. Matthew and St. Mark are substantially the same on this point. There is no dispute about the positive prohibitory law. St. Matthew records the further words of Christ to the Pharisees, which, if they referred only to the putting away, and *πορνεία* is *post-nuptial* prostitution, are substantially the same as the declaration in the Sermon on the Mount, and do not conflict with any other words. But *it is alleged* that these words must be construed without limitation to permit the husband to remarry after putting away a wife for *adultery*! The next succeeding clause pronounces it (in language that can not be misunderstood) *actual adultery* for the wife to remarry after she is put away. These last words of the passage of St. Matthew are *precisely the same* as those used by St. Luke in recording the *previous* interview with the Pharisees on a different occasion altogether, and when an exception was not named or intimated: The exception named in St. Matthew did not touch the point decided. St. Mark, omitting altogether this passage of St. Matthew which refers to an exception, as did St. Luke, states that immediately after this, in the house, Christ declared it adultery on part of husband or wife to remarry after putting away.

Hence we find that the only positive clause in the disputed passage which covers the point at issue, the only clause which (if the passage is rendered as alleged) admits of no doubt, is against the alleged exception, and agrees with all the other records.

If, therefore, we do not insist upon an exception to the fundamental law which is repugnant to the law itself, and in derogation of the leading principle running all through the teachings of Christ on the subject of marriage, we can easily find the explanation of the ambiguous passage. It is absurd to reject that which is indisputable, because it seems to conflict with that which is ambiguous.

The disciples were surprised that Christ should strip the husband of his privileges under the Jewish usage, but they accepted his law and said: Then "it is not good to marry." Christ also corrected that error, and they received his explanation. Why may not we accept that which is positively declared, as does the common law, and

look for explanation of that which seems uncertain, in that which is certain?

The reasonable rules of common law simply reject the alleged exception, and that is enough. The explanation must be found in some other rendering of the passage. To insist upon this exception in favor of the husband is virtually to deny the whole, and to make the word of God, coming to us in the form and force of positive law, of no effect, because we entertain some vague or abstract notions of the *unitas carnis*, or of the seemingly unwonted severity of the death-penalty for adultery. These are abstractions of honest Christians, but the profligate, while he laughs at them, avails himself of their timely suggestion of a shelter for his depravity.

Thus it is that legislatures are using the Christian conscience and the religious prejudice and learning of the Church to upheave society, while the learned theologian is all unconscious that he is the cause of the monstrous iniquity.

Hence the necessity now of laying aside our prejudices and of giving due weight to the authority of common law. The common law commands or exacts nothing that is unreasonable. It authorizes a sentence of nullity of marriage in certain cases of ante-nuptial fraud or disqualification. It authorizes *putting away* in certain cases of vile post-nuptial misconduct—as adultery, for example—but is positive against remarrying after the putting away, in case of a valid marriage. It even excuses, and sometimes justifies, the slaying of the adulterer, if the slayer's own character warrants the plea of legal provocation.

If the exception, whether it be for ante-nuptial or post-nuptial prostitution, is confined within these reasonable limits, the disputed passage of St. Matt. xix. is consistent with the whole and every part of the New Testament on the subject of marriage; but if, against these sound rules of common law, it is insisted that the exception applies to the remarrying of the husband after he has put away his lawfully acknowledged wife, then it can only be done, with any appearance of reason, upon the ground of Christ's recognition of the penal law against adultery, which would be consistent with every record on the subject.

This construction would be admissible, and must be accepted in the last resort, because the rule of common-law interpretation is unerring, and Christ can not be inconsistent with himself.

The husband is permitted to put away his legal wife for adultery, if at all, in view of her execution, and that dissolves the marriage.

If she pays the penalty short of death, or by pardon or otherwise is released from the death-penalty, she stands, of course, to her husband as she did before conviction.

Will any one dare to say that Christ commuted the death-penalty to a paltry fine, or imprisonment, or any thing short of death? And yet no one denies that his mercy is unlimited. Can the husband say the living woman is not his wife, because she *ought* to have been put to death?

The law of Christ, as well as the common law, may be evaded, or abused, or misconstrued, or disallowed by individuals or by States; but that does not change the law, or the truth in which the law is founded. This does not preclude a simple and limited judicial separation.

It is seen, therefore, that *putting away*, and *remarrying* after putting away, are two different points in the policy of the law, and that the exception (even, as alleged, viz. of adultery) may reasonably, by implication, refer or apply to one and not to the other. It is an inference of law, an implication at best. An inference of law must be reasonable, and to be reasonable it must not conflict with positive law, else it is inadmissible absolutely.

The most prejudiced mind in favor of a loose construction of the law of Christ must admit, and does admit, that St. Luke, St. Mark, and St. Paul, and also St. Matthew (in his announcement of the fundamental law, and in his statement of the exposition of the whole subject by Christ), are all against the alleged exception (of adultery) to indissolubility of a valid marriage, or adultery as authorized ground for absolute divorce. That it is now used by the vicious as a *pretext* is shown by the history of divorce in all countries where divorce *a vinculo* is once allowed for that cause.

The common law, by rigidly adhering to the fundamental law of Christ, and to the manifest spirit and intent of his teaching, ascertained by simple rules of evidence, and of legal construction, rejects its claim to authority as alleged.

Admitting that *πορνεία* is here meant for adultery—admitting also for the argument the unwarrantable supposition that Christ overlooked or disregarded a great law which made adultery a capital offense, a law which represented God's abhorrence of the other still greater crime of idolatry (which is continually called the *adultery* of the Church)—admitting all this, the alleged exception can not be received as law when compared with parallel passages without resort to another unwarrantable supposition, viz. that St. Luke and St. Mark

have published for the law of Christ that which is not the law of Christ.

To say with Meyer that "the condition being understood, of course did not require to be expressed"—aside from its fallacy in point of fact, or as a rule of law—is to say that St. Luke and St. Mark, by an omission of an exception to indissolubility, have misled and agitated the Christian world for all time on the subject of the most vital importance in civil as well as moral government. Is the agitation not due to such modern expositors as Meyer instead of Sts. Mark and Luke?

To return to plain facts, and to the simple rules of legal interpretation. Here is an exception alleged to a positive prohibitory law. The alleged exception is at variance with the whole and every part of the record of the words of Christ, and can not be reconciled to the common-sense view of the subject by St. Paul; and yet we are told that this, the only disputed point, or the only point that could admit of dispute, was taken for granted by Christ when he declared the law in other places. Is this not an unauthorized liberty with the word of God? Is it warranted by any rule of law or logic?

No judge who is deciding on the validity of a great law, or any part of the law, or who is pronouncing his judgment of the design of a great law, ever takes for granted an exception to that law. Nothing is taken for granted that is not patent on the face of the law, or which is not universally admitted; much less does he take for granted that which subverts, or in any manner limits the force of the fundamental law.

In reviewing the Mosaic law of divorce, and expounding at the same time the great law of marriage as it was ordained of God, Christ was pronouncing judgment upon certain licenses suffered by the precept of Moses. That he should have in mind and take for granted the old and unquestioned law imposing the death-penalty for adultery is easily understood.

But when, after he had so clearly explained the origin and all the requirements of the law of marriage, as ordained by the Creator, he was asked by the disciples further of the same matter, that no lingering doubt might be entertained by them—and when he pronounced the final judgment in words that left no shadow of doubt with his disciples as to his meaning—that it should be supposed that he took for granted an exception which, by the words themselves and construction of the sentence, if noticed at all, *would have created a doubt*, is not the common-sense view of it, and therefore is inadmissible.

In declaring a great law, therefore, Christ could not have taken for granted that which could only be an exception (as now alleged) by forced construction, even if he had named it in his final decision. It is, of course, not denied that an inference drawn from a judge's decision upon a collateral point, may have the force of law; but it does not follow that the *dictum* of a judge, although true in itself as applied by the judge, is true in its application by subsequent expositors.

The two points here to which this inference of law is alleged to apply, are as different in fact as *putting away* a wife, and *marrying another* during her life, are in character of crime. The implied opinion by a judge may indeed have the force of positive decision on a collateral point, when it does not conflict with or in any manner limit positive law, previously or simultaneously or subsequently declared by the same judge; but on what ground it can here be assumed that it was taken for granted, in subsequent, much less in previous decisions (as in that recorded by St. Luke), can not be explained by any known rule of law or logic. Previous to the declarations recorded by St. Luke, the question of the husband's remarrying had not been raised. The seeming exception must therefore be explained away by the party alleging it; for it can not stand against the decision on the main point positively pronounced.

Thus it is seen that those who allege the exception have started from the wrong point. They have assumed that the exception is the fundamental law, and the law the exception. They have proceeded on the supposition that the fundamental law was *permissive* and not *prohibitory*! As if the law read: "What, therefore, God hath joined together, let man put asunder." It is not to be wondered at that they have involved the subject in confusion. Their earnest but unsuccessful efforts to arrive at a conclusion in their own minds, is proof of the false premise.

It is a sad comment on human wisdom, that grave differences on matters of civil government should arise out of the bitterness of religious controversy; but it has been so since the world was created. The religious element has always been used, more or less, by the unprincipled political aspirant. Hence, in England, more than a hundred years ago, British nobles procured from Parliament, by undue influence, the passage of private acts granting divorce, which the common law did not and can not allow. While the precedent has had little influence on the settled English public sentiment, it has been disastrous to the moral sentiment of the United States, especially in those States where the religious prejudice was strongest.

If, as contemplated by Christ, the distinction is observed between *putting away* and *putting asunder*, the question is relieved of much of the difficulty.

Putting away, the initial act of one of the parties, causes adultery. *Putting asunder*, the absolute separation of the parties, is only shown by the *remarrying*; and this is adultery itself.

Putting away and *remarrying* are the two points which Christ *severed* in the outset and *severally* decided.

A man may put away his wife in defiance of law. It is his voluntary act, which the law may or may not sanction, but it can not prevent. The law *can* prevent his *remarrying*, because marriage must have the sanction of law, else it is void as a marriage. The common law recognizes the right of *putting away* for adultery, in certain cases, but not of *remarrying*.

St. Luke and St. Mark recorded the words of Christ which covered the main question, and we must accept their records as complete upon the point referred to by them. If the records are placed together, each complete on the point named, and the whole considered as one, it presents the two points decided separately, but in perfect harmony. The exception, if it is adultery, can not apply possibly to the *remarrying* after putting away, during the life of the wife. It must be confined, as in the Sermon on the Mount, to the *putting away*, because it admits of a doubt, to say the least, is in derogation of all the positively declared precepts in other places, and is repugnant to the body and to the manifest design of the fundamental law.

It is rejected by legal construction, without reference to the death-penalty. It is rejected, of course, every body will admit, if the penal law against adultery was not, at that time, abrogated or repealed by the divine authority. This is not pretended. It could not be abrogated by any but divine authority. Neither the Roman procurator nor the Sanhedrim ever deterred Christ from declaring the law of God. The death-penalty for adultery stood unchanged; but very loose notions of the crime of adultery had obtained. In declaring, therefore, that henceforth to marry a divorced woman, or to marry another after putting away a wife, was actual adultery, he, *ipso facto*, declared the law against actual adultery. This is the rule, by common understanding. Every body knew that; but every body did not know in this case what constituted adultery. Indeed, none (not even the disciples) knew what constituted actual adultery.

That was the design and the conclusion of his whole teaching on

this subject, summed up in the decisive words which put an end to all controversy :

“ Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her.

“ And if a woman shall put away her husband, and be married to another, she committeth adultery.” (Mark x. 11, 12.)

This is the law of Christ. It reaffirms the fundamental law of marriage indissolubility in its integrity. It can not be overruled by any ordinance of man. It can not be avoided by any sophistry. It can not become obsolete in the Church without disaster. It is the common law of England and of the United States. It is indeed and in truth, when put to the test, the accepted law of the Christian Church.

ARTICLE VI.

THE DOMESTIC COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES.

HON. S. SHELLABARGER.

"IF I am too sanguine, in the views I indulge, it must be ascribed to my conviction that canals, railroads, and turnpikes are at once the *criteria* of a wise policy and causes of national prosperity; that the want of them will be a reproach to our republican system if excluding them; and that the exclusion, to a mortifying extent, will ensue, if the power be not lodged where alone" (in Congress) "it can have its due effect."—MADISON.

THIS Article is to be devoted to the consideration of the reciprocal interchange, by the people of these States, of the productions of this continent. The subject should be discussed in all its relations to the people—their institutions, laws, governments, and domestic and foreign markets.

The bare statement of the theme contains the disclosure that its adequate treatment is impossible within the limits of a single Article. This discussion will attempt no more than a presentation of a few of those views which seem most to demand present attention. One of these will show the failure of those upon whom the care of our commerce has been devolved by Government, to adequately realize and meet their obligations. In presenting this aspect of the subject it is not designed to express the opinion that, in this public administration, there has been a wholly inexcusable neglect. Nor would we intimate that our progress in the development of our internal commerce has not been exceptionally great. It is not even meant to say that the processes of legislative and judicial education, in the direction of caring for the productions of our industries and facilitating their interchange and sale, have been less rapid than, under conditions in which that education has gone on, the people were entitled to expect. No complaints of any kind would be here useful or proper, and none are designed. What seems eminently

needful now, is that the nation, and especially its rulers, should instantly comprehend the problem now upon them in caring for the commerce of this vast people—comprehend it in all its vastness and dignity; and should then *solve it*. To stimulate immediate search into this problem is the whole object of this discussion.

As introductory to the consideration of the claims of our domestic commerce upon the care of the Government, and also to the discussion of the powers and duties of the Government touching it, we must be brought to realize what this commerce is, in its magnitudes, present and prospective; what its relations are to the happiness and general welfare of the people; what to the prosperity of the various sections and classes of our industries; what to our foreign trade; what to the development of our vast natural resources; and what, in short, the relations of our exchanges of domestic production are to the entire material and political interests of the Republic. Only most general views, of course, are possible here.

Familiar and general as are the facts, they are most impressive, and are calculated to awe the reflecting and right-minded ruler, as he approaches the solution of this problem of wise and adequate governmental provision for our present and coming commerce.

First of all he realizes that he is, in effect, disposing of the affairs of a continent when he disposes of the material productions of this Republic. Then, that our continent is midway between Europe and Asia, where abide most of the human race, so that our position is the best possible for sending to these our surplus productions. Moreover, our new diplomatic and commercial relations with these hives of humanity are, day by day, opening up to us new markets for our surplus products, of limitless extent and of inconceivable value. Our natural capacity, also, for surplus productions, and for sending them toward these foreign marts, is inconceivably vast—so great that the description is wholly inadequate which has been left by that best historian of our Constitution:

“Nature has marked America for a great commercial nation—with sweep of Atlantic coast through twenty degrees, from Funda to Florida, broken into capacious bays and convenient harbors, and receiving the inward flow of the sea into great navigable rivers that stretch far into the interior—embracing all the climates found between the sterile region where summer is but the breath of a few fervid weeks, and the ever-blooming tropics, where winter is unknown—with soils of every variety—products suited to every market—proximity to the West Indies—nearly equal nearness to the East Indies—Southern staples demanded by all nations—fisheries capable of furnishing enormous additions to the wealth of the country—the West, with its vast internal waters and unequalled fertility, to be new States and abodes of millions of men.”

Then to this he must add, in way of general survey of his subject, what renders this eloquent description by Mr. Curtis so inadequate and nearly obsolete, that since it was written we have added to that ocean border of which he speaks as sweeping through twenty degrees of latitude, another ocean front extending, with a slight break, through forty degrees of latitude—that this front is upon the Pacific, and opens to us the doorway to Asia, Australia, and all the islands of this ocean—a door and way so much superior, that already the commerce of Europe begins to traverse our entire continent in its way to and from Asia. Such, in outline, is the notion of magnitude which the American lawmaker gets of the affair upon his hands when he takes a general view of the field occupied by, and open to the commerce of this people.

Here then we start with our mighty subject upon us. Seen at large, its field is a continent. It is a new continent. It is a continent of capabilities and of natural wealth absolutely and literally inconceivable. It is a continent untouched and virgin as to nine-tenths of these natural resources—*virgin* as to, perhaps, three-fourths of its surface also. And then it is, as a refuge and home for our own and other civilized peoples, the last of the continents. Beyond *our* “Pillars of Hercules” there is nothing. Ours is the veritable ULTIMA THULE. In disposing of it we dispose of “the last of earth.”

Such then is the dignity of this subject, seen with the telescope, and in larger aspects, as it is explored by the legislator in his search after the answer to the amazing question, Has the Republic, as such, any duty upon it touching this commerce of the people, the wealth, the productions of this continent; or has it not? Is the commerce of these States among these States, confided by the organic law to the pleasures of the Supreme Legislature of the Union or to railway presidents? WHICH?

But now we descend from this astronomical scrutiny of our subject, and take the more modest aids of the microscope—or such an apology for a microscope as the governments of the States and Union have supplied us with—for determining the extent and conditions of the products and commerce of the people.

Fortunately, in presenting details, approximations to truth are about as satisfactory in way of demonstration, in the argument we now make about the power and duty of the Government over and toward its commerce, as exact truth would be. Why exact truth is unattainable here will appear in a subsequent part of this Article.

The total value of real and personal property owned by individ-

uals, as distinguished from governments, was, in 1850, \$7,135,780,228. In 1860 it was \$16,159,616,068. In 1870 it was \$30,068,518,507!

Observing the same ratio of increase, our individual wealth will be sixty billions of dollars in 1880; one hundred and twenty billions in 1890, and two hundred and forty billions in 1900!

The total products of the soil, including farms, orchards, and gardens, was, in 1870, \$2,515,592,753. In that year we produced, of wheat, 287,745,626 bushels; of rye, 16,918,795 bushels; of Indian corn, 760,944,549; of oats, 288,107,157 bushels; of barley, 29,761,305 bushels; of buckwheat, 9,821,721 bushels; of rice, 73,635,021 pounds; of tobacco, 262,735,341 pounds, and of cotton, 3,011,996 bales. The total of cereals of 1870 was 1,629,027,600 bushels; of 1860 was 1,239,039,945 bushels; of 1850 was 867,453,967 bushels, and of 1840 was 602,326,353 bushels. The aggregate of the products of our manufactures in 1870 was \$4,232,325,442. In 1860 this product was \$1,885,661,676. In 1850 it was \$1,019,106,616.

The recent report of the Select Committee of the Senate upon transportation routes discloses the following important facts touching the increase of our productions, consumption, and exports:

INCREASE OF PRODUCTIONS, AS COMPARED WITH INCREASE OF EXPORTS.

Years from and to	Increase of Pro- duction.	Increase of Ex- ports.	Increase of Home Consumption.
	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>
1840 to 1850,	251,928,665	2,752,606	249,176,059
1850 to 1860,	371,585,978	7,003,480	364,582,498
1860 to 1870,	389,987,655	34,335,386	355,652,269
Total,	1,013,502,298	44,091,472	969,410,826

The following table, compiled from our Census Reports, and presented by the Senate Committee, is important:

PRODUCTION, HOME CONSUMPTION, AND EXPORT OF CEREALS FROM 1840 TO 1870.

Year.	Production of Cereals.	Home Consumption.	Export of Cereals.	Exports, what per ct. of production.
	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	
1840,	615,525,302	602,326,353	13,199,049	2.1
1850,	867,453,967	851,502,312	15,951,655	1.9
1860,	1,239,039,945	1,216,084,810	22,955,135	1.8
1870,	1,629,027,600	1,571,737,179	57,290,521	3.5

The total product of cereals in the United States, in 1872, was 1,656,198,100 bushels; and in the States of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska, was 1,028,987,300, or about sixty-two per cent. of all the grain produced in the United States in that year. Of this, 156,228,000 bushels were wheat, of which these States consumed but 85,716,512 bushels, leaving an export from these States of 70,511,488 bushels of wheat. These States produced, in 1872, 700,000,000 bushels of corn. The total quantity of grain shipped to market in 1872, from the Western and Northwestern States, was 213,021,426 bushels, of which 74,360,778 bushels were exported to foreign countries, 41,132,225 to the New England States, 63,744,897 to the Atlantic States south of New England, and 33,783,526 to the Gulf States.

These enormous shipments constituted only about fifty per cent. of the freight carried from the West to the East and Southward. The same report finds, as the result of the fullest investigation, upon sworn testimony and from exhaustive analyses, that if proper and perfectly practicable provision, by the Government, for increasing and cheapening the means of transportation were made, *it would lessen the cost thereof fully fifty per cent. below the average of existing and past rates of freight charge each way; and would, at this time, nearly or quite double the aggregate of shipments and productions, which are now prevented by these high rates of charge.*

The average cost of transporting a bushel of wheat from the Mississippi River to New York, by rail, is found to be $50\frac{1}{2}$ cents per bushel, and by rail and water to be $43\frac{6}{10}$ cents. This Senate report finds the average cost, in 1872, of transporting a bushel of wheat from St. Paul, by New York, to Liverpool, was $67\frac{1}{2}$ cents; and that 28 cents per bushel may be saved by improving the Mississippi route. It finds that the actual shipment of grain, in 1872, from Western States, was, in 1872, 213,000,000 of bushels, and that the saving upon this alone, had we the facilities for transportation which are easily attainable by us, would be from 20 to 25 cents per bushel, or, at the rate of twenty cents, would be about \$42,000,000, in that single year, upon that grain alone which was actually shipped. But to this must be added an equal amount, or nearly that, which would be saved on the transportation of return commodities Westward. And to this again must be added the increase of production and of shipment which would instantly result from the cheapening of the cost of transportation one-half, and from the resulting opening of the markets of the world to us; which would probably, at once, double our production and

shipment. To this again the Committee adds, for the eight North-western States of Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska, \$1,100,000,000, as the instantaneous enhancement of the value of the 55,841,000 acres of land now cultivated in these States. This aggregate is obtained thus: They add ten cents per bushel to the grain produced on these acres, which allows one-half of the increased value of the grain resulting from 20 cents being saved on cost of transportation, to go to the consumer. They estimate the production of the land at 20 bushels per acre, and thus get \$2 per year as the enhanced annual value per acre, equal to twenty dollars per acre in the actual value of each acre.

But even this is but a tithe of the beneficent results to be derived from making suitable provision for the transportation and interchange of the products of our industries. To these, the Committee remind us, are to be added

“The increased value of farms in other States, the increased value of unimproved lands, the enhanced value of cotton plantations, the benefits to accrue from reduced cost of movement of the products of the mine, the foundery, the factory, the workshop, and the thousands of other commodities demanding cheaper transportation.”

And then to all these must be added the considerations which grow out of our necessities, connected with our grain market in other countries, eighty per cent. of which foreign market is in Great Britain.

The grain-producing nations which compete for the markets of Europe, and especially of Great Britain, are Russia and the United States.

By reason of the recent and great improvement and cheapening of transportation from Russia to England, the United States so far lost the advantage which we heretofore held, that the five years ending in 1864, contrasted with the five years ending in 1873, showed that our export of wheat in those years, compared with that of Russia, was as follows:

IMPORTS OF WHEAT FROM RUSSIA AND AMERICA, FROM 1860 TO 1864, COMPARED WITH THE IMPORTS FROM 1868 TO 1872, INTO GREAT BRITAIN.

1860 to 1864.		1868 to 1872.	
From	Wheat.	From	Wheat.
	<i>Bushels.</i>		<i>Bushels.</i>
Russia,	47,376,809	Russia,	117,967,022
United States,	127,047,126	United States,	116,462,380

This increase of Russian exports, in this single commodity, was 70,590,213 bushels in five years; whereas our *decrease*, in the same commodity during the same years, was 10,584,746 bushels. We must also remember that Russia has not yet, but soon will adopt the handling of grain by "elevators," that the cost of ocean transportation is diminishing, and that our wheat-fields are receding from their principal markets along our seaboard. All these considerations fully justify the conclusion of the Committee that when Russia "shall have driven us from the markets of Europe, she will become our active competitor in the markets of Boston and Portland, if cheaper means of internal transportation be not provided."

The Committee finds an equally alarming state of affairs in regard to our production and export of cotton. This condition it attributes, in part, to the stimulant given by our late war to the production in India; but also attributes, in a large part, to the effect of high cost of transportation of breadstuffs to the Cotton States, and the resulting decrease of production. The following table gives hint of the causes of this alarm.

RECEIPTS OF COTTON IN GREAT BRITAIN IN 1860 COMPARED WITH 1872.

1860.		1872.	
From	Cotton.	From	Cotton.
	<i>Pounds.</i>		<i>Pounds.</i>
United States,	1,115,890,608	United States,	625,600,080
All other countries, . .	275,048,144	All other countries, . .	783,237,392

To these facts now presented, must be added others equally important in forming an estimate of the condition and demands of our internal commerce and productions. The people of this country have struggled for the means of transportation and of life, by increasing the number of their railroads until their aggregate reaches about seventy-two thousand miles—more than half of all upon the globe. They did this under the delusive hope that *competition* between them would lessen the cost of transportation to the lowest just and compensatory rate. In this struggle they have, as remarked by the Committee, "imposed upon themselves grievous burdens of taxation;" and find that "instead of bringing into the field a competitor, they have not only doubled the power with which they have to contend, but that they have quartered upon themselves a

new and an expensive organization which must be supported from the products of their toil." Moreover, during the last ten years "a spirit of railway aggrandizement has taken possession of the strongest companies, since which the work of centralization and absorption has progressed without a parallel in the history of the world." They find these monstrous aggregations of money-power now such as not only to be *able* to banish from the land all competition, but practically to have banished it. They discover them, in fixing their rates of charge upon the products of their toil, meeting in a common conspiracy, and asking, not what is just and compensatory, but What will the property bear? They exhibit these money-powers able and ready, as we have seen, not only to tax their products double that reasonable rate to which the cost of their transportation is readily reducible by available competition, but also subsidizing legislatures, courts, and press, for the purpose of perpetuating and augmenting their bad ascendancy. The spectacle presented by what has now been stated, and which shows a great people, and their productions, and their very institutions, in the thrall of a few money-monsters in our land, is yet incomplete. The people must realize other immense facts which enter into the case. Among them are such as these: That at one end of these lines of transportation, untold millions of bushels of bread, actually produced, are rotting in the fields or consuming in the fire, and the labor which produced it goes uncompensated and despairing. The mighty capabilities of all the vast interior go undeveloped and languishing. While, at the other end of these lines, the single State of New York in a single year—1870—expends \$911,855.15 in feeding 160,932 occasional paupers, or in feeding 26,152 paupers on an average the year round, at an outlay of \$2,661,385. Massachusetts feeds 8,036, at an outlay of \$1,121,604; and the United States supports 116,102, at an outlay of \$10,930,429. To these hundreds of thousands who are delivered by public charities from actual starvation, must be added millions more of poor, who are constantly pressing upon that narrow line which separates them from these recipients of public charity. These are perishing from a lack of bread in "a land flowing with milk and honey."

All this is occurring in a country whose extent and resources, if appropriately developed, and benignly governed, is capable of supporting, in comfort, a population nearly as dense as that of Belgium, a population which is to ours now, in average numbers, as twenty-five is to one.

In leaving, as we do now, this statistical view of our internal trade and production, it is proper to say that the purposes of the presentation here made have not been to indicate that the defects of our condition are wholly, or even mainly, attributable to the wrongs of railroad administration ; or that these organizations are to be warred upon as such, or deprived of their due proportion of reward and protection. On the contrary, our whole object has been to get before the mind the complete and *national* character of this problem of inter-State transportation, to indicate the supreme magnitude of the subject, and to appropriately premise the consideration of the jural and economical principles which the rational solution of that problem must involve.

The facts at which we have now glanced are but meagerly and inadequately exhibited. But imperfect as our statement is, it is completely sufficient to show that this nation stands to-day in the very presence of the most stupendous question which, among the material affairs of the world, ever challenged the courage, besought the wisdom, and demanded the solicitude of any people. It is a question which touches now and vitally every material interest of forty millions in these States. It will touch the interests of two hundred millions before this generation shall pass away. It will dispose of the resources of a country governing nearly one-half of the north temperate zone which is inhabited by civilized men. And this in a territory possessing two-thirds of the globe's fuel—that natural force employed in the industries of all enlightened States. This problem also gives value, or extinction, to the products of the hundreds of millions who are speedily to inhabit this land, unless its institutions shall miserably perish. It will either fail in its possibilities, or send bread to the multitudes who die from want in older worlds, for which God and nature have made ours the granary. We must decide whether we are in the future to be, what we have been in the past, a refuge for the oppressed and toiling of other lands, and who are, to-day, crowding the ships which brought them hither in escaping from regions unable to provide channels for their productions either to their own markets or those beyond the sea. This problem will, most likely, decide the fate of the Republic, and of republics, by deciding whether the Union of these States is, in matters common to all the people, one beneficent power over all, able to cherish, develop and defend these common interests, and to secure speedy and cheap transportation for their productions to the markets of the world : or whether that Union is, on the other hand, a thing of evil,

which has bound, in discord, jarring and hostile States, each one unable to control the channels of its own commerce to marts outside of its own borders, and unwilling to give just transit to the commerce of other States through its own territories.

Such, let Americans be assured, is the question of "cheap transportation," thrust now upon our politics and the action of our law makers.

Its character and dignity being realized, we are made ready to enter upon the next stage of the inquiry. This part of the discussion we would fain address, if we could, to the legislators of the Republic. We would address them with deference, and with that realization of their responsibilities and of the vast difficulties of their place, which come from having been long of their number. But still we would address them with confidence that what we now add is disclosed by the plainest teaching of history, the most obvious principles of government, the most settled doctrines of our Constitution, and the easiest deductions from our present condition.

The immediate question reached is, What are the powers and what the duties of the Federal Government toward this "commerce amongst the several States," the condition, wants, and future of which have just been noticed?

Here we venture to record a prediction. It is that it will soon be discovered by us all, that the fundamental elements of the Federal law for the rescue, development, and defense of the productions and the inter-State commerce of this country have already, and in this year of grace 1874, become part of the fixed and irreversible resolves of the American people.

All great and secure governments, like Topsy, are not made. They grow. The statutes which in every country and age are their framework, are never "passed." They come. We could write down here no truths more familiar, and, with students of government, more commonplace, than these. And yet, because familiar truths, they are to be everlastingly remembered. Since, however, they are everlastingly forgotten, we venture to repeat them. In the matter we are presenting, their careful recollection may be useful. In countries even moderately free, institutions can not be guaranteed before their time; so neither can they be long defrauded out of their coming. There never yet was any enlightened people in whom, among whom, and over whom there was not one grand, slow-moving, aggregate thought—a force—a spirit—caused by nobody and yet by every body; voiceless, but the sum of all voices; nameless, but bearing

every name ; silent, but speaking in all whispers and in all storms ; having no magistracy, but wielding all scepters ; holding no courts, but pronouncing all judgments ; keeping no armies, but deciding all wars ; having no parliaments, but making all laws. This incomprehensible but all-comprehending Presence indicates its duration, as well as its resistlessness, by the song of the "babbling brook," and reminds States that

"Men may come and men may go,
But I go on forever."

It has not very ostentatious "ways," but they are very impressive. Its formulas are few, but fearfully suggestive. One is, "The mills of the gods grind slow, but fine ;" one, that "man proposes, God disposes ;" one, that "if I may make the songs of the people, you may their laws ;" one, that "bayonets think ;" one, that "war legislates ;" one, that "revolutions go not back ;" one, that "everybody knows more than anybody."

The author of *Civilization in England* wrote severely, but profoundly, when he said that

"The history of every civilized country is the history of its intellectual development, which kings, statesmen, and legislators are more likely to retard than hasten ; because, however great their power may be, they are, at best, the accidental and insufficient representatives of the spirit of their time, and because, so far from being able to regulate the movements of the national mind, they themselves form the smallest part of it, and, in a general view of the progress of man, are only to be regarded as the puppets who strut and fret their hour upon a little stage ; while beyond them, and on every side of them, are forming opinions and principles which they can scarcely perceive, but by which alone the whole course of human affairs is ultimately governed." . . . "Every system must fall if it opposes the march of opinions." . . . "The vigor of public opinion is not exposed to casualties ; it is unaffected by the laws of mortality ; it does not flourish to-day and decline to-morrow ; and so far from depending on the lives of individual men, it is governed by large general causes, which, from their very comprehensiveness, are in short periods scarcely seen, but on a comparison of long periods are found to outweigh all other considerations, and reduce to insignificance those little stratagems by which princes and statesmen think to disturb the order of events and mold to their will the destinies of a great and civilized people." . . . "In trifling matters, these may temporarily decide upon the laws, though, as constant changes in the laws of every country abundantly prove, it is also done without benefit. But in reference to those large and fundamental measures which bear upon the destiny of a people, such anticipation, as well as attempts at retardation, are worse than useless—they are injurious."

What large and fundamental principle of government or measure of legislation which bore "upon the destinies of a great and enlight-

ened people" was ever evolved from a mere individual consciousness, originated in a parliament, made possible by a harangue, first enacted by the ayes and noes of a senate, or long defeated by being put upon the table? The proofs of these truths, as well as their supreme practical moment, lie about our feet as thick as the leaves in history. Of the impotence of a king, a ministry, or a parliament, in resisting the march of the aggregate thought of an age, the lawmakers of all subsequent ages will find a startling indication in the administration of the second Charles. That prince, besides being a voluptuary, a drunkard, a libertine, and hypocrite, without shame, sensibility, or honor,

"Without the morals of a Christian, and almost without the feelings of a man, managed to fill the government with confusion, weakness, utter demoralization, and crime. Without a single statesman, save Clarendon (and him they impeached and exiled), among his ministers, his government, looked at only in the character of the rulers and their foreign policy, we must pronounce the worst that has ever been seen in England."

And yet, during the quarter of a century of that profligate and disastrous reign, and generally against the choice of the king, more laws were enacted protective of the great fundamental rights and interests of society than had been passed in "any equal time during the twelve centuries the English had occupied the soil of Britain." Then was abolished the writ for burning heretics. Then the taxation of the clergy by Parliament instead of by themselves was enacted. Then the *ex-officio* oath was abolished by which the Church held the power to compel suspected persons to testify against themselves. Then the House of Lords was compelled to surrender original jurisdiction in civil suits. Then the same House was compelled to surrender to the Commons the power of originating money or tax bills. Then the scandalous prerogatives of purveyance and preëmption were destroyed. Then was enacted the famous Habeas Corpus Act, since imitated in all free States, and which made English liberty as secure as it can be made by law. Then was passed the "Statute of Frauds and Perjuries," also copied into the statute books of all enlightened States. In this reign an end was put to general impeachments, that "engine of tyranny, with which powerful and unscrupulous men had frequently ruined their political adversaries." In it is located the cessation of those laws which restricted the liberty of printing, and the foundation was begun of that great "public press," which was consummated in 1695, by an Act, "the history of which can be but imperfectly traced in the archives of Parliament,

but which has done more for liberty and for civilization than the great Charter or Bill of Rights;" and in this reign was destroyed also those drifts which came down from feudal barbarism—the "military tenures," the "court of wards," "fines for alienation," "aids," "homages," and "escuages." How was it that all this was done in this worst reign of English history—when the king was a profligate, and, as to intelligence, an ass—when the cabinet was the "Cabal," whose members were in most part a copy of their king, and were engaged, at Dover, in treaty with the French for the sale of British liberty for "thirty pieces of silver"—when the morals of Parliament were such that it became as notorious that there was kept at the Treasury a market for its votes, as that there was a market for cattle at Smithfield; and when Caermarthen, Clifford, and Danby purchased the orators of the British Senate at rates not greatly in excess of the present price of British bullocks? That this wondrous legislative revolution should have been wrought at such a time and in the teeth of such ministers, kings, and Parliament, seemed for ages an enigma even to the writers of history; but its solution is now ranked among the elementary lessons of school-children. The plain fact is that, aided by the growing power of the press, and indicated in the growing intelligence of the masses, Bacon and Locke and their associates and successors in philosophy, Jewel, Hooker, and Chillingworth and their associates in religion and church politics, Boyle and Newton and their associates in science, Selden, Coke, Hampden, and Sidney and their associates in politics and government, and Cromwell and his compeers in the Parliament the field and the administration, rendered, not possible, but inevitable, not only the legislative revolution which illustrated this bad reign, but they and their sequences upon popular thought rendered as inevitable as the judgment of fate, and as changeless as the currents of the Gulf Stream, every other law of every other age, upon which are rested the protection and defense of the material, social, political, and religious rights of the masses of society. So certain, ascertained, and constant have these dynamics of our political economies become, that, it being given that a particular measure will advance the interests of society, mathematics may almost calculate the period of its enactment into law with as much certainty as Clairaut could attain in foretelling the return of Halley's comet; and a British historian did foretell the emancipation of the Jews and their admission to Parliament, long before Rothschild took his seat in the Commons amidst the cheers of the House, with the same certainty of statement which now marks

the orders of governments in the issuance of commands to their navies to witness the approaching transit of Venus.

In our own country how resistless and how sublime is the majestic march of that aggregate thought of the age! And how certain and how truth-telling have been the harbingers of its awful decrees!

Take, from the scores of memorable examples of the results of that resistless force (which examples, indeed, make up the body of all our great laws, organic and statutory), the abolishment of slavery, and the laws for the defense of the emancipated. Only fourteen years ago, that monster—hoary, and, as Mr. Clay declared, “sanctified” by a duration among us of more than two hundred years—sat upon the breast of the Republic, intrenched behind the defenses of both the Constitution and the laws, and justified by the doctrines and teaching of a profaned religion, a desecrated literature, servile politics, and a polluted morality; and in the audacity of its imagined strength and security, it repeated to itself the boast, pronounced during eight centuries over a production of Roman genius and power, “*Quamdiu stabit Colyseus, stabit et Roma; quando cadet Colyseus cadet Roma; quando cadet Roma cadet et mundus.*”

But long before this hour of slavery’s supreme triumph, at which the American Congress had voted to make, by amendment of the Constitution, slavery as eternal and indestructible as our mountains, one who read the mind of this people and the moral qualities of the age more profoundly than that Congress did, had uttered a single sentence more enduring than the Coliseum, and more resistless than the vote of Roman or American senates. He said, “A house divided against itself can not stand.” . . . “The PUBLIC MIND will rest only in the confidence of slavery’s ULTIMATE EXTINCTION.” For this that PUBLIC MIND made him President, gave him armies, “rested” in that “ultimate extinction,” and citizenized the emancipated by a succession of decrees of whose moral grandeur the first statesman of England has recently said they have neither a parallel nor proximate in human history. And now, while the two Houses of Congress bandy and toy between them the measure which is to secure equality of “civil rights” to the citizenized slave, there is scarcely an intelligent man in the Republic who does not know the measure to be already a decree as irreversible as a law of the “Public Mind.” Apply these dynamics of all modern civilization—these sure-moving forces of the all-mastering thought of the age—to the subject-matter of this discussion, and what solution of our

problem do we attain? Who that thinks shall doubt here? We have glanced at the conditions and the spectacle of the problem. We have seen the hives of our common humanity in easy reach of us, but outside of our coasts, starving and clamoring, and reaching out skeleton fingers for our bread, but that bread denied because some diabolical element of our Constitution is imagined to forbid its sending! We have seen the millions of our own men, women, and children "having bread enough and to spare"—and to burn—but in rags for want of those necessities of life which those starving abroad are eager to exchange for our food—imploping their Government to permit the exchange; and have heard their Government, in the very wantonness of mockery, reply by holding weekly debating schools in Congress of Saturday afternoons, arguing the "vested rights" of railway monopolists, under which they are licensed to pauperize the races of men and impoverish or dwarf a continent!

We have seen our country endowed with two-thirds of the fuels of the world, two-thirds of the ores of the world, nearly all the virgin soils of the north temperate zone; with natural facilities for home and foreign exchanges of production unmatched upon the earth, and to occupy, possess, and develop which population is crowding from all other lands, and augmenting in our own, until the demonstration is reached that, at the same rate of progress, this generation will end with two hundred millions here; and we have asked, May these occupy, possess, develop, and, without unjust impositions and burdens, exchange? We are answered that our Government about all this and these has no care; and if she had, some infernal element in her Union has put upon her an eternal mandate never to "take care"!

Has he learned the alphabet of history who thinks that this people will, for another decade, permit either a party or a constitution or a code of laws to exist which fails to take care that interests and values like these shall be by their own Government respected and defended?

But there is in our fundamental law no such pernicious element as that which deprives the common Government of the power and duty to regulate and defend the commerce of the entire people. If there were such, the framers of this Union would have made themselves the architects of a monster, having no similitude in all the lists and lines of governmental structure disclosed by human annals. The regulation and defense of the commerce of a nation, and, to that end, of all the channels and instruments of that commerce, have been and are,

by the unanimous consent of all public writers, economists, and jurists, classed among the fundamental and highest prerogatives of government; and the unvarying practice of all enlightened nations has placed them there. This unanimous teaching, this undeviating practice, are simply the inevitable deduction and logic of one of the most rudimental axioms of the science of government; and which an eminent publicist has expressed in these words, applied to a mere instrument of commerce: "Roads form a primary element in the material advancement of a nation, being essential to the development of the natural resources of the country." The law merchant, the courts of admiralty, the codes of commerce, the consular systems, the commercial codes of international law, the organic provisions in defense of trade, the rules establishing rights of eminent domain for the creation of channels of internal trade, the exclusive dominion over navigable waters, and scores of other characteristics, are the unmistakable *indicia* of how universal and vital are the relations of all governments to the trade and commerce of their people. If, therefore, the contrivers of our written constitution had made it without the control over that portion of the commerce of the people which is external to individual States, or is "amongst" several of them, and therefore wholly beyond their several powers, as States have no authority beyond their lines, they would have left the whole subject-matter of the national or inter-State commerce, as distinguished from that within a State, unprovided for and outside of the pale of governmental jurisdiction of any sort whatever.

Considered upon general principles, and independently of the text and history of the Constitution, such a solecism attributed to that Convention, would be inconceivably absurd, were it not rendered impossible by both the text of the Constitution, the causes which led to its formation, and the express declarations of its authors that "the importance of the UNION, in a commercial light, is one of those points about which there is the least room to entertain doubt, and which has, in fact, the most general assent of men who have the least acquaintance with the subject. *This applies as well to our intercourse with foreign countries as with each other.*" (Hamilton, in the Federalist.) These men committed no such solecism as this. They drew their inspirations touching the magnitude of this subject of internal and foreign commerce from no meager or turbid fountains. We find them accordingly appealing to the practices of all other States, and the sad experiences of their own under the fatal defects of the Confederation. They looked to the Roman model, and found that, not with

the prefectures, not with the provinces, not with the dioceses, but with the central Government was lodged the business of connecting its four thousand cities and one hundred and twenty millions of people, through the instrumentality of those roads of stone whose ruins yet remain the wonder and admiration of the ages, and which radiated from the Forum to every part of the world—the hills of Scotland at the North, Jerusalem at the East—and which, during four centuries, held the commerce, the population, and the military strength of that empire in the grasp of a single State. And, in defense of that very clause which declares that “Congress shall have power to regulate commerce amongst the several States,” Mr. Hamilton, in the *Federalist*, reminds all who learn government from history, that

“The necessity of a superintending authority over the reciprocal trade of confederated States has been illustrated by other examples as well as our own. In Switzerland, where the union is so very slight, each canton is obliged to allow to merchandise a passage through its jurisdiction into other cantons, *without an augmentation of tolls*. In Germany it is a law of the empire that the princes and States *shall not lay tolls or customs* on bridges, rivers, or passages, without the consent of the emperor and diet; though it appears, from a quotation in an antecedent paper, that the practice in this, as in many other instances in that confederacy, has not followed the law; and has produced there the mischiefs *which have been foreseen here*. Among the restraints imposed by the union of the Netherlands on its members, one is that they shall not establish imposts disadvantageous to their neighbors without the general permission.”

And in 1867, in organizing that North Germany out of all the members of the Fatherland, which has suddenly become the first power of the Eastern Continent, and at once the terror and admiration of all surrounding States, her matchless wisdom and sagacity have created one “Federative Empire,” under a constitutional charter, by which they form the fifteen States into one “Eternal Union” (“*Ewigen Bund*”) “for the protection of the territory of the Union and its laws, as well as for the care of the welfare of the German people;” and to the Federal Council and Parliament of that Union their charter has given the exclusive legislative control over

“1. The customs; 2, *the commercial legislation*; 3, the coining of money, the weights and measures; 4, banking questions; 5, questions relating to the rights of nations and aliens; 6, patents for inventions; 7, *the protection of German trade*; 8, *the railways and roads, the postal and telegraph services*; 9, *the navigation of rivers*; 10, the common-law procedure, the commercial law, and the laws upon change.”

Our limits will admit of no further appeals to the principles and practices of all enlightened States in the nurture, protection, and de-

fense of the internal and foreign commerce of the entire people. But these are ample, in demonstration of the truth that by the settled principles of such Governments, that commerce which is common to all the people must be under the care of that government which is over all the people, and that such care is exclusive and plenary, embracing every power and duty needed to foster, develop, defend, and regulate the commerce itself and all its instruments and channels.

We now turn to some contrasts between the practices of our own and of other nations in the care taken of these vast interests.

The history of effort in the defense of the productions and commerce of England is one of the most instructive chapters written by any people. From the period of A. D. 1660, down through more than two centuries, there has not been an hour, day or night, in which her boards of trade, her privy councils, her secretaries, her parliamentary committees, her legislature, her diplomats, her kings have ceased to watch her productions or their exchange. By the official and systematic collection and study of statistics; by protective, defensive, and retaliatory laws and treaties; by subsidies; by ship building; by road building; by navy building; by training-schools for mechanics, seamen, and artisans; by commissions in Parliament and out; by colonial acquisition; by parliamentary, journalistic, and scientific discussions; by aid to schools of polytechnics; by bounties to authors and discoverers; by pensions whilst living, to inventors, discoverers, explorers, and men eminent in scientific and mechanical achievement, and, when dead, by the bestowal of honored sepulchre at Westminster, or beneath marble or brass in other places of renown, that little island of mists, winds, and long nights has arisen like an exhalation, the very prodigy and spectacle of nations. See what she was, when that policy began, of nourishing and advancing her internal resources and commerce, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign! Then in the kingdom there was not a turnpike-road, not a carriage, not a brick house, not a canal, scarce a chimney; not two thousand horses suitable for cavalry; scarce a ship in her navy—and borrowing a navy from Hamburg or from Antwerp—scarce a pound sterling in her treasury—commerce carried in canoes—gentry riding in dog-trucks and sleeping on straw with dogs and fleas—highway robbers constituting an estate of the realm—her queen banishing indigo dyes because they smelled badly—her coinages less in a hundred years than those of one of her colonies now in a single year—the island a forest or a fen, and the common people emerging from semi-barbarism. See England now! To say of that island that it is a garden is inadequate. To say of her

commercial and manufacturing cities that, as aggregations of power, of energy, and of all-mastering wealth, they are immense, is commonplace. To pass along her docks and say that the masts of the ships, which girdle the island with "walls of oak" and of iron, are endless forests, gives no approximate idea of their number. To pass along the lines of her canals and railroads, and through the store-houses, marts, and bazars which mark their termini and their stations, and to say of her productions and the elements of her trade that they are prodigious, scarcely aids in getting a conception of their inconceivable magnitudes. To declare of the value of the property of the island that it is thirty billions in gold, and the annual income of the people is four billions and seventy millions, only confounds us by staggering numbers.

But it is not in these directions alone, or even mainly, we look to catch glimpses of the effects, upon England, of the care of her Government about her internal and foreign productions and commerce. England has to-day on her islands six hundred millions of workers. That is about six-tenths of the population of the globe. They ply ceaselessly, willingly, on and on, immortal and forever. Not one of them consumes a farthing's worth of the stupendous aggregate of their productions; and not one of them ever peoples a jail or poor-house, or commits a breach of the peace; and they are so prolific that their numbers have increased three hundred millions at least, during the present century. And this army of English workers—six hundred millions strong by actual count in the last census—is no myth, but a literal physical fact. The muscle force, and nerve force, and bone and brain force of six hundred millions of men are ceaselessly at work in England piling up her prodigious wealths. These six hundred millions of England's undying workers are "THE FORCES OF NATURE," furnished by God—bountiful, free—her winds, her waters, her fires, her vapors, her coal, her electricity, her gravitations, her momenta, her chemical affinities, her magnetism, and her light—all these tamed, trained, subdued, skilled, and yoked, by her mighty genius, to her machinery—machinery as intelligent as its author and contriver, the human intellect, and mighty, like the God whose elements propel it.

And this is the army of England's workers! And in the science which England's first economist named "Wealth of Nations," what values are attached to the simple abstract "capacity" of England to create that machinery, the fountain of her productions and her commerce, and to tame and yoke to it all the forces of nature? Some con-

ception of the wealth there is hoarded in that mere "capacity"—a capacity only acquired by whole centuries of governmental watchfulness and work—is obtained by realizing that should you, by one universal conflagration, consume every city and hamlet and house in England, and swallow up, in earthquakes, every vestige of human labor on the island, and then should sink in the sea every ship she floats, and should leave to her, of the material wealth of her ages, not a groat-worth besides her ability instantly to reëndow, by her amazing skill, this six hundred millions of immortal workers, you will scarce have touched the real wealth of England; and, in a decade of years, these workers would re-create upon the surface of her island-home and of all seas, that wealth which in the past could be produced only by a decade of centuries.

While these *general* views of the results upon industries, production, wealth, power, and happiness of a nation, which come from their wise culture and defense by the Government, should be of immense value to us as lessons touching our duties to our own people, yet there is another class of facts we invoke as more specific in their application to the subject of this Article, to wit, our duty, as a Government, toward the internal productions and commerce of the States. These facts we can only point to as indicative of the ceaselessness and the magnitude of the work and the care bestowed by the British Government upon the single matter of her internal commerce, and especially the rates of charge by the railroads and canals of the kingdom; and we can not, for want of space, do more than indicate the principles reached in these managements of internal commerce.

This ministerial and parliamentary attention to railroad charges had its most distinctive development about the time of Victoria's accession to the throne. One of the very first steps taken for the securing of equable and just rates of charge for transportation was the organization of a committee of Parliament, in 1839, of which Sir Robert Peel was a distinguished member, charged with this duty; and which pursued their investigations for years and with the most thorough research. Their reports and those of similar committees in succeeding years, resulted in the two acts of Parliament attempting the regulation of this subject, passed in the 3, 4, 5 & 6 Vic. In 1844 a strong committee was appointed, with Mr. Gladstone at its head, to consider the whole subject of the prices of fares and freights, competition, consolidation, etc., which made long and searching reports.

three in number, and resulted in the act of 7 and 8 Vic. (1844), regulating the rates of profit and charges allowed to railroad companies, and providing for government purchase of these roads on certain terms. In 1845, Lord Dalhousie's Railway Board was constituted, under and with the Board of Trade, charged with the duty of reporting on all new railroad schemes, etc., and which made elaborate series of reports on these subjects to Parliament. Other series of reports were made by the Board of Trade each year upon every possible view of all these subjects of freights, fares, leases, amalgamations, consolidations, competition, government regulation, government ownership, etc., etc. In 8 and 9 Vic. an act was passed allowing canals to vary their rates of tolls to enable them to "compete" with and restrain railroad freights; and another to enable canals to lease other canals, and to thus form "competing lines" with railroads, and to secure "greater competition for the public advantage." Since 1845 the following clause has been introduced in all railway acts:

"Nothing herein contained shall be deemed or construed to exempt the railways, by this act authorized to be made, from the provisions of any general act relating to railways, or the better and more impartial audit of the accounts of railway companies now in force, or which may hereafter pass during this or any future session of Parliament; *or from any further revision or alteration under the authority of Parliament of the maximum rates of fares and charges, or of the rates of small parcels authorized by this act.*"

As already remarked, these *samples* are given as mere indicia of that thorough, systematic, eternal vigilance which England is wont to apply to every great material interest of her people, and which for a full third of a century she *has* already applied to this single matter of "cheap transportation" upon the railways and water-lines of the kingdom. A mere catalogue of all the acts of Parliament and reports of parliamentary committees and boards of trade, and the like, which her Government has produced in the struggle to accomplish this single end, "cheap transportation" for her people, would occupy more space than is allowed for this entire Article. It must suffice, therefore, to add to the specimens above given, showing how early and earnestly this work was begun in England, the statement that as in the case of her foreign commerce, so in that of her domestic, there has not been an hour, day or night, in the last thirty-five years, when her Government has ceased to be at work investigating, debating, reporting, experimenting, legislating, adjudicating, and solving the single problem, How shall England secure to her internal commerce the low-

est rate of charge for transportation which is consistent with the just claims of the capital embarked in these channels of commerce?

In February, 1872, a joint committee of the two Houses of Parliament, composed of Fortescue, Hunt, Childers, Cave, Dodson, and Cross, from the Commons, and of the Lord President, Marquis of Salisbury, Earl of Derby, Earl Cowper, Lord Redesdale, and Lord Belper, to inquire into the subject of the amalgamation of railway companies," etc. This committee took an immense amount of testimony, and in August, 1872, made one of the most elaborate reports, covering the whole subject of "cheap transportation," including a history of the parliamentary struggle with railroad monopolies during the last thirty-three years.

It is one of the gravest symptoms we have ever seen, connected with the augmenting dangers to the people which are threatened from the growing power of moneyed monopolies, and especially railroad companies, that this committee, after surveying the whole subject in all its history, its heights and its depths and breadths, and after recommending *seriatim*, twenty-four several "remedial measures" for adoption by Parliament, to check the growth of railway monopolies and secure just rates of charge by them, conclude their elaborate report in these ominous words :

"If the above recommendations are adopted by Parliament, *they will not have the effect of preventing the growth of railway monopoly, or of securing that the public shall share, by reduction of rates and fares, in any increased profits which the railway companies may make.*"

Now contrast with these practices of the British Government in advancing and defending the productions of the toil of its people, and their commerce, the practice of our own toward that portion of our internal productions and commerce which is "among the several States," and by the express letter of the Constitution put under the exclusive care of the Federal Government. To ascertain the condition, extent, burdens, necessities, instrumentalities, channels, or elements of that commerce "among the several States" which is internal and not carried on upon our navigable waters, since this Government began it has adopted not a single act, created not a single board, bureau, officer, or clerk—has collected no statistics, made no expenditures, and taken not one hour's concern. And even the statistical apparatus with which our Government is provided in its Census Bureau—charged with inquiries not at all directed to the matter of "commerce among the States," but *incidentally* touching

subjects entering into that commerce, such as production of agriculture, manufactures, and mines—is so completely defective as to exhort from our Commissioner of Census, in his very last report, the confession that this census report, in matters relating to our productions and wealth, is “at best but the *opinion* of one man or body of men in each State, acting under advice, in the collection of material and in the *calculation* of the several elements of the public wealth.” And as to the census statistics of our agriculture, he says: “No estimate of the agricultural productions of the United States is known to the superintendent which is entitled to much more than the credit of good intentions.”

Here we must end this contrast between the care of our own and of other governments about the productions of the labor of the people. The lessons which the contrast furnishes are easy of comprehension and of the gravest possible moment. The anomaly which the total neglect by us of these immense interests presents is most strange and nearly inexplicable. It has no parallel in history, and only an apology in the conditions under which it has occurred. The provisions of the Constitution confiding to Congress “the regulation of commerce among the several States,” has been nearly a dead, and almost an ignored provision of that great instrument. It has been this, although nothing is truer in our history than that which has been uttered times innumerable by our Supreme Court and ablest jurists, and which is repeated by one of the members of that court, in a recent decision affirming the power and duty of Congress to regulate and protect inter-State commerce carried upon railroads. He says, “The shackles with which the different States fettered commerce was one of the main causes which led to the formation of the Constitution.” And it was to remove these shackles, and to confer upon the common Union the duty of cherishing and defending what exists among these States, that this provision as to inter-State commerce was inserted in that instrument. To these considerations must be added such as the following: That the value of our internal commerce is ten times greater than that of our foreign commerce with all nations; that we pay for internal transportation, each year, more than double the entire annual revenues of the United States; that the value of commodities moved by railroads, in 1872, was ten thousand millions of dollars (\$10,000,000,000), and the gross receipts of these roads in the same year were \$473,241,055; that the commerce of cities upon the Ohio River alone is over \$1,600,000,000 per annum, and that the unjust or unnecessary tax paid for transportation of this commerce

every year exceeds two hundred and fifty millions of dollars ; and that this tax is not a moiety of the actual loss to the people resulting from the failure of the Government to discharge that duty for which, preëminently, the Union was created ; that this unjust and unnecessary tax and loss may, owing to our natural facilities for water transportation, and our ability to add to and justly regulate the means of railroad transportation, be readily prevented by a wise exercise of the power of Congress over this subject, and this without the expenditure of one-half of this tax and loss for a single year.

This marvelous oblivion of the United States to the very existence of these stupendous interests involved in her inter-State commerce, and of the provisions of the Constitution committing them to the Federal care, has thrust into the annals of governmental progress and administration an anachronism which would have been at once impossible and inconceivable but for the active, intense, and advancing sentiment of supreme State rights which dominated our politics and Government during the first seventy years of the Constitution, culminated in secession and civil war, and perished at the overthrow of the recent rebellion. Since this sentiment of State sovereignty over matters confided by the Constitution to the united nation, and which owed its presence, growth, and domination in our affairs to the exacting demands of slavery, is perhaps, in itself, enough to account for that unnatural refusal of the Union to execute that provision requiring Congress to "regulate commerce among the States," it is not needful, in explaining the anomaly, to refer to other causes which contributed to this result. It may, however, be useful to mention the fact that, during the first thirty years of our constitutional existence, and during which this sentiment of State rights, nullification, secession, and slave domination was weakest, there was the least demand for the exercise of this Federal power over inter-State commerce ; because of its relative smallness, its comparative confinement to the seacoast or great navigable waters, the absence of railroads and their growing aggressions, and the comparative cheapness of those water transportations which were then substantially adequate for the necessities of existing inter-State exchanges and trade.

As this sentiment of secession, of slave rule, of sovereignty by the States over matters common to all the people and intrusted by the Constitution to the Union, perished along with the cause of it, slavery, and since the forces of public thought have resumed here those normal operations which are their wont in all enlightened States, it would be wise for the rulers of this Republic, who have respect for

the tenures of their rule, to make early note of these facts, and be guided by their suggestive and very earnest logic.

The long line of judicial authorities completely establishing every principle of constitutional law which makes up the great doctrine of the *plenary* and *exclusive* power of Congress over the commerce between two or more States—including in “commerce” all of its elements when in the condition of inter-State transit, whether these elements be persons or things, and all of its instruments, whether ship, boat, roads, or waterways—has been made familiar to the entire reading public by the debates and reports which distinguished the last session of the national legislature. Their repetition here would therefore be improper, even did space allow. These authorities begin with the judgment pronounced by the illustrious explorer and expounder of our organic law, Marshall, in the great case of *McCulloch vs. Maryland*, and affirm the foundation principle of this doctrine by declaring that

“The Government of the Union is emphatically and truly a government of the people. In form and substance it emanates from them. Its powers are granted by them, and are to be exercised directly on them and for their benefit. The Government of the Union, though limited in its powers, is supreme in its sphere.”

This judgment is followed by *Gibbon vs. Ogden*, where the same judge delivered the opinion of the court, and in which it was held that “commerce” meant not only “traffic” but “intercourse;” that power to “regulate commerce” included the power to regulate navigation; that the power to regulate this was not bounded by any State lines; that this power was also *plenary* and *absolute*; that the word “regulate” gave full power over the thing to be regulated, and excluded the actions of all others that would perform the same operation on the same thing. (4 Kent, s. p. 436, 437.) These principles being settled, embraced and made inevitable, as is well indicated by Mr. Cooley, every other element of the doctrine above stated was established by subsequent decisions. Among them are *The Passenger Cases*, 7 Howard; *Philadelphia and Reading Railroad vs. Pennsylvania*, 15 Wallace; *Olcott vs. The Supervisors*, 16 Wallace; *Gray vs. Clinton Bridge Company*, Law Register for January, 1868, and many other cases. Their elucidation will be found in Redfield on Railways, last edition, supplementary chapter; and in Cooley’s Constitutional Limitations, where it is declared that

“It is not doubted that Congress has the power to go beyond the general regulations of commerce which it is accustomed to establish, and to descend to the *most minute directions*, if it shall be deemed advisable, and to whatever extent the ground shall be covered by these directions the exercise of State power is excluded.”

We must here dismiss our theme, its threshold scarcely crossed and its outlines hardly marked.

The remedies for our commercial condition which seem the best sustained by the experiences of all other nations and by the results of investigations at home, and which the writer of this inclines to favor are, in general outline, the following :

1. The systematic and periodical collection, compilation, and discussion, by Federal official forces, of the statistics of labor, wages, production, prices, transportation, rates of fare and freight, state of demand and supply of transportation, the progress of and opportunities for increasing transportation, and the like. These to be presented to Congress through the proper Department, with the results of their consideration by such Department.

2. Laws restraining unequal and excessive tax by the common carriers of inter-State commerce, and who were not created under special Federal direction, at least to the extent of compelling the publication of rates of charge, of prohibiting the greater rates of charge for the shorter distance, and of prohibiting increase under designated periods of published rates of charge.

3. Provide by law for the immediate construction of at least one line of double-track freight railway, with suitable branches, from New York to the Mississippi River, and thence West; this to be open to the use of citizens, at tolls designated by law, and not in excess of what will suffice to keep the road in repair and pay ordinary interest on cost of construction, if constructed by private capital, and if by the United States, then not in excess of what will keep the road in repair and create a sinking fund to reimburse the cost of construction in a designated period.

4. Provide by law for the immediate completion of the great water-lines from East to West of which our lakes and rivers now form parts; and also the improvement of the mouth of the Mississippi River.

BOOKS.

MODERN DOUBT AND CHRISTIAN BELIEF. A SERIES OF APOLOGETIC LECTURES ADDRESSED TO EARNEST SEEKERS AFTER TRUTH. BY THEODORE CHRISTLIEB, D.D., *Preacher and Professor of Theology at Bonn*. TRANSLATED, WITH THE AUTHOR'S SANCTION, BY THE REV. H. U. WEITBRECHT, PH.D., AND EDITED BY THE REV. T. L. KINGSBURY, M.A., *Vicar of Easton Royal, and Rural Dean*. NEW YORK: SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG & CO.

TO comprehend these Lectures of Prof. Christlieb, we must steadily keep in view their purpose and history. They were delivered at Albion Hall, Islington, London, to German audiences, composed mostly of cultivated men, with a general belief in revelation, often more or less disturbed by the peculiar skepticism of the times. Their adaptation to similar classes of persons in every part of the world is accounted for by the circumstances of their origin. Perhaps, also, beyond such classes their influence will not be specially striking.

The first lecture treats of the Existing Breach between Modern Culture and Christianity. In no other part of the volume are the grasp, candor, and power of the author so well evinced. He concedes that thousands of educated persons who acknowledge the morals have discarded the faith of Christianity. The causes of the breach he describes as historical, scientific, ecclesiastical, political, social, and ethical. They began with Celsus and Lucian, were stimulated by the exaggerated freedom of the Reformation, intensified by the efforts of the English, French, and German infidels of the succeeding times, and urged forward to the present crisis by Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Schiller, Hume, Strauss, Baur, and Renan. The loss of spiritual life in the Church, her intolerance, her moral corruptions, her formal orthodoxy, her persecuting spirit, her wealth and arrogance, her sectarian disputes and political complications, aggravated difficulties by leading men to mistake a counterfeit and distorted semblance for the substance of Christianity. Prof. Christlieb does not conceal the extent of the breach which has been

made by the causes he describes. He represents, more especially in Germany, the culture of towns as widely alienated, universities as often hostile, many half-educated teachers as skeptical, religious instruction as meager, while the very songs of pupils in schools and colleges breathe out atheism. The periodical press is frequently bitter in its oppositions. Europe and America are thus filled with publications assaulting Christianity by arguments against the faith furnished chiefly from the fields of natural science.

Our author, in showing how the breach between Culture and Christianity may be filled up, exhibits a most noble and generous catholicity, and a profound acquaintance with his subject. He has evidently penetrated deeply into the essence of the religion of the Bible, caught its genius, and imbibed its spirit. His style often glows with the vigor of his thoughts. He sets forth Christianity as itself the highest culture, absorbing into itself the learning of all ages, the patron of letters, the nurse of erudition, the mother of popular education—the very manhood and perfection of our humanity.

We regret that we can not follow the author in a careful analysis of his succeeding seven lectures, which treat, in order, of Reason and Revelation, Modern Non-Biblical Conceptions of God, the Theology of Scripture and of the Church, the Modern Negation of Miracles, Modern Anti-Miraculous Accounts of the Life of Christ, Modern Denials of the Resurrection, and the Modern Critical Theory of Primitive Christianity. Perhaps it is sufficient to remark that in every part of his work he exhibits the same penetration into the essential as distinguished from the accidental in Christianity; the same minuteness and extent of learning; the same admirable and exhaustive arrangement; the same Germanic patience of investigation, catholicity of spirit, and tender regard for the prejudices and ignorance of the enemies of Christianity. He remembers what theologians usually forget—that they themselves, by their bigotry, their intolerance, their divisions, their persecutions even unto blood, have been greatly responsible for those horrible distortions of the religion of the Bible which arouse hostility, and cause truth itself to be assaulted as imagined error. Voltaire was not wholly to blame in seeking the overthrow of that spectral monster he mistook for Christianity. Byron and Shelley, had they been followed by the compassion due to the follies of erring youth, might not have been driven to fury and despair, nor have infused into their own times and future generations the poison of perverted genius. Prof. Christlieb is a model for all coming religious controversialists. His book will

be an enduring contribution to the apologetic literature of Christianity, and take rank with the very best productions, ancient or modern.

In one single, but important point, we are compelled to differ with him. He most clearly and beautifully sets forth the Consonance between Revealed Religion and Natural Theology. He truly says that faith in our own existence, and that of the external world, lies at the basis as well of science as of religion—that to it is opposed unbelief, not knowledge—that faith is the masculine and productive power, while reason is feminine, and receptive—that the two are one eternal harmony—that Christianity is the manhood of our race, and that any step in supposed advance is toward senility. He remarks that submission brings light and assurance. If Christianity be truth, of course any path leading to it, if pursued, will terminate our struggles. But can the skeptic be convinced of this by a demand upon him to believe before he can proceed to reason? Can you require him to yield his intellect to the mysteries of revelation before you furnish him arguments sufficient to support his trust? By such an approach to him, do you not excite his prejudice, and even his contempt? Here, by some unguarded statements, the author has greatly weakened the force of his admirable book.

Christianity in a far different manner must meet the skeptical culture of these bold and restless times. If she bids the doubter first believe, and then reason, she will be met with scorn, and her advances repulsed as dictated by a mere clerical authority presupposing the ignorance it would dupe and subject. She must claim as her standing-ground no more than science claims—that faith in our personal existence, in an external world, in the testimony of our senses, and the deductions of our intellects, which lies at the basis of universal knowledge. The materialistic philosophy no more than Christianity can advance without such a faith as a postulate. Prof. Christlieb has incautiously confounded this faith—which is an instinct, an intuition, an essential condition of the human mind above and beyond reason—with that faith in revelation which has its only true support in reason. Upon the former faith, Christianity and science alike rest. Where do they separate? When Christianity presents those supernatural facts which distinguish her, and challenges reason to test her proofs.

Take, for instance, the resurrection of Jesus Christ! That established, all other mysteries are easily conceded. Secure the citadel, and the outworks are not hard to hold. But how gain credence to

this great central fact which carries with it all else? By calling on men to first submit their minds, and then examine our proofs? Just the reverse! Christianity, in establishing the resurrection of her Master, appeals to the eye, to the ear, to the touch, as much as a chemist in the experiments of his laboratory, or an astronomer when he looks into the heavens with his telescope. The whole investigation involves a simple question of testimony. It relies on the reports of the senses, and the inferences of the reasoning faculties applied according to those rules of induction, and of evidence, by which you verify a law of physical science, or prove a fact to the satisfaction of a jury.

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY—EXPLORATORY SURVEY. REPORT OF SANDFORD FLEMING, *Engineer-in-Chief*. MCLEAN, ROGER & CO.: OTTAWA.

THE project of constructing a railway north of Lakes Superior and Huron, along the great Valley of the Saskatchewan, and across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, is an old one, although the first surveys looking to that end have been but very recently undertaken by the Canadian Government, under a pressure of political necessity, and presumably with slight expectation of speedy revenue.

A large portion of the country sought to be developed has hitherto been almost a *terra incognita*, save such information concerning it as has from time to time been gathered from trappers and traders attached to the Hudson Bay Company's service. The stretch of country embraced in Mr. Fleming's exploration covers a length of about 2,700 miles, with a width varying from 300 to 500 miles, the latter being the coast length on the Pacific, exclusive of indentations, of British Columbia. Beyond the trading-posts, almost the only region of this vast tract of territory that can claim the dignity of being a settlement, is that portion known as the Red River country, just south of Lake Winnipeg, with which newspaper readers have become more or less familiar during the last year or two, as the seat of the Riel insurrection. The settlement, although an old one (founded by Lord Selkirk in 1812, on a grant of 12,000 acres from the Hudson Bay Company), is not large, the population at no time having exceeded, we believe, 7,000 souls, mostly shiftless, improvident half-breeds. It is a diminishing population, owing to lack of immigration and the gradual removal of families. Fort Garry is its center, and is located at the junction of the Assineboine and Red rivers.

On the Pacific side, a large tract of territory was resumed by the "Crown" from the Hudson Bay Company; and in 1858, a colony, "British Columbia," was formed, called into being by the discovery of gold, and the consequent influx of population, which some authorities estimate to have reached 20,000 people, mostly Californians.

Vancouver's Island, southwest of British Columbia, and separated from the mainland by a narrow strait, has the settlement of Victoria at the extreme southern end. This town is of growing importance since the discovery of gold in British Columbia. Indians make up the rest of human life in this vast territory, but they are not numerous.

The physical features of the country, from the "Lakes" to the Pacific, we have now for the first time described in a scientific, connected manner, in the report of Mr. Fleming, which, while preliminary in character, is sufficiently detailed to enable us to form a fair conception of the magnitude of the undertaking, and to judge of its expediency other than in a political sense. Mr. Fleming has told his story well, and has admirably condensed the information thus far obtained. It is noticeably free from the rhetorical rhapsodies that have characterized some other Pacific reports that might be named: neither has he discovered any "isothermal line," where roses bloom all the year round, nor where the agriculturist may find his paradise, yielding two crops in the season. The question before Mr. Fleming was purely an engineering one, and was substantially to determine whether or not it was possible to locate a line, with reasonable grades, within British territory, connecting the railway systems of the Provinces with the Pacific coast. The answer to this question is made in the affirmative, although the fact is not concealed that there are many portions of the line which could only be bridged or graded at vast cost. In order to approximate a conception of the country examined, it will be most convenient to consider it under three grand divisions: the "Western or Mountain region," the "Central or Prairie," and the "Eastern or Wooded" region. The former, a complex, mountain-tossed region, is known as the Rocky Mountain zone, and which can be subdivided into the Rocky Mountains proper, and the Coast or Cascade range, a continuation of the California Sierras. Between these two ranges of mountains there exists an elevated plateau, from 3,000 to 4,000 feet above the sea-level, and having its surface furrowed and grooved with watercourses and inferior mountain ridges. Numerous lakes occur in deep depressions, and the timber is irregularly distributed. The Cascade range skirting

the Pacific coast is as near as may be 100 miles in breadth, and presents, on the west flank, a bold and defiant aspect. Mr. Fleming describes it as Alpine in character, with a deeply indented coast line, in some cases the ocean inlets striking into its very heart, between precipitous walls of rock, for many miles. One case is mentioned where one of these inlets is 80 miles long, capable of affording harborage for the largest vessels afloat, and in many places of unfathomable depth. The great barrier of the Rocky Mountains, lying some 400 miles from the coast, and generally parallel to it, rises at times into the region of perpetual snow, with flanks deeply gashed, and throwing out spurs like great buttresses, between which the rivers of the plains take their rise.

The *Central* region is the northerly extension of the basin of the Mississippi, with a natural drainage summit, turning the waters to the Gulf of Mexico and the Polar basin respectively, nearly coincident with the artificial one established between the American and British Governments. The river systems in this division flow in deeply wooded channels, and, beyond their crossings, no engineering difficulties are met with in a stretch of 1,000 miles. Water supply is uncertain away from the river bottoms, and a scarcity of timber, not sufficient for fencing or house-building, to say nothing of fuel, is painfully apparent over *hundreds* of miles of this district. There are indications that coal may be found, and large bodies of iron ore have been reported between the North and South Saskatchewan.

The *Eastern* or Woodland region covers a tract of wilderness stretching from the settled portions of Ontario and Quebec, on the north bank of the St. Lawrence, to the province of Manitoba. It is a region densely timbered, rough, rocky, and uninviting, with no agricultural resources. Previous to this exploration, nearly all the knowledge of the country "was confined to the canoe routes traveled by the officers and employees of the Hudson Bay Company. There were hundreds of miles, which, as far as was known, had never been penetrated by civilized man."

Such, in brief, is a summary of the physical features of the country through which the Canadian Government proposes to build a railway, and which, taken in connection with the population sought to be benefited, impresses us as a scheme simply appalling.

Inasmuch as the key to the whole situation was in overcoming the obstacles in the Western and Eastern divisions, the energies of the exploration were confined principally to these portions of the territory. All information obtainable went to show that the "difficul-

ties to be overcome in these divisions were of the most formidable character." The objective point on the west end of the line, it was desired to have south of the fifty-third parallel, if possible, opposite the Vancouver group of islands. So far as the Rocky Mountains are concerned, a number of passes feasible for a railway were discovered—one, the Yellow Head Pass, near the fifty-third parallel, being regarded as peculiarly favorable. Very serious difficulties were found in "piercing the Cascade range, and in descending from the level of the elevated plateau, in the heart of British Columbia, to the level of the ocean." Some seven lines were surveyed, and while Mr. Fleming makes no recommendation as to which should be adopted, until further explorations have been made, he reports very confidently as to the feasibility of obtaining a connection with the Rocky Mountain passes, a result that the Canadian Government had fears of not obtaining, judging from some very unfavorable reports of Lieut. Palmer in 1862. One thing, however, is certain, and that is, for any route that may be adopted, there will be more or less of the practicable extremes of curves, tunnels, bridges, excavations, and the like. Except hinting at these features of the Mountain district, the report furnishes no items of amounts or quantities. To appreciate the difficulty of Mr. Fleming's task, it must be borne in mind that up to the time of his surveys, hardly anything was known at all of the country along the Pacific coast between the 51st and 54th parallels, and what little then was known was what Vancouver had published to the world eighty years before, from whose report Mr. Fleming quotes in an appendix, as well as the observations made by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who crossed the Cascade range in 1793, near latitude 55, in the first overland journey performed by civilized man from Canada to the Pacific.

In extending the surveys so as to connect Vancouver's Island with the mainland, it was found that the construction of a railway would involve works of a most formidable character. In order to take advantage of the islands almost closing, as it were, the straits between Vancouver and the mainland, the principal survey was extended along the north shore of Bute Inlet, fifty miles in length, and across the Valdes Islands, and separating channels, to the Island of Vancouver, making in all eighty miles of railway construction that would satisfy the most ambitious engineer. The channel openings must be bridged in clear leaps of from six hundred to fourteen hundred feet. After striking Vancouver, the line would be of ordinary character from Seymour Narrows (the point of crossing from the

Valdes) to Victoria, a distance of one hundred and sixty miles. Independently of connection with the mainland, there is very little question but a line will be built at no distant day along the eastern coast of Vancouver, to develop the known mineral wealth of the island, which, together with good agricultural resources and a salubrious climate, ought to invite a large industrial population. The importance of Vancouver to British Columbia as a base of supplies is very great, as well as in a political sense to the Home Government—points, no doubt, which are thoroughly appreciated.

Returning to the eastern end of the survey, after innumerable hardships, three lines were selected as practicable for connecting the Prairie or Central region with the Provinces. They are all as near as may be of the same length, in round numbers one thousand miles, and in an engineering point of view they are much more favorable as to grades, curvatures, etc., than it was hitherto supposed possible to obtain. The north shore of Lake Superior is rugged and precipitous, forcing the lines some distance back into the interior. By means of branches the waters of Superior can be reached, and utilized. From Lake Manitoba to Superior, at Thunder Bay, is about five hundred miles, the building of which line would probably satisfy for many years the requirements of a connection between Manitoba and the older Provinces, yielding the remaining six hundred miles to navigation on the waters of Superior and Huron. The maximum gradient ascending east on this five hundred miles, is given by Mr. Fleming as twenty-six feet to the mile, a truly remarkable result, few of our important trunk lines being able to show the like. Looking to the Red River country, Province of Manitoba, as one of the great granaries of the future, Mr. Fleming makes some comparison of distances which are interesting—and draws a conclusion that (due to shorter distance) the “Canadian line will not only command the traffic of Manitoba and the whole northwest, but that it will be in a position to draw traffic from Minnesota, and the territories of the United States southwest of Pembina.” From Fort Garry to Toronto, via Canadian line, there is a saving of four hundred and sixteen miles over the route via Pembina, Chicago, and Detroit, and a saving of six hundred and thirty-seven miles to Montreal, in each case the comparison being made for an *all rail* route. From Fort Garry to Sault St. Marie, “water route,” the saving in favor of the Canada line is one hundred and ninety-two miles over any line built, or proposed to be built, in connection with the Northern Pacific—the one striking Lake Superior at Nipigon

Bay, and the other at Duluth, immortalized by Mr. Proctor Knott in Congress.

Under a popular impression, one has only to keep going northerly to meet a continually lowering temperature, which, while generally true, is largely modified by the conformation of continents, ocean currents, or the height and alignment of mountains. So much is this the case, that the climatic observations in connection with the proposed line of the Canadian Pacific road, north of the 50th parallel, warrant Mr. Fleming in the conclusion that all difficulties arising therefrom can be overcome in the usual way. With the exception of a few points, the snow-fall is not excessive. Through the woodland section the snow falls to a less depth than around the city of Ottawa, from Manitoba to Nepigon Lake being as much as fifty per cent. less, and increasing easterly and southerly from the latter point. Through the Prairie region, the snow rarely exceeds a depth of two feet, while through the mountain region climatological phenomena are more marked, and the snow-fall more varied. The humid winds on the Pacific slope are expended against the mountain barriers in copious rains in summer, and heavy snows during winter, while on the eastern slope comparatively little precipitation takes place. Meteorological observations were made during parts of three years, and the results tabulated and examined by Prof. Kingston, of the Toronto Observatory. At certain points the snow was noted four and five feet deep in unprotected parts of the North Thompson River. Early in March there were found two feet of snow in the Yellow Head Pass of the Rocky Mountains. Twenty-two miles east of the pass, during a whole winter (that of 1872-73), the snow never exceeded a depth of six and a half inches. An instance mentioned by Mr. Fleming conveys a fair idea of the climate east of the Rocky Mountains. There were engaged in the survey about one hundred horses and mules, which were obliged to shift for themselves during a whole winter in the approaches to the Yellow Head Pass. Notwithstanding the poor condition they were in when turned out, not one was lost, and all resumed work in the spring.

The snow difficulties are believed to be concentrated in the Cascade range, any of whose passes are subject to heavy falls. They would have to be guarded against by means of snow-sheds and other like contrivances found effectual on the mountain division of the American Pacific roads. After weighing all the facts and circumstances thus far collected, there would probably be fewer impediments during the winter season in operating a line of railway across the British pos-

sessions than on lines now worked in the eastern provinces—excepting of course in the passes of the Cascade.

It is almost impossible to bring home to the casual reader the trials, sufferings, and heroism developed in a great railway survey through a wilderness more than two thousand miles in extent—or to realize the executive capacity required to organize the forces and equipment so that the results will all tend to a common end. Communication is frequently cut off for months, while the various parties in the field are fighting with prodigious courage the dangers thronging the wilderness. Fire, water, hunger, wild beasts, all play their part in the mission of destruction; and so bravely was the work done on the Canadian survey, that twenty-one lives are recorded lost. It is satisfactory to note that the Government, persuaded of this hazardous service, has granted a pension to the representatives of the deceased.

Accepting the fact that the Canadian survey has developed the feasibility of a railway route across the continent inside of the British possessions, the question of the wisdom of actually building such a line forces itself upon the attention. Most public works are undertaken with a view either to direct or indirect profit, and rarely for simply pandering to national pride. One would think that shrewd and calculating England would weigh very carefully the paying character of any such scheme before consenting to spend her millions on a line, which would be much in excess of the cost of the American Pacific roads. The construction and equipment of the Canadian line, for two thousand seven hundred miles, would cost over rather than under \$50,000 per mile, or a gross outlay of one hundred and thirty-five million dollars—a cost ridiculously out of proportion to the meager population to be benefited, or any possible indirect advantage to the Colonial or Home Governments. The inducement to immigration that might be opened up as a future source of wealth, would find an overpowering competition in the already accessible unsettled lands of the States ranging through a climatic belt that appeals to every nation under the sun. Whether the immigrant comes from Norway or Italy, there is some locality in the broad possessions of the United States where the climatic conditions of his native country can almost if not quite be paralleled. Superadded to which is the traditional character of the American Union as the home of the oppressed, and having a government where the ideas of freedom and equality form the chief corner-stone. There is room for millions upon millions more of Europe's overplus population, and so long as the United States are

governed on the same principles as have made them what they are, the tide of immigration will never be north of the boundary line, at least as long as Canada yields allegiance to England, or until "manifest destiny" blots that boundary line forever out of existence.

In the face of present facilities and areas of production, we fail to see that the condition of the world's markets or population requires any enlargement in this direction, for many years to come. What if the Red River country be a splendid wheat-growing country, or what if mineral wealth be scattered and hidden in the recesses of this great northern wilderness? Neither can be a source of wealth unless present facilities for supply are unequal to the demand. The United States to-day, with vast resources still undeveloped, is over-producing enormously, both in agricultural and mineral products, to which she can add to an almost unlimited extent, at a small outlay for development, just so soon as the markets of the world make the demand. The deficiencies of continental crops, this year, can more than be met from the surplus of the State of California alone.

A century hence the Canadian wilderness may present attractions sufficient to people the line of the proposed railway. Such attractions will not exist, however, until after the yet unsettled lands of the United States have become so thickly peopled as to enormously increase their value, and extinguish the inducement of cheapness now held out to the immigrant.

THE LIFE OF CHRIST. BY FREDERIC W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S.
TWO VOLUMES. NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON & CO.

NO really satisfactory life of Jesus of Nazareth has been written in the English language since Jeremy Taylor's work was published two centuries ago, and that has long since ceased to be generally read. It is not an undertaking which a wise and modest man readily puts his hand to. It demands peculiar qualities of mind and heart. We can easily see one side of the life of Christ, and present our fresh and glowing convictions upon that; but it is not easy to give a comprehensive yet minute biography. The impossibility of this is one of the strong inferences that He was God and man together in one person. Prof. Seeley, in *Ecce Homo*, has wonderfully grasped one side of the Master's life and work; Renan has made a brilliant picture of his humanity; Mr. Beecher has approached the subject with masterly genius and unusually broad human sympathies, but with a minimized theology; Strauss has brought to bear against Christ's reality

as man a marvelous study of the Gospels themselves; Lange has come to the life of Christ with a peculiar sympathy and affectionateness; Bishop Ellicott has studied it as a careful critic and theologian; Archbishop Thomson, within Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, has placed the only biography of Christ which has been adapted to general reading, and there it has been entombed for all but scholars. Commentary after commentary has been published, essay after essay, but we have no work in any language which meets the popular demand, and presents the facts in language easily understood, with that filling in of the picture derived from the study of the geography, the customs, the characteristics of Palestine, and the contrasts between those days and our own times. Simple as is the story of the Evangelists, it can never bring to all minds the proper lights in which to view our Lord's work and mission. That very adaptation which we feel to be essential for children is also needed in these secular days to make the life of Christ a living reality.

The work in hand is an elaborate and carefully prepared attempt to meet the demand described. Dr. Farrar's previous studies have fitted him for this undertaking. As a linguist, as a preacher, as a scholar, few surpass him in England. He has been engaged upon his task for perhaps five years, with the express purpose of making a biography which should not be encumbered with theology, which should not favor skeptical objections, which should be learned enough for the scholar and the clergyman, and yet not beyond the capacity of plain people, which should in all points meet the wants of the present generation, if not those of ages yet to come. He has in many respects been successful. His narrative glows and sparkles with the spoils and treasures of all time. He constantly sets off his subject by the foil of this world's ambitions and attainments. His book reads like a romance, and is wonderfully rich in its references and literary attractions. Indeed, the criticism is that it is too elaborate. Its pictures often are like those of Japanese artists: there is too little light and shade. One could say of its style as Sydney Smith said of Macaulay's conversation, "Oh, for a few brilliant flashes of silence." The pages of Dr. Farrar frequently read like a Fourth of July oration. He forgets the preacher in the writer. He is too fond of adjectives. He uses words which drive people to their dictionaries, as, for instance, where he says that Christ "would not work any *epideictic* miracle at their bidding," or terms like these: "tenebrous influences," "diaphanous air," "proleptic asceticism"—thus needlessly encumbering what is really good, and giving thoughtful people

the impression that his work is cheaply done. Taken through a thousand pages this is a serious literary defect, and, did not Dr. Farrar bring to the execution of his task most substantial merits, would be much more serious than it is. In the natural desire to make his work a masterpiece, he has painted the picture in too gaudy colors. There is also an influence of another sort coming from the clothing of the simple facts of the Gospels in such ornate language. It makes the original narrative seem tame and cold by comparison, and may lessen the hold of its story upon many minds.

Like the author of *Ecce Homo*, Dr. Farrar approaches his subject mainly from the human side. We have the biography of the Son of Man rather than of the Son of God. Every step of our Lord's earthly sojourn is lovingly, conscientiously traced, and whenever His life conforms to our own experience, the confession of some saint or doctor is sure to point the moral and adorn the tale. The defect of Dr. Farrar is that he dwells so exclusively upon our Lord's humanity. In the Temptation, Christ is represented as more than man by his resistance; but not as the representative of humanity, the second Adam overcoming the weakness of the first. In the Transfiguration, nothing is made of the significance of the meeting with Moses and Elias. In the description of the Crucifixion, we do not behold the All-Atoning Sacrifice. Every thing is done for scenic effect, as if our Lord were the greatest man who ever lived; but Dr. Farrar is silent when we should have expected him to speak; for though he was not writing a theological treatise, and had some obvious limitations, he was yet attempting to portray one whose human life shaded off into the divine at nearly every step. This is indeed a very great defect. It may not lessen the popularity of the book, but it certainly detracts from its usefulness, and does not fully present the life of Christ.

Yet we would not say that Dr. Farrar's work is a failure. It is simply good as far as it goes, and no better is likely to be produced in our own time. We have a marvelously beautiful portrait of our Lord's humanity, Dr. Farrar having brought to his treasures as a student both vivid thought and original suggestions. The work is never dull, and the thousands who seek its pages for instruction will be refreshed with new and truer, if not higher views of what our Lord was to us while here in the flesh. Great ability, ripe literary skill, graphic descriptive powers, and a fine spiritual insight are conspicuous in every chapter; and taken altogether, it is the most

marked of all the many attempts in our own days to present to us the human life of the Saviour of mankind.

Dr. Farrar's real learning is seen in the notes, which often throw fresh light upon difficult questions; and in the appendix, where he discusses many points which would have loaded down the body of the work and broken the narrative. The volumes are furnished with every equipment for use, are printed with readable type on good paper, and are substantially bound.

The following is a fair specimen of the excellences and defects of Dr. Farrar's style. It describes one of our Lord's last evenings at Bethany:

"So ended that great discourse upon the Mount of Olives, and the sun set, and He arose and walked with His Apostles the short remaining road to Bethany. It was the last time that He should ever walk it upon earth; and after the trials, the weariness, the awful teachings, the terrible agitations of that eventful day, how delicious to Him must have been that hour of twilight loveliness and evening calm; how refreshing the peace and affection which surrounded Him in the quiet village and the holy home! As we have already noticed, He did not love cities, and scarcely ever slept within their precincts. He shrank from their congregated wickednesses, from their glaring publicity, from their feverish excitement, from their featureless monotony, with all the natural and instinctive dislike of delicate minds. An Oriental city is always dirty; the refuse is flung into the streets; there is no pavement; the pariah dog is the sole scavenger; beast and man jostle each other promiscuously in the crowded thoroughfares. And though the necessities of His work compelled him to visit Jerusalem, and to preach to the vast throngs from every climate and country who were congregated at its yearly festivals, yet He seems to have retired on every possible occasion beyond its gates, partly it may be for safety—partly from poverty—partly because He loved that sweet home at Bethany—and partly too, perhaps, because He felt the peaceful joy of treading the grass that groweth on the mountains rather than the city stones, and could hold gladder communion with His Father in Heaven under the shadow of the olive-trees, where, far from all disturbing sights and sounds, He could watch the splendor of the sunset and the falling of the dew."

THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, EXPLAINED IN A SERIES OF LECTURES. BY THE REV. R. W. JELF, D.D., *late Canon of Christ's Church, Oxford, and sometime Principal of King's College, London.* EDITED BY THE REV. J. R. KING, M.A. LONDON: RIVINGTONS.

THE author of this volume was one of the most useful and respected of the old-fashioned clergy of the Church of England, and he deserves to be remembered, not only as a man of excellent learning and soundness in theology, but also as an admirable teacher and bright example for those who are called upon to preach the gospel. In the

present course of Lectures, Dr. Jelf employs a plain, unambitious style, using language such as a man thoroughly in earnest and thoroughly well-furnished would be likely to use in giving instruction to young men. There is indeed every where manifest in the volume a spirit of charity and meekness, combined with the clear, straight-forward teaching of the Church of England in her standards of doctrine. His attitude toward Dissenters is that of one profoundly impressed with the condition of those who have inherited dislikes and prejudices against the National Church, and who ought therefore to be dealt with gently, but firmly, and with all truthfulness. He upholds the claims of the Church of England, primarily and essentially, to be Catholic, as maintaining and putting forth in the forefront of her confession the fundamental truths of Christianity, and adhering to the doctrine and discipline of the primitive church ; and he justifies her historical attitude as a Protestant church, forced by the faults of those around her, and especially of the Church of Rome, to condemn in express terms the errors and corruptions which prevailed, in one direction or another, throughout Christendom, at the time the Articles were set forth, and which have continued to prevail more or less widely ever since.

The work is in measure defective, arising out of the fact that it is a posthumous publication, and lacks, for some of the later articles, the careful hand and mature judgment of the author. As a whole, however, we can conscientiously commend the volume, as a useful companion to Bishop Harold Browne's larger and more profound work on the Articles. A list of authors quoted or used, a general index, and an index of texts of Holy Scripture add materially to the value of the Lectures.

SERMONS BY THE REV. ROBERT S. CANDLISH, D.D. NEW YORK:
R. CARTER & BROS.

WE have here a few Sermons by one of the greatest of that generation of great Scotch preachers which has departed with him, selected by the editor as representative of his mind and manner in the pulpit.

We must confess to an inborn dislike to printed sermons; but upon taking up these as an unpleasant duty, we experienced a delightful surprise. We had heard of Dr. Candlish—as a leader in the great “Disruption” of the Scotch Establishment, a profound theologian, a formidable debater—in short, the intellectual Saul of the Free Kirk;

and had conceived of him as a typical Scotchman of the clear, cold, doctrinal cast—a man in whose brain theology had been reduced to mathematical problems. And so he may have been in certain phases of his mental character, but not as a preacher. In the pulpit he seems a transfigured man: we are only conscious of the presence of a great human soul, under some pervading heavenly influence, palpitating with all human and heavenly sympathies. The one note of his preaching which makes him tower above all his generation, is its grand, massive simplicity. His text is always one embodying one great truth. This truth is the permanent center of all the subsequent vast accumulation of ideas. Every sentence adds something to his vital, assimilating central organ. This in turn seems to impart its own life to the growing mass of thoughts, and pervade them with vital heat and force. When the end is reached, we find a homogeneous whole—every function assigned its place, in perfect correspondence with every other, and with the one great central truth which is the heart of all. The sermon on “The Man Christ Jesus” is the best representative of this peculiar-quality of mind—the *man* being the central thought, and every thing in the humanity of Christ necessary to its growth into the *perfect* man being gathered to it, sentence by sentence, until the portrait is complete as it can be at human hands. We believe there is nothing superior to that sermon in simplicity, and power to move the Christian heart.

If this were the only surviving fragment of Dr. Candlish’s pulpit work, we could understand what Dr. Guthrie tells us, in his autobiography, a shrewd old Scotchman said, alluding to Candlish’s insignificant personal presence: “There is na muckle of him—but there is muckle in him.”

THE APOSTOLICAL FATHERS: A CRITICAL ACCOUNT OF THEIR GENUINE WRITINGS AND OF THEIR DOCTRINES. BY JAMES DONALDSON, LL.D. LONDON AND NEW YORK: MACMILLAN & Co.

THE publication of the Ante-Nicene library has greatly increased the study of the earliest Christian writers, and contemporaneous with the demand that religion shall be in accord with modern thought is the felt necessity that the Church of to-day shall faithfully conform to Scripture and primitive antiquity. The general study of the Fathers, without entering into their special modes of thought, the atmosphere in which they lived, would greatly mislead. There is

room for a critical estimate of their position, their authority, their doctrines. Dr. Donaldson's volume, published ten years ago in a different shape, meets this need. It contains only the earliest Fathers—Clemens Romanus, Polycarp, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Pastor of Hermas, and Papias. It is a faithful statement of the opinions and doctrines of these men, and can be read to advantage either before or after the study of the original writers; but the best portion of the volume is the extended introduction, covering the whole period down to the Nicene Council. He meets the difficulties of those who approach the study of Christian antiquities for the first time, and especially shows the folly of believing every thing said by these writers. "My main effort," he says, "has been simply to record the theological doctrines of the early Christian writers, with an anxious desire to state accurately, without exaggeration or distortion, what they thought. I have occasionally attempted to throw light on the mode in which doctrines were developed." In the introduction he dwells upon the advantages of the study of early Christian literature, the external testimony to the writings and the internal evidence of their accuracy, the literature which has grown up around them, the opinions of the Tübingen school, the mode of treatment in the early Christian theology, and the historical survey of the treatment of this theology by later writers. Dr. Donaldson goes over the whole subject wisely and intelligently, and impartially. Himself evidently a Scotch Presbyterian, he treats both Roman and Anglican critics of the Fathers with generous respect; and simply as an introduction to patristic literature, his book is the best we have in the language. To theological students it is indispensable. Many a ritual excess would be abated, many a Protestant defect removed, if the writers of the early Church were thus critically and independently studied. If Dr. Donaldson errs upon any point, it is in so largely yielding to German criticism, to the exclusion of English and Roman works which have been numerous in recent years. His style is often harsh and crude, but his judgments upon critical points are nearly always fairly stated and reasoned.

THE PERMANENCE OF CHRISTIANITY: CONSIDERED IN EIGHT LECTURES PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, IN THE YEAR 1872. BY JOHN RICHARD TURNER EATON, M.A. LONDON: RIVINGTONS.

SO much has been put forward recently with the intention of showing that Christianity is soon to be superseded by a more philo-

sophical system, that the Bampton Lectures on the permanence of our religion are welcome to all Christian thinkers. It is not that Christianity is in serious peril, but each period has its battle to fight with the enemies of truth, and we need the Christian champion to slay Goliath. Mr. Eaton has here attempted to

“Apply to Christianity, as a phenomenon of man’s history in the world, the same standard of estimation which we use in other things, and judge of its future by the past.”

His conclusion is that

“There is small reason either to fear as to its perpetuity, or to predict its fall.”

His method is the critical study of the modern objections to Christianity—not those directed against the Bible in its textual integrity, but those made to Christianity as a religious system, its principles, its fundamental truths, its recognition of responsibility in man, its belief in a personal Providence, its divine system of morality, its influence as a factor in the civilization of Europe, the deductive character of Christian theology, the inferences to be drawn from its missionary character and present standing. He travels over the entire ground of recent thought and speculation, whether scientific or literary or philosophical, and puts each objection in its proper place. He makes the philosophers, generally in their own words, state their criticisms of Christianity, and then refers the objections to the fundamental principles of religion under which they are classed. The difficulty of the work is that the author attempts too much. He includes every objection, he crowds his pages with other men’s ideas, and often only indicates the refutation of their errors by the statement of leading principles. The lectures are therefore less satisfactory than one could wish. They contain the materials for a treatise on the permanence of Christianity rather than the treatise itself. One has a right to expect in such a work as this that the subject-matter shall be thoroughly digested and reduced to definite statements and conclusions; but Mr. Eaton does not accomplish thus much. His materials, however, are of great value: he has opened up a vast literature; he has collected important facts; he has placed within reach what a philosophic student can use to advantage; but he has not the power, rising above his work, to compact and condense his reasonings till they glow and burn with one single purpose; nor is he able always to state plainly the arguments which he puts forward. His style is lacking in some of the first points of good, clear, strong writing.

It might be said that it were better not to touch this subject at all unless it were dealt with in a masterly manner. It is really the question of free thought to-day. Men like John Morley, Herbert Spencer, John Tyndall, Charles Darwin, and others, are constantly putting Christianity to one side, and the air is full of serious doubt, while the reasonable grounds for the permanence of Christianity are but little discussed either by believers or skeptics. The one fully believe; the other fully disbelieve. The doubts of the one are not taken up and discussed by the other upon the common ground of acknowledged facts and existing tendencies, and the steps toward union are not taken. Mr. Eaton deserves great credit for having boldly undertaken this important work of discussing the permanence of Christianity upon the ground of existing objections urged from its antagonism to many modern opinions, and from political, social, and philosophical considerations, and if he has not won the highest praise, he has every where shown a tolerant spirit, an unwearied industry, and a high purpose. His lectures are sure of being carefully studied, and they are the pioneers to a new order of evidences of Christianity, the evidences drawn from the practical work of the religion of Jesus Christ in the world.

EULOGY ON CHARLES SUMNER. BY CARL SHURZ. BOSTON: LEE & SHEPARD.

CHARLES SUMNER: A EULOGY. BY GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

MR. SHURZ'S oration has already been briefly alluded to in our July number. It will bear further comment. It is one of three masterly eulogies which this year has produced, the other two being Mr. Curtis's eulogy, and Mr. Evarts's oration on Chief-Justice Chase. The death of Mr. Sumner marked an epoch in our national history. He was the statesman of ideals and ideas. He lived to see his work done. His career had its tragic sorrows, but rounded out into wonderful completeness at the end. He was fortunate in his death and in his eulogists. He died when the great work of his life was completed, and the great insult to his name had been removed. Hardly was he buried in beautiful Auburn when the man in Congress best able, from a varied experience and intimate friendship and genuine ability, spoke judicially of his whole career, before the people of his early home, and through them to the nation; and the echoes of this oration had scarcely died away in Music Hall when another friend, our most graceful orator among literary men, came forward to make

the tribute of his order to the illustrious dead. Mr. Shurz's oration has more grasp and strength ; Mr. Curtis's more polish and grace ; in both the strong manhood, the discursive knowledge, the unselfish devotion of Mr. Sumner are conspicuous ; both look back over forty years of contest in American political history and place the laurels of this period at the grave of Sumner ; both are notably fine examples of the true eulogy, and take rank at once with that of Choate on Webster—perhaps the best oration pronounced in this country on any public man.

End of Volume



AP The International Review
2
178

NO. OF COPIES

REQUEST CARD (please type) 5-14336

AP 2 I 78

International Review
Vols. 1 to 14
(all published)

1874-1883

PRICE

\$60.00

R/CAT. NO./ITEM NO. Special Inventory
No. 1502
Periodicals, List H-I, No. 1502

LOCATION

COUNTER
SIGNED BY

REQUESTED BY

MR

CKET

Y

